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LUTHER.^a

IN every great movement affecting the destinies of mankind, and in which men are the actors, there are two elements quite distinct in their nature, although inseparable in their operation: the actuating and controlling mind, and the instruments by which its designs are accomplished. God and man are the two great agents in history, the former working in secret as to his immediate influence and ultimate intentions, and therefore liable to be overlooked and undervalued; the latter occupying the most conspicuous place in the eyes of mortals, and on this account apt to receive more credit for wisdom and more honour than properly fall to his share. Those who are the spectators of this drama of life in which the INVISIBLE prompts and regulates the scenes, form notions of what is going on more or less correct as they are more or less spiritual and religious in their mental habits; the pious recognizing the divine hand, which, though unseen, is really present everywhere; the thoughtless and vain only beholding the minor agents and giving to them their unreasoning applause.

^a *The Life of Martin Luther.* By Henry Worsley, M.A., Rector of Easton, Suffolk; late Michel Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford. In Two Volumes. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856. 8vo, pp. 840.

The Table Talk of Martin Luther. Translated and Edited by William Hazlitt, Esq. New Edition, to which is added the Life of Martin Luther, by Alexander Chalmers. With additions from Michelet and Audin. London: H. G. Bohn. 1857. 12mo, pp. 492.

In only one great historical movement do we find the divine element overshadowing the human, so as to shine with its own effulgence, and that is in the combined operations of our Lord and Saviour and His disciples in the founding and early extension of the Christian Church. It is remarkable how, in the first and most important scenes in the evangelical history, CHRIST occupies almost the whole field of vision, and how the inferior actors retire to an humble distance; or, in other words, how the light surrounding our Lord's person and work seizes the attention and turns it from the disciples and ministers who are yet his active instruments in forwarding his designs of love and mercy. There are indeed a few indications of this reverence for the "Author and Finisher of the Faith" ignobly leaving that object for inferior ones, as when the Corinthians became partizans, and said, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ;" but such instances are of rare occurrence. The *rule*, in relation to the early Church is, that Jesus Christ was magnified as all in all, and his apostles only as his ministers who did his pleasure. Thus in the documents which are the records of Christianity, we find four exquisite characters of our Lord drawn by four different pens, but we look in vain for any designed exhibition of the excellences of Peter, James and John. This peculiarity arose from the fact that in the case of our Lord's contemporaries, the most useful men, and the most endowed with gifts, had "no glory by reason of the glory which excelled," and cast them into the shade. Paul was fervent in his labours, and John was loving in his spirit, but Jesus when recognized as divine, had qualities which far surpassed theirs. How could the moon and the stars attract notice, when the Sun of Righteousness was above the horizon, and shining with meridian splendour?

But soon that Sun lost its brightest beams in the thoughts and remembrances of men, and, as years rolled on, the lesser lights in the intellectual firmament began to twinkle, then to attract more and more regard, and at last were invested by the frail minds of the beholders with a splendour which living apostles and evangelists never seemed to have. We do not blame human nature for this:—the process was natural, and the result inevitable. Those who had never seen the Lord in the flesh could not think of Him as those who had been blessed with that vision; and generations removed by centuries from the actual times of the Theophany, could never be so engrossed by the "Apostle and High Priest of their profession," as those who lived in them. This receding of the living Christ, and this coming into greater prominence of the subordinate agents in the establishment of his

kingdom were closely connected as cause and effect ; and the result is only to be deprecated and mourned over when found in excess. If we cannot see our Lord with our bodily eyes we are the more disposed to fix our gaze upon those whom he employs, and, in a certain measure and degree, we are called upon to give them our love and reverence while yet we “ glorify God in them.”

These observations will form the text of much that we purpose to say regarding LUTHER, whom we look upon as an instrument employed by Christ himself ;—the scourge of small thongs used by Him to drive from His temple them that bought and sold therein, and who made the house of prayer a den of thieves. We feel that it becomes us to speak with reverence of the purposes of an Infinite Mind, of which we can know but little except so far as it is pleased to reveal itself to us ; and we are well aware that much that is presumptuous and unfounded is often talked and written respecting God and Divine Providence as favouring or discouraging the actions of men. But as we are the subjects of a moral government with well-defined laws and a long series of undoubted precedents, we may humbly infer that some events more than others are intended to be viewed by us as specially brought about for the welfare of the Church and the glory of God. Such an event was the life of Luther, in its early training and its entire devotedness to one object ; so that if, in any case not commended to us by miraculous intervention, or marked out by the express finger of God, we can think of a man raised up to do a great work in the world, we may safely do so of the celebrated German Reformer.

Even if there were a tendency in any age to undervalue Luther, or to place him in a lower niche than he has hitherto occupied in the pantheon of the Church’s worthies, the extreme and even romantic interest of his life would in a great degree render the attempt futile. From early childhood we have read the history of Luther, and were captivated at the first stage by the account of his retired exile in the Wartburg, his imagined conflict with the devil and his angels in its gloomy recesses, and the victories he obtained over a present bodily Apollyon by “ the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.” As intellect became more developed, we were attracted by the moral energy of the man, who would go to Worms, although it was doubtful whether he would be allowed to leave it alive. What heroism appeared in him when, finding his enemies active at Weimar, being asked by the herald who was leading him to the Diet, “ Well, Doctor, will you go on ?” he said, “ Yes, though they should kindle a fire between Wittenberg and Worms to

reach to heaven, I will go on ; I will confess Christ in Behe-moth's mouth between his great teeth !” Or in his reply to his cautious friends as he drew nearer to the city : “ I am resolved and fixed to enter Worms in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, although as many devils should set at me as there are tiles on the housetops !” And then, after these expressions of courage, how grand appeared the august assembly with the Emperor Charles V. at its head ; yet not so grand in reality as the poor monk on whom all eyes were fixed, and whose blood many were longing to spill ! This Diet of Worms, as it appeared to Luther at his first interview, has been described often by his-torians and depicted by painters, yet it will bear another recital as it appears in the pages of Mr. Worsley.

“ The doors of the room were thrown open, and Luther was ushered into the presence of the full array of the assembled wisdom and grandeur of the empire. The emperor had the three ecclesiastical electors on the right of his throne, the three secular electors on the left ; at his feet on either side the two nuncios ; his brother Ferdinand sat on a chair of state, a step below the throne. The sun verging to its setting, was streaming full on the scene of worldly magnificence, so strangely varied by every colour and form of dress. The Spanish cloak of yellow silk, the velvet and ermine of the electors, the red robes of cardinals, the violet robes of bishops, the plain sombre garb of the deputies of towns and jurists, and the monk's shorn head were encircled by the dark flushing line of the mailed chivalry of Germany. A profound stillness marked the universal interest and anxiety which was interrupted for a moment as Luther entered by many of the Germans rising from their seats ; a movement of homage rather than of curiosity which even the presence of the emperor failed to restrain, and then the silence was as unbroken as before.

“ Luther seemed at first bewildered ; on observing which, some of the nobles near him whispered, ‘ Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul ; ’ ‘ when you are called before governors and kings do not premeditate, for I will give you a mouth and wisdom,’ etc. ‘ Only speak,’ said Pappenheim, ‘ in answer to the questions put to you.’ The guards moved on, clearing a way, and presently Luther stood immediately in front of the throne of Charles V.

“ Those assembled in the hall included the emperor, the sovereign of half Europe, besides illimitable territories across the Atlantic ; his brother the Archduke Ferdinand, who had been placed over the five Austrian Duchies, and was subsequently King of the Romans, and, finally, wielded the sceptre of the empire ; six electors, each a sovereign prince ; twenty-seven dukes, ten landgraves, seven margraves, twenty-one archbishops and bishops, besides abbots ; deputies of ten free cities ; princes, counts, barons ; eight ambassadors, amongst them the representatives of England and France, and the two nuncios of his holiness ; in all, more than two hundred personages of the highest rank in Germany or Spain. And in the midst of this assembled group of earthly potentates, there stood a

man worn out with toil and study, and feeble with recent sickness, in his monk's frock, on whom every eye was bent from Charles to his guards, who was then arraigned because he had dared to remind mankind of the supreme authority of God's Word."—vol. i., pp. 332-3.

But these exciting scenes, and this extraordinary courage in a man apparently so defenceless as Luther; form only the human materials which make his life read so enchantingly, and after three centuries of wear and tear still invest it with the pomp of romance. It is when the matured intellect grasps the moral and religious questions which group themselves around the life of Luther, that we recognize his mission as only less than divine because it wants the outward and tangible guarantee which prophets and apostles possessed. We then meditate on what preceded the career of the Reformer in the dominance of an ecclesiastical power which ruled the nations with a rod of iron; and in proportion to our vivid conception of that hard intolerance is our admiration of the instrument destined to set them free. Even if, as we confess we do, we join our Christian interests with a remote antiquity, and consider the different phases of the Church of Rome as a series of links of a chain reaching up to our Lord and his apostles, and destined to extend onward through all time:—even then we discover a baseness of corruption which demanded that Providence should interfere to cleanse it, and which excites our wonder at the Divine forbearance which did not sweep away the whole framework of the Church with the whirlwind of its wrath. The rascally cupidity of Tetzel seems too bad to be true, but when we remember that the narrative of his religious cheating is indubitable, and that the age submitted to it, we need that fact alone to convey to our minds some efficient idea of the depths of degradation to which the Church had sunk, and from which God was about to raise her. Let our readers renew their acquaintance with the proceedings of this varlet and his dupes, and they will coincide with us in the strong censure we have pronounced on the age which could tolerate him:—

“The theatrical colouring which Tetzel was careful to throw over his proceedings was well adapted to influence the populace. He and his party, consisting of Friar Bartholomew and two secretaries, were generally received at the gates of a town by the council and the clergy in their robes; monks, nuns, choristers, and the scholars of the principal schools, and with lighted candles, floating banners, and amidst the ringing of bells, mingling with the notes of music, conducted to the Church or Cathedral. The Pope's brief was borne in state before him, and he carried in his hand the red cross. On entering the Church the tall red cross, surmounted with the Pope's arms, was set up at the high altar; the money

counter was placed beneath it; and the papal brief on its velvet cushion was placed in full view. Then Tetzel in the garb of the Dominicans, mounted the pulpit, and with stentorian voice harangued the multitude on the infallibilities of the Pope and the efficacy of his pardons. The indulgence, he stated, was the very grace of Jesus Christ; and he himself, as the dispenser of such a blessing, was not to be compared with St. Peter, for he had saved many more souls than the apostle. At the close of the oration, Brother Bartholomew shouted, 'Come and buy, come and buy.'"
—Worsley, vol. i., pp. 81-2.

This was superstition, and it *might* have been associated with honesty, and in that case its reign might have lasted much longer. But when truth leaves the human heart, vice and knavery will soon creep into it, and in this way God has provided a remedy for ecclesiastical as well as other corruptions. Tetzel was not honest, but was "a thief and had the bag, and bare that which was put therein."

"The penitents knelt at confessionals suspended (?) with the papal arms; they mumbled over their confessions and passed to the altar; dropped the stipulated sum into the money-box, and received in return a sealed letter of pardon. But after his traffic in any place had been concluded, Tetzel commonly sat down with his associates to a merry drinking bout; played at dice, staking sometimes, it was said, the salvation of souls on the cast; and jested at the credulity of the poor fools whom he had tricked of their money. The tavern-keeper had to take his indulgence letters in exchange for his accommodation, and they thus circulated like paper money, only that they were made payable in another world. An instance of his craft, which occurred at Zwickau, has been particularly noted by contemporaries. The money bag had been sealed up when the chaplains and altarists applied to Tetzel to give them a supper. His invention was put to the rack, but quickly struck upon a device. He ordered the church-bell to be tolled, and ascended the pulpit. The inhabitants of the place, roused by the bell from their occupations, and prompted by curiosity, repaired to the Church; when Tetzel informed them that he had intended to quit their town that very day, but in the preceding night his slumbers had been broken by groans from the adjoining cemetery, of some poor soul still suffering in purgatory. Whose relation he or she might be he could not affirm, but it was unquestionably the soul of a poor adulterous man or woman; and all the pious were concerned to release the sinner from torment; in such a cause he would be the first to contribute. This example was followed by the whole company, for all wished to be regarded among the pious, who could compassionate the sins of others and their punishment. An ample sum was collected, and Tetzel and his associates sat down to a jovial entertainment, made the more merry by the adroitness which had procured it."—vol. i., pp. 81-2.^b

^b The student of history, and especially of Church history, will learn to receive *cum grano* narratives of extraordinary turpitude attributed by party spirit to its oppo-

Reformation was needed, then, in the sixteenth century, and Luther was evidently raised up by Divine Providence to accomplish it. Next to his heart being influenced by the grace of God, and enlightened by the study of the Holy Scriptures, the quality which fitted him for his work was his firm persistency in his opinions when once he had formed them :—an almost dogged determination of purpose, which would yield to no arguments, and relax to no entreaties. No one can study Luther's character thoroughly without seeing that if he had continued a monk all his days, and been made abbot, he would have been a stern enforcer of any views he thought right, perhaps a tyrant to those placed under his rule. But if he had not been made of sterner stuff than many of his celebrated contemporaries, Melancthon and Erasmus, for instance, what would have become of the Reformation? How often would affairs have taken an entirely different course had not Luther disregarded the advice of princes, and the more seductive solicitations of his personal friends? Deference to authority; a firm belief in the Pope as the head of the Church; a dread of heresy in all its forms;—these were only a few of the principles which everywhere held in the spirit of those who sighed and cried for the abominations of the land, and led them to be satisfied with constant prayer

nents. We do not know on what authority the above anecdote rests, but it appears scarcely credible that with such knavery openly practised by the agents of the Pope, the people could swallow the doctrine of indulgences as they did. Tetzel, no doubt, was fit for any trickery in the prosecution of his nefarious calling; but we should have expected some more outward prudence than is attributed to him. Mr. Worsley informs us that "he was prohibited by Frederick from entering Saxony, because he objected to the indulgence tax being levied on his subjects, and also on personal grounds, for at Inspruck, Tetzel had been convicted of adultery, and sentenced to be thrown in a sack into the river." This one fact, and also the other that Luther made such opposition to the sale of indulgences, prove that ignorance did not reign unopposed, and that many rose superior to the absurd practices of the Church to which they belonged. Indeed the very fact of the Reformation being brought about by Luther, shews plainly that society was fitted for it; and that a truly godly element mingled with those of an opposite character. Great harm is done to historic truth, and also to Christianity, by the exaggerated descriptions of the state of things in Christendom before. It was bad enough, without our giving it a darker colouring by the creation of our fancy. The very beginning of Mr. Worsley's work contains an instance of these redeeming circumstances which existed in the midst of papal misrule. "The influence of education in forming the mind and the character, can only be ranked second to nature itself, or the stamp which God himself infixes on the heart and on the head. And certainly the education which little Martin enjoyed or underwent, was exactly adapted to fit and prepare him for the arduous duties and trials of his future career. John Luther was a pious man, and *often prayed that his children might be filled with the grace of God*. Moreover he loved learning; and assembled in his cottage as often as he could *such learned men as would honour him with a visit*." This is a very pleasing picture, and our readers need not be told what inferences flow from it as to the state of society in general before Luther appeared.

to heaven for help, and an occasional protest against some more notorious instance of Christian unfaithfulness.

Luther, before the Diet of Worms, is a fine study for those who delight to see how God makes use of men's natural tendencies and qualities to answer his own designs. It was the turning point of the Reformation, when the Chancellor of the Elector of Treves addressed the Reformer as follows: "Martin Luther, although you had no right to demand a longer period for deliberation, inasmuch as you were well aware of the purpose for which you were summoned, and a matter of faith ought to be so grounded in the minds of all, that any one, at whatever time he might be questioned should be able to render a sure and settled reason for it; Come, then, and answer the imperial demand! Do you maintain all the works you have acknowledged to be yours, or are you willing to retract anything?" We believe Luther might have been quite as conscientious, and yet have felt it his duty to concede something to the counsel of those whom he loved and admired, and few persons placed in his position would have maintained as he did all he had received and taught. But concessions at that time might have been fatal, for, if "the beginning of strife is as the letting out of water," so pliancy of temper towards opponents seldom stops at its first yielding, but goes on, often, to further admissions. In the celebrated final speech of Luther we may even detect errors, for surely a private judgment must often be called upon to yield to authority in matters of doctrine and faith; yet at that critical moment unyielding firmness seems to have been absolutely necessary for the cause, and Luther's native obstinacy came to rescue it from all chance of failure:—

"At the conclusion, the Chancellor remarked, in a chiding tone, 'You have not answered to the point. The doctrines condemned and defined by Councils cannot be brought into question. Give a simple and direct answer: Will you retract, or will you not?' Luther, unmoved, replied, 'Since your most serene Majesty and your Lordships require a simple and direct answer, I will give one as simple as language can express. Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or plain reason,—(for I do not believe in the Pope or in Councils alone, for it is certain they have often erred, and have contradicted themselves),—unless I am convicted by the texts I have adduced (and my conscience is a captive to the Word of God), I cannot retract, nor will I retract anything; for to act against my conscience is neither safe nor honest. Here I stand: I can do no otherwise. God help me. Amen.'"

Unless we raise Luther above humanity, we cannot refuse to see in all this his natural temperament aiding the convictions of

his understanding, and carrying him even beyond what the pious and good of his day deemed necessary for the cause he had undertaken. We know that many persons read these events as though they were not in the category of ordinary causes, and as though Luther acted under direct inspiration from heaven; but with such we have no sympathy. Only in the case of men having a direct mission from heaven, as the prophets and apostles, can we consent to eliminate the human element in our estimate of the causes which God makes use of in his Holy Providence; and if we say that the resolution of Luther at this time was arrived at partly by his constitutional pugnacity of disposition, we only affirm that he was a man, left to the ordinary means of grace which God gives to all his people for their own edification and for his own glory. In order to see the truth of our position, we have only to contemplate Luther in other scenes of his public life, in which his overbearing obstinacy will be generally acknowledged. Let us take the conference at Marburg, between him and Zwingli, as a fair illustration of the idiosyncrasy of the former:—

“The following day, Saturday, Oct. 2, 1529, the more public conference was to take place. An apartment in the interior of the castle near the prince’s bed-chamber had been chosen for the discussion, for much care was used to prevent the intrusion of the idly-curious or ill-disposed. Carlstadt had requested permission to be present, but Luther at once negatived such a proposition; and many who had come from Switzerland or the Rhine, full of anxiety to be witnesses of the controversy, knocked in vain at the castle gate, and implored to be let in. Early in the morning the Landgrave entered the hall and took his seat, with his courtiers, and counsellors of the first mark, professors of his university, and the nobles and deputies who had been granted admission; about twenty-four spectators in all according to the Zwinglian account, as many as fifty or sixty according to the Lutheran. The prince was very plainly attired, and thus appeared eager to ignore his rank on the occasion, and to do homage to theology. Of an intelligent mind, and well-versed in Scripture, he listened with fixed attention to the arguments advanced by either side. A desk covered with a velvet cloth divided Luther and Melancthon from Zwingli and Ecolampadius, and the other theologians were seated behind the chiefs of their respective parties. But before the controversy began, Luther stepped forward, and wrote with a piece of chalk in large letters in Latin, the text of Scripture on which he depended, ‘This is my body.’ It was a token that, as long as that text was found in Scripture, he would not abandon the doctrine of the corporeal presence.

“The conference was opened by Feige, the Chancellor of Hesse, admonishing the disputants of the object for which they were met, namely, the establishment of concord. Upon this Luther declared that he must

protest against the opinions entertained by his opponents on the Lord's Supper, and ever should protest against them, for the words of Christ were simple and conclusive—"This is my body." Ecolampadius replied, that the words of Christ thus quoted were figurative, and to be explained by similar texts, such as "'I am the true vine;'" "I am the door of the sheep;" "John is Elias," etc. Luther acknowledged a figure in the passages adduced, for the simplest understanding must at once perceive them to be figurative, but he denied that there was anything parallel to them in the declaration, 'This is my body.' Ecolampadius then had recourse to Christ's own statement, of the manner in which eating his flesh and drinking his blood were to be understood in John vi., when, in answer to the enquiry, 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' he says, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.' Luther insisted that that passage of Scripture did not refer to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but to feeding on Christ spiritually; but even if it did refer to the Sacrament, by Christ's words in that place must be understood, not his flesh, but our flesh; in other words, that the body of Christ is to be received not with a carnal, but a spiritual heart; for what blasphemy to dare to say 'The flesh of Christ profiteth nothing!' Christ himself saith, 'His flesh bringeth life.' Ecolampadius continued to press him upon this point. 'But if there be the spiritual manducation, what can the oral avail?' 'That,' said Luther, 'is a mere rationalistic question; it ought to be enough that the Word of God says so. What that Word states we are bound to believe without a doubt, or a cavil, or objection. The world must obey God's precepts, we must all kiss his Word. Worms, listen: it is your God who speaks!' Here Zwingle came to the aid of his friend, and the controversy quickly assumed a sharper and more excited tone. 'The devil,' Luther repeated, 'shall not drive me from simple dependence on Christ's words, "This is my body."' 'You keep on singing the same song,' Zwingle exclaimed. This Luther resented as rough and arrogant language; and when Zwingle continued, 'Pardon me, my dear sir; the Saviour's explanation of the meaning of his words is decisive: Christ tells you at once,' 'Your language,' Luther retorted, 'savours of the camp and of bloodshed,'—glancing at the ulterior designs which he supposed to be veiled by the eagerness for unanimity, and yet more obviously alluding to the preparations for battle which had been made by Zurich and Bern against the Forest Cantons in the summer, and all but brought to the test of actual conflict. It was a relief to the Landgrave and all who had harmony and concord at heart, that at this heated time in the discussion, when the argument had degenerated into personal allusion, the combatants were parted by dinner being announced."

Luther here reminds us of the "good old rule, the righteous plan,"

"That they should take which have the power,
And they should keep who can,"

since he attempts to accomplish by his own superior strength,

and by wordy bombast, what should have been sought by more lawful and Christian means. No Pope had ever asserted infallibility—that is, *my* interpretation of Scripture is *the* interpretation of Scripture, and I will allow no other—in a more offensive way, and the Reformer now used the same weapons of theological despotism which he had so long laboured to break when wielded by others. All through life he had the same characteristics, modified indeed by misfortune and sickness, yet continually peeping out. He formed his opinion and would brook no advice; he determined on a course of action, and refused to be controlled by others; qualities which, as we have said, were used and overruled for great purposes in the history of the Church, but which, while furnishing occasion for the exhibition of the wisdom of Divine Providence, still must be considered as blemishes in the man.

The fact is, that Luther's mental character never appears to full advantage except in his great conflict with the papal despotism. In proportion as he is brought into close contact with the Popedom, he rises in our esteem, and we are compelled to view him as God's instrument to humble that system of overgrown misrule; but as he recedes from that centre—as he retires from that platform of energetic action—he becomes like other men, and exhibits frailties which are strikingly contrasted with his masculine character and holy courage in the appropriate field of his exertions. In order to work out more clearly the purpose we have in view in this paper, we must dwell a little longer on these defects of character which, while they did not interfere with his active reforms, stood in the way of his reconstructing that which he laboured to throw down. Our object being to find out Luther's right place in the scale of means employed by God in the governance of his Church: when *that* is discovered we shall the more readily recognize the Hand which employed him, and rise from the humble instrument to the designing *Mind* which condescended to use his services.

We have been struck, in reading Mr. Worsley's interesting life of Luther, with the way in which the Reformer often mistook his own self-will for the will of God; and without any warrant but his own impressions, set aside that moral obedience which is a prime virtue in Christianity. Two instances of this temper we will bring before our readers. The Emperor had granted a safe-conduct to Luther to enable him to appear at Worms, and one of its conditions was, that he was not to preach on the way; a reasonable requirement considering the circumstances of the times, and one which might even have been suggested by a desire for his safety. The way in which he disobeyed

the injunction is thus related by Mr. Worsley, in a passage which will illustrate at the same time the fanaticism of the Reformer and his age, in attributing the most ordinary events to supernatural causes.

"The next day, the 7th of April, was Sunday ; and he was earnestly requested to preach (at Erfurth). The Emperor indeed had prohibited him from preaching on the way, but nothing was clearer to his conscience than that he was bound to obey God rather than man, and that God's Word could not be bound ; and Caspar Sturm, whose inclination to Lutheranism had ripened into a settled persuasion by his intercourse with the Reformer, was not disposed to assert his authority to prevent a step from which he promised a blessing to himself and others. But had he attempted it, it would have been in vain. The little church of the Augustines at Erfurth was filled to overflowing on the report that Luther would preach ; and it is related by Selneccer that in the middle of the sermon part of the outer wall of the sacred building fell down with a loud crash. The congregation were using all haste to escape from the scene of danger ; but Luther, raising his hand and elevating himself in the pulpit, called them back and exhorted them to composure. 'Do you not understand,' he said, 'that this is a machination of Satan to hinder you from listening to the Word of God? Remain : Christ is with us.' They returned to their places, and the Reformer continued his discourse, which treated of the folly of trusting to human merit, and directed a severe censure against the vices of the clergy, amidst perfect tranquillity. It appears that he preached also in other towns and villages, as at Gotha, where Myconius relates that the devil in his wrath threw down some stones from the church gable, which had remained firm for two hundred years ; and Varillas mentions a town by the name of Andors, which is however not to be found in any map, either ancient or modern, where he delivered a sermon with so much effect, that when it was concluded the inhabitants to a man declared themselves converted to the evangelical doctrines."—vol. i., pp. 221-2.

Mr. Worsley does not comment on the disobedience of Luther ; indeed, we gather that he rather approves of it ; but surely a little consideration will shew that it was utterly unjustifiable. It is an evangelical precept that we are to "obey magistrates," and nothing can loosen the obligation but a clear command from the Divine Lawgiver, which no one will affirm Luther had. He acted on the impulse of self-will, as men have so often done since who have interpreted their own wishes and impressions into a divine call ; whereas if the will of God could be gathered from all the circumstances of the case before us, it was that Luther should obey the Emperor. That prudence which the Gospel inculcates, and which our Lord and his disciples put in practice, demanded that the civil powers at that time should be propitiated rather than irritated ; and that an

example should be set to all around of the compatibility of the reforming doctrines with obedience to established government. The case was quite different in regard to the papal authority which Luther set at nought, for it had none of the characteristics of that civil rule which God has established, and in many respects was opposed to the plain principles and doctrines of Holy Writ. We should have followed Luther to Worms with more reverence had he laid a restraint on his own inclinations by the way, and not exalted himself to the position of an inspired prophet; and probably if he had exhibited more of the obedience of a citizen with his zeal as a minister of Christ, the disturbances which accompanied the Reformation in Germany would not have occurred. At all events his licence gave encouragement to such men as the Zwickau prophets and Thomas Munzer to act on mere subjective data, for no good reason could be given why Luther alone should have a dispensation to speak and act as he pleased in opposition to legal authority. It is curious to observe, how, when it suited his purpose, Luther could allege the authority of the Emperor in opposition to the wishes of his friends. When Bucer joined with Sickingen to divert Luther from his intention to go to Worms, and his companions urged him to accept the invitation to visit Sickingen's fortress, he never wavered for a moment, but said, "I obey the Emperor's command."

The other instance occurred on his return from Worms, and just before his abduction to the Wartburg :—

"On Tuesday he proceeded to Hirschfeld, the Prince Abbot of which, Crato Milius, a monk of the Benedictine order, sent his chancellor and treasurer to meet him at a distance of a mile from the city, while he himself, with a considerable retinue of horsemen, waited somewhat nearer the town, and conducted him to his palace, the senate welcoming him at the gate. That evening Luther was sumptuously lodged by the Abbot; it was insisted that he should occupy for the night the Abbot's own bed; and the next morning, at five o'clock, in compliance with entreaties which would not admit of refusal, *although he candidly stated the imperial prohibition* and the danger involved in disregarding it, he preached to the Abbot and his court in the Church. The evening of the same day, Wednesday, he prosecuted his journey as far as Eisenach, whence he wrote a hurried account to Count Albert of Mansfeld of what had passed at Worms; and here too he again ascended the pulpit, and preached those truths for proclaiming which he had already been excommunicated, and was shortly to be outlawed. The curate with a notary and two witnesses at his side, stood trembling at the door of the Church, and interposed his protest; but merely with the object of screening himself from the consequences of acquiescing in an illegal act."—vol. i., pp. 264-5.

All this seems to us to be bad, calculated to throw fresh

obstacles in the way of reform, and to damage a good cause. No doubt the curate *ought* to have begged Luther to refrain from preaching, and Luther *ought* to have submitted. There was another infirmity which beset this great man, and arose in great measure from his indomitable obstinacy, viz., his inability to give credit for good and conscientious motives to those who could not follow him in his enthusiastic progress. We are not sure that the cause Luther espoused did not ultimately suffer by his being so much of an autocrat in conducting it—by his appearing always at the sole *fons et origo* of every movement; we incline to believe that if his zeal had been tempered, not repressed, by the wisdom and discretion of others, a nobler monument of his labours would have remained to this day. We could have wished Mr. Worsley had taken this view in some degree, so as to have given more credit to others in exalting Luther. What we mean may be gathered from the following passage:—

“Not, however, that amidst continual proofs of the popular enthusiasm, Luther’s feelings were not painfully lacerated by instances of individual timidity. Staupitz, who was receding further and further from Luther, as the Reformer’s doctrines were more clearly developing and becoming more and more decidedly Anti-Romanist, had been accused to his friend the Archbishop of Salzburg, by the Pope, as an ally of the Wittenberg monk, and in reply had declared his submission to the Holy See. So much was the Reformer grieved at this pusillanimity, that he addressed a letter on the subject to Staupitz, in which affection seems to vie with remonstrance. ‘*You* have too much humility, and *I* have too much pride. Let me be found guilty of every sin there is or can be rather than of impious silence at a time like the present, when Christ is in his agony, and says, “I looked on my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man that would know me.” I fear that you will continue to vacillate midway between Christ and the Pope, who are diametrically opposed. Indeed I am not a little vexed at your recent submission, whereby you have shewn yourself another man from the Staupitz who once preached grace and the cross. Philip salutes you, and prays for you an increase of courage. Your son, Martin Luther.’ Reuchlin also shewed himself very cautious, and requested Melancthon not to write to him, that he might not incur suspicion.”—vol. i., pp. 216-7.

Considering that Luther himself had often great heaviness of spirit, fearing lest he should be going too far, and that to the last he retained considerable deference to what was old and established, we think more charity should have been exercised towards men like Staupitz. It must be remembered that the men of that day had not the light of long experience to guide them as we have, and that *reformation* then appeared to many to be all that was needed to place the Church in a healthy position

without organic changes. Then, further, parties were for going to extremes, and prudence might most laudably go hand in hand with piety, so as to prevent or avoid the consequences of wild and extravagant zeal. In the very next paragraph to that we have quoted, Mr. Worsley relates that "there were others who were for wildly rushing into the counter-extreme, and settling religious differences by the sword." Hutten is mentioned, "the little valiant knight," whose counsels were for war. Everywhere there were indications that if Luther was doing good, tares were springing up among the wheat, in the shape of religious licentiousness and civil commotion. In such circumstances we can conceive of men pausing and even retreating somewhat from the position Luther had taken up, and yet being as devout and courageous as he, but more cautious. It is the fashion, we know, in conducting and recording revolutions to stigmatize all prudent persons as cowards, but we think Christianity teaches us a different doctrine.

We must trespass on the patience of our readers while we bring forward under this head Luther's treatment of Erasmus. We are not going to enter on any defence of that learned man, for we are fully conscious of his faults of character, but all we mean to point out is, that the way the Reformer spoke of him was not consistent with Christian charity, and certainly not calculated to win over to his cause the timorous and wavering, or even those who possessed true Christian discretion. In the following passage we can hardly refrain from smiling at the way in which Luther charges the outbreaks of fanaticism on Erasmus, when it is so plain that he himself paved the way for it by the frequent extravagance of his words and conduct:—

"It was, moreover, to Erasmus that Luther imputed the rapid increase of sceptical opinions in Germany. At Munster, Anabaptism had raised its stronghold, and the tenets of Munzer and the Zwickau fanatics were carried out to their full political and moral consequences, under the government of a tailor from Leyden, John Bockelson, more commonly called John of Leyden, who had been proclaimed king. Community of women and goods of all kinds had been established, and a filthiness degrading human nature below the brute was defended by the pretence of immediate inspiration. Happily in June of the following year, the efforts of the Bishop of Munster were seconded by the Landgrave and the Elector of Saxony. The city was surrendered; and the ringleaders of fanaticism were made a terrible example for the warning and instruction of others. In other parts of Germany, the doctrines of the incarnation of the Son of God, of the Trinity, and all the distinctive articles of the Christian faith, were called into question, or exposed to ridicule. In all this, Luther perceived so many proofs of the depraved influence which the scholar of Basle was exercising on public taste and religious ideas. 'Erasmus,' he

said, 'was the palmer-worm, who had crept into the paradise of the Church, and had filled every leaf with his maggots.' Accordingly, in the spring of 1534, he assailed this prop and pillar of scepticism in a tract published under the form of a letter to Amsdorf. 'It was the levity,' he said, 'with which Erasmus treated the most sacred subjects which had induced him before to give him a sharp prick, in the hope of rousing him from his snoring, and awakening him to sober reflection. But all had been in vain, and he had only provoked the viper to produce the viper-asp. He had now learnt that Erasmus's defect was not simply levity, but far worse,—malice and an entire ignorance of Christianity. To Erasmus, the Trinity, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the depravity of man, the redemption of man, the resurrection of the body, and all the peculiar doctrines of the Christian faith, were matter for jest. His catechism for children contained the question,—'Why in the Apostle's Creed is the Father called God; the Son, not God, but Lord; the Spirit, neither God nor Lord, but only Holy?' This was to children! Why here was Satan himself! as of old, disputing God's Word, and insinuating the doubt—"Thou shall not surely die!"' He then reviewed the writings of Erasmus, pointing out their sceptical tendency; and concluded by saying that Erasmus himself was unworthy of an answer: he had enough to do in teaching others, above all in translating the Scriptures—a work which itself required his full energies, to forsake important duties to catch at clouds and emptiness. But he would leave his testimony concerning Erasmus. Erasmus replied to this letter with his usual acerbity. And Melancthon lamented 'the petulance of old age' in both his great contemporaries. The following memorandum appears among Luther's correspondence,—'Erasmus, the foe of all religion, and the pre-eminent adversary of Christ, is the exact pattern and copy of Lucian and Epicurus. I, Martin Luther, with my own hand enjoin thee, my dearest son John, and through thee all my children, and all the children of Christ's Church, to lay this deep in your heart. It is no light thing.'

For what purpose have we thus exhibited some of the failings of the great modern apostle of Germany? Not certainly because we do not love and reverence him as a whole, but because we think that God's cause and God's truth demand that in this case the worship of the creature should give place to the worship of God. Luther was, we repeat, raised up to do a specific work, and he did it well; but while we acknowledge this we cannot admit that he was perfect—*totus teres et rotundus*—we rather look upon him as peculiarly frail when that special duty was accomplished, or when he turned to other matters in the discharge of it. We feel disposed often to compare him with Samson, whom the Spirit of God moved to perplex and destroy the Philistines, but who, when there were no gates of Gaza to carry away, and no destined enemies to smite "hip and thigh," exhibited the weaknesses of other men. But we cannot compare him with the holy apostles of our Lord, as some do, for

then we find how immeasurably inferior are all *ordinary* agents employed by Divine Providence to those who were supernaturally endowed for their work, and inspired to perform it. Yet how much more does Luther occupy of the field of vision in relation to the Reformation, than did St. Peter and St. John in relation to the successes of the early Church ! With the believers of the first ages Christ and Christianity were everything, and the apostles held a lowly place ; with the Christians of these last centuries, Luther is first, and Christ and his cause are often less thought of and spoken of than he is !

Looked at in relation to the prime work of his life—the depression of the arrogance of the papacy, Luther will ever take his place among the noble army of martyrs, although he was not called to shed his blood, as he was willing to do, and often expected he should. But when he becomes the head of a sect, and men call themselves after his name, he is placed in a different position, in which his weaknesses become manifest, and the shortcomings of his labours appear conspicuous. The characters of great men are often depreciated, and even actually injured, by their attempting too much, and thus shifting themselves from the position which they have occupied with glory and renown ; and where this leaving of their proper field of action is not voluntary, it is often forced upon them by others, as in the case of Luther. Perhaps it is too much to expect that either Luther or his disciples should have known where to stop, amidst the great excitements of their day, and the disorganization of society which had taken place ; but as we recede from those times, and take a calm and unprejudiced view of the Reformer's life and character, we may see that he went beyond the work committed him to do, and that to have stopped short of the goal he ultimately reached would have been true wisdom.

Mr. Worsley has added another to the already numerous biographies of Luther, and we have read it with fresh interest and admiration ; but we will candidly confess that the impressions made upon us have not been favourable to that great man as a whole, or viewed apart from his active opposition to the abuses of Rome. Raised up by a course of Providential training, and endowed, as we have seen, with a daring courage and persistent determination of purpose, he exactly filled up a position which waited both for the hour and the man, and for which he only, of all his known contemporaries, was thoroughly qualified. Others had seen, as clearly as he had, the vitiated state both of ecclesiastical law and discipline and of religious life ;—others had mourned in secret, as he did, over the abuses and sufferings of Christianity, and had prayed as earnestly to heaven

for deliverance; but in all others of his day those elements of character were wanting which could bring all this private feeling and conviction to bear upon public life, and make them operative in the events of the age. As the energy of Saul of Tarsus when a persecutor was sanctified and employed by our Lord to make him valiant for the truth, and a preacher of the faith he once destroyed; so Luther's natural firmness and pugnacity were impressed into the service of the Church by the same Master at the very point and crisis of affairs when only such a mind could, humanly speaking, do what was wanting. View Luther in this light, and there is a grandeur about him which cannot well be surpassed: and whether burning the Pope's Bull at Wittenberg, or refusing to recant before the Diet of Worms, we see in him a manifest instrument of Divine Providence working out great and worthy ends. As the designer of a statue in bronze or marble chooses the loftiest point in the history of his hero, and places him there in the conception which his chisel is to embody and work out; so the historian—the moral describer and artificer—will always portray Luther as a public character, as he appeared at those great epochs of his life.

But when we contemplate Luther as a private man, or even as the acknowledged head of the Protestant states of Germany, his greatness melts away, and he becomes like ordinary mortals. As the greatest warriors in the field have been unable to maintain equal *prestige* in the senate or in private life, so Luther manifested an unfitness to control and direct safely the perturbed elements which he had aided in throwing into confusion. He would be a dictator, in circumstances which demanded the deliberation of many counsellors; he was dogmatic and overbearing among minds in many respects more wise than his own; he was coarse and uncharitable at a time when such qualities were but too common, and required repression and not culture. Luther combatting with the most holy Father, and fulminating the righteous indignation of all good men against the lawless rapacity of the papacy, takes his place with the heroes of all time, and will ever hold it; but Luther at Wittenberg, organizing the Church after his own fashion, quarrelling with Zwingle and abusing Erasmus, becomes but a little man after all—little, we mean, as compared with the towering height we have before seen him to possess.

Not that Luther's private life is destitute of deep interest; far from it. We know no more pleasing pictures than are presented by his occupancy of the old religious home at Wittenberg, his homely and playful intercourse with Kate and the little Luthers, and his conversations with the many fine characters

who visited him, as described in his *Table Talk*. Two pictures of this still life are given by Mr. Worsley, which we will copy as both interesting in themselves and as bearing out our commendations. The first concerns Luther's *public* character in his privacy; that is, it exhibits him at home, and yet transacting and discussing matters of importance with public men.

"He lived in the Augustine convent, as one of the old patriarchs might have sat at his tent door, receiving all who claimed admission. The convent was an open house,—the asylum of the distressed, and the hospital for the sick. Distinguished men from all parts of Europe came to visit the great monk. The social meal was the supper. Luther would come to table, weary with the exhausting labours of many hours, generally with a book in his hand, which, for some while, perhaps, he continued to peruse. The Professors of the University, old friends from remote parts—Henceslaus Luck from Nuremburg, or James Probst from Bremen—strangers on a visit of curiosity, or on an embassy from some court, would gather round the hospitable board. At length Luther would lift his eyes from off his book, and inquire the news; that was the signal that he was disposed for conversation, and until that moment a deferential silence had been observed. The conversation soon became general, the respect entertained for the host being evidenced by the appellation by which he was addressed, even by Melancthon and Jonas, of "Reverend Father." As the conversation advanced, Luther's countenance would become more and more animated; his eyes would wear those inner rays of lustre, which to Luck and others of his fanatical admirers, seemed the divine light of prophecy; the energetic expression of his face would soften into one of broad humour and mirth, and the pith and originality of his remarks would rivet the attention of his guests. Or, the scene, perhaps, would be different; eminent scholars, from distant lands, might be present; and Luther would be inquiring, with the most intense interest and solemn gravity, their judgment on the true translation of a word or phrase in the Hebrew Bible, probably the very book he had brought to table with him, and offering his own comments in exchange. The converse ended, Auri-faber, or some other of the company who had listened with open ears, would hasten to commit to paper what Luther had said, and thus add a new page to the accumulating matter of what will ever be ranked as one of the most interesting books in the German tongue—*Luther's Table Talk*. The evening would wind up with a Latin chant, or a German hymn, or a chorus of voices,—Luther's fine tenor distinguishable amongst them, making the rafters of the old refectory echo with the rapture of harmony and the fervour of devotion. After this, if no pressing work was in hand, Luther would at once retire to rest, not forgetting (Antinomian as he has been called!) among his devotions, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten commandments, imploring God to give him grace to keep his law, not only in the letter but in the spirit. He then laid him down in his bed, and employed his last waking thoughts, in meditating on some passage of Scripture."

The other picture gives us Luther in retirement, in the bosom of his family, enjoying humble pleasures, and engaged in common-place pursuits. On gazing upon it we may observe, what is often exhibited, the quiet and child-like goodness which characterized the fierce polemical theologian when no adversary was near:—the lion playing with its cubs, and concealing the formidable talons, which could, on occasion, do so much mischief.

“ His domestic life, like his character, was the growth of his religious doctrines. He was tenderly attached to Kate, and always spoke of her as the very partner suited to him. ‘ If he should lose her, and a queen should be offered to him, he would refuse her.’ And although he called her his ‘ Lord Kate,’ or ‘ Emperor Kate,’ jesting at the love of rule common to the sex—he praised her submissiveness and obedience. Household matters he left entirely to her management, for he regarded these as the wife’s special province. ‘ Man,’ he said, ‘ is created with broad shoulders and narrow hips, for activity in the world ; woman with narrow shoulders and broad hips, for staying at home in her proper domestic sphere, guiding the house, and bringing up children.’ And the internal arrangement of the Augustine Convent gave Kate quite enough to do. To a friend who had inquired of Luther what present would be most acceptable to him, he replied, ‘ That he was in want of a candelabrum ;’ but he added, ‘ you know what sort of a house mine is ; let it be a candelabrum that will stand being knocked up and down stairs ; and it will answer the purpose better, if it can clean itself.’ The garden was under Luther’s own supervision ; he delighted in flowers, which he liked to see as he was studying, on the table near him ; and he especially admired the rose. ‘ The man who could make one such flower would deserve an empire ;’ and the burst and bloom of vegetation always reminded him of redemption and the resurrection. He was an indulgent, but a strict and vigilant father : for the parent, he declared, that neglected to train his children in God’s ways, and to restrain them from evil, was ‘ worse than Turk or Tartar.’ He spoke of the Book of Proverbs as the best book on Economics in the world ; and ‘ its whole substance is summed up in this : ‘ Fear God.’ He greatly valued the classical languages, uniformly regretting his own deficient education, which had debarred him from the study of the Greek poets and historians ; and of all studies, poetry, he said, was his favourite. Mirth, jests, good cheer, pastimes, and music, he regarded as capital expedients for driving away the ‘ proud melancholy Satan.’ Hence the frequent references in his correspondence to what he ate and drank ; in such allusions he was scoffing at Satan. Mathesius relates, that before going to bed he would sometimes call for a glass of must, with an apology to the bystanders : ‘ Old men, like the Elector and myself, have to find pillow and bolster in the can.’ But Mathesius agrees with Melancthon in representing him as singularly abstemious and temperate. And although Luther could not see the sin of dances or acting plays, insisting that to be unworldly is to get the world out of one’s self, yet in everything the prevailing passion

rose to surface. As when out for the chase, he pursued theology : so his musical compositions, his famous Hymn, and the Old Hundredth, are the lasting echoes of his solemn and elevated strain for piety."

An excess of subjectivity may be considered as Luther's prime defect, and as it coloured the acts of his life, so it has left its impress on the religious mind of Germany to the present day. While he lived, all must have upon it the mark of Luther, and when he died, that mark had been too deeply wrought in to be easily obliterated, even if the task had been attempted. But, unhappily, the teacher and the taught had both agreed "to mark the marble with their name"—to put their own "image and superscription" on what had been done in the way of reformation, and so they called it *Lutheranism*. The example of the Holy Apostles, and the express prohibition of St. Paul, were alike forgotten as deprecating party-spirit in opposition to Catholicity; and as Germany had its fanatical sects in abundance, each bearing the name of its founder on its banner, so the more orthodox Protestants determined to take the name of Luther, to adopt all his doctrines, and to swear by his opinions. Very different was the state of things in England contemporaneously with the Reformation in Germany, for although Cranmer was the chief agent in bringing about a re-organization of the English Church, his labour never incurred the risk of being called Cranmerism. The English Archbishop and his co-adjutors in the great work then accomplished, were entirely different in the complexion of their minds from their German neighbour, and their great *objectivity* saved them from his errors. They desired to reform only, not to recreate, while Luther aimed at the latter; they intensely meditated on the past, Luther was too much engrossed by the present; they sought for precedents in the pure and primitive state of the Church, Luther was satisfied with the Bible as interpreted by himself, and therefore, as a matter of course, often read wrong. To give the name of Lutheranism to the new Church state of Germany seemed inevitable and almost proper, because that state *was* new; but to have called the reformed Church of England Cranmerism, would have been an entire misnomer, since what was new was but minute compared with the old.

The same remark holds good when we leave the champions of reform in their silent tombs, and turn to the relative results of their labours. By grouping the great truths of Christianity around the name of Luther, his followers introduced a disintegrating element in their ecclesiastical polity, which was not long in developing its pernicious influence. How sad is the reflection that on the continent of Europe the harvest of the Reformation

was principally gathered in in one age, and that from Luther's time to this the Papacy has rather increased than lost its power! All the previous conflict and discussion, all the earnest longing for a General Council, was rendered nearly useless when that Council really assembled at Trent, because by that time Lutheranism was established, and as a separate sect could use no influence in that august assembly. But we must leave that topic, which would require far more space to do it justice than we can now command, and call the attention of our readers rather to the results of Lutheranism in Germany after the Reformer's death, and the dependence of these results on his individual mind. How an almost entire scepticism occupied the countries which acknowledged Luther's opinions as their standard of doctrine and practice; how all objective truth came to be neglected, then argued against, then denied—are matters of history; facts which have been patent down even to our own times. How far, it may properly be asked, can these sad results be traced up to Luther?

In breaking loose from the moorings of Catholicity, and desiring for himself and his followers an ecclesiastical organization, Luther acknowledged this principle:—that during the Papacy the Church of Christ had entirely lost its genuine form, and that instead of clearing away the ruins, and endeavouring to find the original temple, it was better to build afresh with the stones and wood scattered around. Now this is a mode of operation which exactly falls in with human pride; with that supremacy of the intellect which has always been man's greatest idol and snare, and against which the sacred writers of the New Testament so constantly guard us. If it were competent to Luther to find out a form of religion for himself, why should not his followers imitate his example? They did imitate it, and with fatal results, which history has chronicled for the warning of coming ages; for they gradually made Christianity a matter of opinion, varying with the character of the mind which undertook to criticize it and to decide upon it. The ancient landmarks being removed, license was soon introduced under the names of free thought and liberality of sentiment, until only the political and legally-defined skeleton of the Church remained, destitute of its animating soul. The law had said that the Lutheran clergy must, in order to retain their livings, profess certain doctrines, and conform to a fixed ritual, and they did so, but the constantly paraded example of their head and chief operated too potently to secure the integrity of his doctrinal sentiments among them. Reverence for the past—such a deference to the fixed opinions and practices of the early ages of the

Church as the most critical temper must admit to be both natural and desirable, had been discarded by Lutheranism, and, as the result of this, we think, it generated Rationalism and Neology.

In the English Church, on the contrary, doctrines had never been put forth as those of any man; practices had never been enforced upon others as originating with individuals. The Bible as interpreted in the purest ages—the ritual of ancient Christendom purified from papal and unscriptural additions—these were the *professed* standards of her reformers, which stood forth with a prominence which they have ever since retained in our country, and which have had a constant and marked influence on the steadiness with which, on the whole, Catholic truth has been maintained among us, both in the Church and by those who dissent from her. We believe that if it had been possible for Cranmer to have given much of what was his own subjectivity to the English Reformation, and for Englishmen then to have called their Church Polity Cranmerism, the effects would have been as marked here as they were in Germany. We cannot “pin our faith to the sleeve” of any man, unless he were inspired and commissioned of Heaven to instruct us, without its becoming a mere human thing in the end; and even the names of Paul and Apollos and Cephas, used as party words, would, we may learn from Scripture, have blighted the piety of those who adopted them. “Those who honour me,” says God, “I will honour, but they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed;” and to put our own name, or that of any human being, to the Church of Christ, is, we maintain, a despising of the Author and Finisher of our faith. Are we wrong in attributing it as a failing in Luther that he placed self too highly in his treatment of the Church? Are we wrong in attributing to the influence of this pernicious example the subsequent unhappy fate of Lutheranism?

It will be understood, we hope, that all we have said must be taken in reference to Luther’s greatness in the prime work of his life; not with regard to him as a man of ordinary moral stature or intellectual power. Had Luther never appeared as a Reformer in the first rank, but followed in the rear of others, as Melancthon did in his, there are excellencies enough in him to have made his life memorable for all time; a piece of biography which must interest young and old as long as Christianity shall delight to honour its master-minds. The very things which, perhaps, made him unfit to reconstruct what he had assisted in throwing down,—his warmth of temper and his disregard of the opinions of others—confer a charm on his conversation, and give

life to his biography. Few men have so many points of interest during a long career as Luther had, and when his life is read as that of a member of the clerical body and of general society, it has a great fascination about it. His love of children, of music, and of flowers, prove that his happiness was not dependent on great things, or existing circumstances. His disregard of wealth, and the luxuries it can procure, attest the singleness of his purpose as a holy and spiritual man; and his expansive benevolence to those in distress and sorrow, more than make compensation for the almost savageness of his treatment of his public adversaries.

It is thus, perhaps, a misfortune, that Luther has to be contemplated in two aspects so opposed to each other, as a reformer of public abuses, and a reconstructor of what had been thrown down; but such contrasts are inevitable in public men, and we can only avoid the inferences arising from them by a blind worship of their subjects. It is not in mortal man to exhibit perfection; and God has not interfered supernaturally, since the Apostolic age, to endow the instruments of his purposes with extraordinary and untarnished gifts. It shews a temper more allied to party spirit than to truth, when men seek to make idols of their "spiritual pastors and masters," and resent any exhibition of their frailties. Why should it be thought a wrong to the memory of Luther to record his frailties and failings, when he was, in his own opinion, so eminently compassed with infirmity? If three centuries do not enable us to view events and characters with an unprejudiced eye nothing will, and history, instead of instructing and correcting us, must be made to flatter our spirit of partizanship.

Luther has long since formed judgments of men and things far different from those which he so pertinaciously adhered to while a tenant of this lower world. May we not believe that many of those whose salvation he so rashly affirmed to be impossible, have long since held communion with him in that state in which the souls of the redeemed wait for their perfect consummation and bliss at the appearing of their Lord? If we, still the denizens of a land of intellectual mists and shadows, have to correct the past in the light of the present, how much more must disembodied spirits see to alter in their former cherished convictions? Erasmus, Zwingli, and Luther, could not harmonize on earth, because their souls looked out through the flesh, and saw things variously, in many respects, no doubt, apart from anything wrong in their opposite convictions. In estimating, therefore, the characters of great men engaged in the work of the Church of Christ, we should endeavour to raise

ourselves from the low platform of their exertions, to the elevated position they now occupy, and from which they judge impartially of all they did, wrote, and said. Solemn consideration ! adapted well to make us faithful to their memories, and to guard ourselves against the faults into which they fell !

It will tend, more than anything else, to enable us to form a right estimate of Luther, to remember that, after all, the Reformation of the sixteenth century will not always occupy the same rank as an event in the history of the Church, as it has done from that day to this. The Church of Christ may have an existence of some thousands of years, and its history will then have to be surveyed from points of view of which now we can form no conception. Luther evidently thought the world was not destined to last long, and it was thus quite natural that he should infer the greatness of the crisis in which he was called to labour. Most Christian minds at the present day entertain a somewhat similar idea ; they think these are the last days, and therefore the Papacy occupies much of their field of vision, either as a series of crimes on the part of those who belong to it, or of all-important struggles on the side of its opponents. This view may be a correct one, but we do not know that it is. What appears so great to us now may have to be viewed by our descendants as we look upon the conflicts of the early ages of the Church—the age of Athanasius and Arius for instance. Should such be really the case, then Luther and his contemporaries will have to be considered on a vastly wider field, and, while always taking their places in history, will cease to be the rallying-points of partizans.

Our task is now accomplished, and we may turn briefly to consider a little more closely the work of Mr. Worsley, which has been the text for our rather long homily. That an opening existed for something new on this subject, we think the author has established in the following paragraph of his Preface :—

“ The *Life of Martin Luther* now offered to the public, is an attempt to supply a simple, impartial, and truthful narrative of the great Reformer’s public acts and personal and domestic history in a succinct and readable form. Although many biographies of Luther existed previously in foreign languages, it would be difficult to point out one which is in any measure a complete work, or aims at being such ; for the custom has been to dilate on the early portions of the Reformer’s career, and to finish off the remainder of the story in a few pages or paragraphs. There is indeed no instance between the *Life of Luther* by Kiel, and perhaps one or two more works of the same kind, which has even aspired to a chronological arrangement. To the majority of readers, what is known of Luther has

probably been derived from the popular work of D'Aubigné, an interesting and graphic, as well as able history, which no candid person would be willing to depreciate;^c but besides that it is a history of the Reformation, and not of its principal agent, it does not carry down the narrative lower than the Diet of Augsburg, and Luther's life was extended nearly as much as sixteen years beyond that date. Whether, however, the present biography has supplied the desideratum which has unquestionably existed, can only be determined by the unbiassed judgment of the public."

We quite concede to Mr. Worsley that he has "supplied a desideratum;" and we thank him for doing so. But he has done still better service by presenting the character of Luther rather more fairly than has been done by others,—D'Aubigné, for instance. He is evidently under the spell which yet binds some of the master spirits of our age, as to Luther's almost supernatural powers, and as to some divine perfectness in the work he accomplished:—a spell from which we have endeavoured to shew that we aim to be free:—but at the same time he has a very proper view of the mere human element of the sayings and doings of his hero. Thus, after enumerating some of the acknowledged advantages of the Reformation he proceeds:—

"But these undeniable facts do not constitute any inducement for dealing more tenderly than truth demands with the actions and life of the Reformer, to whom more than any other human agent the achievement of that great religious and intellectual revolution is attributable; for had Luther been as exceptionable a character as Henry VIII. of England, the movement which he originated would nevertheless have to take its stand strictly on its own merits. The endeavour has been to represent Luther such as he actually was; neither to feign motives, nor to suppress facts; but to give his unbiassed story from his birth to the grave, without magnifying his excellences or extenuating his failings."

Enquiry will naturally be made as to the sources of information employed by the author; and as to how far they have been used *primâ manu*. In the first years which follow the death of a man who has been the idol of his age, the *mythical* principle is reversed, and his character is less likely to be soberly looked upon by his contemporaries than by succeeding generations. This seems to have been the case in a special manner with Luther, who could scarcely be viewed as human by those who at first took upon themselves to describe him from the Protestant stand-point. But time has equalized the praises of his friends and the aspersions of his foes, and produced the materials for a

^c We cannot give up pretensions to candour; and yet we must depreciate the work of Dr. Merle D'Aubigné. As a religious romance his history has delighted us; but it is far too much coloured by the author's own mind to claim the character of sober history.

more life-like picture. What these are, as stated by Mr. Worsley, will appear in the following paragraphs, which although long, contain information which may be useful to our readers :—

“The sources of information from which the narrative is drawn are principally the writings of Luther himself, or his contemporaries. The writings of Melancthon, Mathesius, Spalatin, Myconius, Cochläus, and others, are of importance only second to the accounts transmitted by Luther’s own pen. The observations of many contemporaries of what they saw or heard are collected in the careful pages of Seckendorf; and Walch’s German edition of Luther’s works, in twenty-four parts, published at Halle, in 1750, which also contains many documents, public and private, bearing on the Reformation and the great Reformer’s career, has been found of essential service. There is also much to be gathered from the less trodden field of epistolary correspondence; and the familiar letter of Melancthon and Erasmus, and Zwingli and Æcolampadius, are considerable helps towards forming a true estimate of the character of persons and of the times. But Luther’s own writings are, of course, the best and most authentic ground on which to compile his biography. These have been published in various editions, at different times, in Latin and German; but it is a disadvantage that no edition of his works hitherto brought to a close is quite perfect and complete. In the ‘Acts,’ or reports of events, conferences, etc., which appeared at the time from the pen of some Wittenburg writer, and answered the same purpose as the newspaper reports of the present day, and which evidently, from the frequent intermixture of the first with the third personal pronoun, were generally viewed by the Reformer himself, and therefore are authorized versions of what they relate, references are made for the most part either to the Jena or the Altenberg edition of Luther’s works. His references to the Table-talk (*Tischreden*) are to Förstemann’s admirable edition, published at Leipsic in 1844. And great use has been made of De Wette’s excellent edition of Luther’s Letters, published at Berlin in 1825—a source of information altogether invaluable for his biography, as in perusing his unpremeditated familiar correspondence with an infinite variety of characters, monarch and merchant, warrior and scholar, his bosom friends, and his acquaintances of yesterday, the biographer in fact takes his seat at the entrance of his heart, and views character and motives in their spring and well-head.

“But other means of obtaining information, and of arriving at a fair and impartial estimate of acts and opinions have not been overlooked. Amongst these may be mentioned such German and French biographies of Luther as have been accessible, as well as the pages of Seckendorf, Sleidan, Father Paul, Pallavicini, Maimburg, etc., and also the more general histories of the period. And the greatest obligation must be acknowledged to the modern historian Ranke, whose stores of information are as immense as his philosophical instructions are invaluable, and who has enjoyed access to manuscript letters of ambassadors, and others personally engaged in the transactions they record, preserved among the archives of princes and cities, which throw a new light on history.”

These satisfactory data appear to have been faithfully employed, and a work has been constructed which we may safely commend both for the spirit which pervades it and for its execution.

The *Table Talk* of Luther, of which Mr. Bohn has published a cheap edition, must be received with considerable qualification, and can scarcely become the source of history. Yet, *as a whole*, and without building any theory on particular portions, it must be considered as giving much that is true respecting the general character of him whose flying words are recorded. The following extracts are chiefly made in reference to what we have ventured to advance as to some of Luther's mental peculiarities.

Luther's Intolerance.

DCLXXI.

"Erasmus of Rotterdam is the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth. He made several attempts to draw me into his snares, and I should have been in danger, but that God lent me special aid. In 1525, he sent one of his doctors, with 200 Hungarian ducats, as a present to my wife; but I refused to accept them, and enjoined my wife to meddle not in these matters. He is a very Caiphas.

" 'Qui Satanam non odit, amet tua carmina Erasme,
Atque idem jungat furias et mulgeat orcum.' "

DCLLXII.

"Erasmus is very pitiful with his prefaces, though he tries to smooth them over; he appears to see no difference between Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the wise pagan legislator Solon. He sneers at St. Paul and St. John; and ventures to say, that the Epistle to the Romans, whatever it might have been at a former period, is not applicable to the present state of things. Shame upon thee, accursed wretch! 'Tis a mere Momus, making his mows and mocks at everything and everybody, at God and man, at Papist and Protestant, but all the while using such shuffling and double-meaning terms, that no one can lay hold of him to any effectual purpose. Whenever I pray, I pray for a curse upon Erasmus."

DCCCI.

"I wish from my heart Zuinglius could be saved, but I fear the contrary; for Christ has said, that those who deny him shall be damned. God's judgment is sure and certain, and we may safely pronounce it against all the ungodly, unless God reserve unto himself a peculiar privilege and dispensation. Even so, David from his heart wished that his son Absalom might be saved, when he said: 'Absalom my son, Absalom my son,' yet he certainly believed that he was damned, and bewailed him,

not only in that he died corporally, but was also lost everlastingly ; for he knew that he died in rebellion, in incest, and that he had hunted his father out of the kingdom."

Luther's Self-Confidence.

XXXV.

" Bullinger said to me, he was earnest against the sectaries, as contemner's of God's word, and also against those who dwelt too much on the literal word, who, he said, sinned against God and his almighty power, as the Jews did in naming the ark, God. But he who holds a mean between both, apprehends the right use of the word and the sacraments. To which I answered : ' By this error, you separate the word from the spirit ; those who preach and teach the word, from God who works it, the ministers who baptize, from God who commands baptism. You hold that the Holy Ghost is given and works without the word, which word, you say, is an eternal sign and mark to find the spirit that already possesses the heart ; so that, according to you, if the word find not the spirit, but an ungodly person, then it is not God's word ; thus defining and fixing the word, not according to God, who speaks it, but according as people entertain and receive it. You grant that to be God's word, which purifies and brings peace and life ; but when it works not in the ungodly, it is not God's word. You teach that the outward word is as an object or picture, signifying and representing something ; you measure its use only according to the matter, as a human creature speaks for himself ; you will not grant that God's word is an instrument through which the Holy Ghost works and accomplishes his work, and prepares a beginning to righteousness or justification.

" A true Christian must hold for certain that the Word which is delivered and preached to the wicked, the dissemblers, and the ungodly, is as much God's Word as that which is preached to godly, upright Christians, and that the true Christian Church is among sinners, where good and bad are mingled together. And that the Word, whether it produce fruit or no, is, nevertheless, God's strength, which saves all that believe therein. Clearly, it will also judge the ungodly (John c. v.), otherwise, these might plead a good excuse before God, that they ought not to be condemned, since they had not had God's word, and consequently could not have received it. But I teach that the preacher's words, absolutions, and sacraments, are not his words or works, but God's, cleansing, absolving, binding, etc. ; we are but the instruments or assistants, by whom God works. You say, it is the man that preaches, reproves, absolves, comforts, etc., though it is God that cleanses the hearts and forgives ; but I say, God himself preaches, threatens, reproves, affrights, comforts, absolves, administers the sacraments, etc. As our Saviour Christ says : " Whoso heareth you, heareth me ; and what ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," etc. And again : " It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."

" I am sure and certain, when I go up to the pulpit to preach or read, that it is not my word I speak, but that my tongue is the pen of a

ready writer, as the Psalmist has it. God speaks in the prophets and men of God, as St. Peter in his epistle says: "The holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Therefore we must not separate or part God and man, according to our natural reason and understanding. In like manner, every hearer must say: I hear not St. Paul, St. Peter, or a man speak, but God himself.

"If I were addicted to God's Word at all times alike, and always had such love and desire thereunto as sometimes I have, then should I account myself the most blessed man on earth. But the loving apostle, St. Paul, failed also herein, as he complains, with sighs, saying: 'I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind.' Should the Word be false, because it bears not always fruit? The search after the Word has been, from the beginning of the world, the source of great danger; few people can hit it, unless God, through his Holy Spirit, teach it them in their hearts."

"Bullinger, having attentively listened to this discourse, knelt down, and uttered these words, 'O, happy hour that brought me to hear this man of God, the chosen vessel of the Lord, declaring his truth! I abjure and utterly renounce my former errors, thus beaten down by God's infallible Word.' He then arose and threw his arms around Luther's neck, both shedding joyful tears."

Luther's Pugnacity.

CCCIX.

"I never work better than when I am inspired by anger; when I am angry, I can write, pray, and preach well, for then my whole temperament is quickened, my understanding sharpened, and all mundane vexations and temptations depart."

CCCXX.

"Dr. Justus Jonas asked me if the thoughts and words of the prophet Jeremiah were Christianlike, when he cursed the day of his birth. I said: We must now and then wake up our Lord God with such words. Jeremiah had cause to murmur in this way. Did not our Saviour Christ say: 'O faithless and perverse generation. How long shall I be with you, and suffer you.' Moses also took God in hand, where he said: 'Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? Have I conceived all this people? Have I begotten them?'"

Luther's Superstition.

DLXXIV.

"The greatest punishment God can inflict on the wicked, is when the Church, to chastise them, delivers them over to Satan, who, with God's permission, kills them, or makes them undergo great calamities. Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wildernesses, and in dark poorly places, ready to hurt and prejudice people; some are also in the thick black clouds, which cause hail, lightnings, and thunderings, and poison the air, the pastures and grounds. When these things happen, then the philoso-

phers and physicians say, it is natural, ascribing it to the planets, and shewing I know not what reasons for such misfortunes and plagues as ensue."

DLXXXI.

"August 25, 1538, the conversation fell upon witches who spoil milk, eggs, and butter in farm-yards. Dr. Luther said: 'I should have no compassion on these witches; I would burn all of them. We read in the old law, that the priests threw the first stone at such malefactors. 'Tis said this stolen butter turns rancid, and falls to the ground when any one goes to eat it. He who attempts to counteract and chastise these witches, is himself corporeally plagued and tormented by their master, the devil. Sundry schoolmasters and ministers have often experienced this. Our ordinary sins offend and anger God. What, then, must be his wrath against witchcraft, which we may justly designate high treason against divine majesty, a revolt against the infinite power of God. The juriconsults who have so learnedly and pertinently treated of rebellion, affirm that the subject who rebels against his sovereign, is worthy of death. Does not witchcraft, then, merit death, which is a revolt of the creature against the Creator, a denial to God of the authority it accords to the demon?'"

DLXXXII.

"Dr. Luther discoursed at length concerning witchcraft and charms. He said, that his mother had had to undergo infinite annoyance from one of her neighbours, who was a witch, and whom she was fain to conciliate with all sorts of attentions; for this witch could throw a charm upon children, which made them cry themselves to death. A pastor having punished her for some knavery, she cast a spell upon him by means of some earth upon which he had walked, and which she bewitched. The poor man hereupon fell sick of a malady which no remedy could remove, and shortly after died."

DLXXXIV.

"When I was young, some one told me this story: Satan had, in vain, set all his craft and subtlety at work to separate a married pair that lived together in perfect harmony and love. At last, having concealed a razor under each of their pillows, he visited the husband, disguised as an old woman, and told him that his wife had formed the project of killing him; he next told the same thing to the wife. The husband, finding the razor under his wife's pillow, became furious with anger at her supposed wickedness, and cut her throat. So powerful is Satan in his malice."

DXCVI.

"The apostle gives this title to the devil: 'That he hath the power of death.' And Christ calls him a murderer. He is so skilled, that he is able to cause death even with the leaf of a tree; he has more boxes and pots full of poisons, wherewith he destroys men, than all the apothecaries in the world have of healing medicine; if one poison will not dispatch, another will. In a word, the power of the devil is greater than we can imagine; 'tis only God's finger can resist him."

DIXVIII.

"Satan plagues and torments people all manner of ways. Some he affrights in their sleep, with heavy dreams and visions, so that the whole body sweats in anguish of heart. Some he leads, sleeping, out of their beds and chambers up into high dangerous places, so that if, by the loving angels who are about them, they were not preserved, he would throw them down, and cause their death. The superstitious Papists say, that these sleep-walkers are persons who have never been baptized; or, if they have been, that the priest was drunk when he administered the sacrament."

Luther's Opinions of the Holy Scriptures.

XXVII.

"Saint John the Evangelist speaks majestically, yet with very plain and simple words; as where he says: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.'

"See how he describes God the Creator, and also his creatures, in plain, clear language, as with a sunbeam. If one of our philosophers or high learned men had described them, what wonderful swelling and high-trotting words would he have paraded, *de ente et essentiâ*, so that no man could have understood what he meant. 'Tis a great lesson, how mighty divine truth is, which presses through, though she be hemmed in ever so closely; the more she is read, the more she moves and takes possession of the heart."

ON THE COMING OF "THE SHILOH"—Gen. xlix. 10.

BISHOP NEWTON says: "However the word 'Shiloh' is explained, whether it signifies '*He who is to be sent*,' or '*the peacemaker*,' or any other of the senses usually given by interpreters, '*the Messiah*' is the person plainly intended; and '*the lawgiver from between the feet*,' means there should not be wanting a judge of the race and posterity of Judah, according to the Hebrew phrase of 'children coming from between the feet,' until the times foretold. The promise meant that that tribe should continue, amongst the departures of all the others, with rulers and judges and governors of its own, till the coming of the Messiah. In their captivity, therefore, they had rulers and governors of their own, and these existed even in our Saviour's time, though their power in capital cases was abridged. The sceptre was then departing, and in about forty years it was totally gone: their city was taken, and from that time they have never formed one body or society, but have lived without a ruler, without a lawgiver, and without supreme authority and government in any part of the earth."

The prophecy is full of obscurity, and truly oracular, and can only be read with a double application, in its two particulars; first, of a departure of an old existing authority in Judah; and next of the departure of a lawgiver out of the earthly state of that family, in the sense of a new beginning to a future dominion;—as the Scripture writes of the departure of Ashur out of the families of Shinar, "out of that land *went forth* Ashur." (Gen. x. 11.) For so Christ, the true "*Lawgiver*" of the world, went forth out of Judah at the time appointed:—yet, as he had ruled in Judah before his own departure from the earth; for the Scripture declares of that tribe, "Judah is *my* lawgiver;" and that earthly domination in this favoured tribe ceased with our Lord's coming; in that sense, the departure from Judah of its human authority is also conveyed by the prophecy. There is great doubt about the meaning of the "word" Shiloh; which the Septuagint does not apply to a person at all, but to "*a system of things accomplished*;" and we should be glad if some of the Hebraists of the *J. S. L.* would be good enough to say, whether any ambiguity exists in the original of the word which is rendered "*depart*" in the English Version. Cannot it be applied, as we apply the expression to "*go out*" in its two senses of a "local change;" as in the passage above quoted from

Genesis; and in that of "a departure or failure," of an existing state or condition, as the "going out" of a candle? For while the English translation renders the word "depart," as a change of location; the Septuagint renders it by *ἐκλείψει*, which the Latin answers by "*deficiet*," and the English "*fail*;" in the sense of "the going out" of a candle, or an eclipse of the sun's light.

This Greek version is very deserving of attention. "*Ὁνκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα, καὶ ἡγόμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.*" "Non deficiet princeps à Judà et Dux à femoribus ejus, donec veniant quæ ei sunt reposita; et ipse est expectatio Gentium." As we would interpret the verb of this sentence, the parallel expressions, *ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα*, and *ἡγόμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ*, must have different applications. For if we could say, "*go out from*," in the sense of a new origination out of this tribe, we should render it thus, "A prince shall not go forth out of Judah, and a ruler from between his feet, or that is born of his tribe, until the things ordained, to be fulfilled by that tribe, have been accomplished; and that prince and ruler, who shall go forth, is he whom the Gentiles expect." This sense is very clear; but if we adopt the other sense, or the English "*fail*," the words *ἄρχων* and *ἡγόμενος* must have, not an indefinite meaning, but an application to some specific person; and then the reading must be,—“The prince of the tribe of Judah, and ruler born of his tribe, who is that ruler the Gentiles expect, shall not fail to Judah until,” etc. For the word "*fail*" can only apply to what has gone before, and that sceptre which Judah had held over the Jewish people. But of such a sceptre or dominion in its Jewish development, it could never be said that it formed the expectation of the Gentiles; and it is obvious the oracular finger points to a *particular person*, who should be he, in whom that power should fail or cease from its past development; and then the definite article must be supplied:—the double sense indicating in that person, both the termination in him of the sceptre and authority of Judah, and the origin of another power, which would be that the Gentiles looked for. The two applications are so suitable to the events, that it seems probable both were intended; and if the verb has at all a doubtful or double intention in it, it may be taken that such is the case.

But the inference that follows necessarily is, that "*the failure*" of the sceptre and ruler took place in the very person of our Lord; as well as the "*going forth*" of the new authority into the world. And in that view it is of some importance, that the events of our Lord's condemnation and of his death should

be assigned to their proper powers; in order to make it evident that the condemnation took place under the sceptre which was still existing in himself, though he was hidden from the eyes of his people in his true character. The history, we think, does shew that Christ was condemned by the high priests and council; and that the execution of the sentence only was that which took place under the Roman governor, after he had been delivered over to him by that assembly. The point in that account, when the "sceptre" departed from Judah, will therefore be found in that incident, which is stated in St. John's narrative, when Pilate finally put the question to the rulers, "Shall I crucify your King?—and the chief priests answered, We have no king but Cæsar:—and then delivered he him therefore to be crucified" (John xix. 15). St. Matthew plainly shews that this delivery was to the soldiers,—“then released he Barabbas unto them, and when he had scourged Jesus he delivered him to be crucified: then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus,” etc. All the commentators consider that the Roman soldiery were engaged in the capture of our Lord in the garden of Gethsemane: it seems to us that such could not be the case; and that it militates against the above prophecy, that the full judicial power should be in the Jews up to the last act of that fatal drama; which, by that authority in its usurped phase, delivered the Lord of Life into the hands of the destroyer; and with their king surrendered the dominion of their own nation into the same captivity.

Under this view it becomes a question of considerable interest, whether the general view of commentators on this history, that the arrest of our Lord was made by the aid of the Roman power, may not be an erroneous one. The first delivery of Jesus to the soldiers of the governor appears to us, as we have said, to be clearly intimated to be after the final rejection of those appeals which Pilate made for the release of our Lord and the sacrifice of Barabbas; and the first 'access' of our Lord's case to his tribunal, appears equally plainly intimated, as proceeding from the Jews' own delivery of him to Pilate, who says to them in the first instance, "*Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people*" (Luke xxiii. 14).

That our Lord was condemned by the judgment of the *Jewish Council* can hardly be disputed. They sought false witness against him to put him to death; and when they could not succeed in that course, the high priest's adjuration of our Lord himself obtained the witness he required. "What need have we of witnesses," he said; "behold now ye have heard his blasphemy, what think ye?" And *the Council* answered and

said, "He is guilty of death" (Matt. xxvi. 66). This was the sentence of a legal condemnation; and under the old law, such a sentence was followed by the condemned person being led out of the city, and stoned by the people: and though the Romans had reserved the power of the law to themselves in its execution, its decrees were not disregarded, but executed under examination of their propriety by the military power: in the same way as the decrees of the Roman Church were executed by the civil powers of the middle ages, upon delivering one of their condemned criminals with a proper libel or record of the condemnation. Complete evidence is given of this act of condemnation by the '*Council*' in what follows; that "then did they spit upon him and buffeted him;" for this was the licence exercised to a criminal under condemnation. The act of Judas bespeaks the same completeness of the fiat of condemnation; for the account of his end is; "that when he saw our Lord was condemned," he took steps to have the decree changed, by declaring that his own testimony was false; which he would not have fallen into despair about, if any appeal had been open to another tribunal; *or that Pilate could have reversed the sentence.* For he would have gone to Pilate, and made confession of his falsehood there. Having condemned our Lord, upon his own confession, the history continues; "when the morning was come, the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death." Having *already condemned him*, they proceeded to take the necessary steps to have their judgment executed. So "they bound Jesus, and led him at once to Pontius Pilate the governor." There, he is indeed interrogated by the Roman ruler as to the charge made against him, and the cause of his condemnation enquired into; but there is nothing like a trial of the charge before Pilate, nor anything more shewn than a ministerial function, acting with supreme authority indeed, but under that sort of conventional trust, which obliged the provincial governors to observe the local laws of their provinces as far as might be. It is plain Pilate saw from the first that the charge was a malicious one, and endeavoured to avoid executing it; and while he felt bound to execute a decree, legally made by the local authorities, he did everything in his power to turn the obligation aside, and escape from the necessity imposed upon him: his endeavour to avail himself of the paschal amnesty to one criminal, shews this in the most absolute manner; for it was a plain confession that our Lord was under a legal sentence of death, from which that customary amnesty alone could save him.

The whole character of the proceeding is shewn by St. John's

gospel, in the two instances where Pilate attempts to excuse himself from executing the sentence. First, when on Jesus being brought into the hall of judgment, he asks the high priest and those that had led our Lord to him, "What accusation bring you against this man?" to which they respond, "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee;" plainly claiming the right of adjudicating upon him: "then said Pilate, Take him and judge him according to your law." From this, it is plain that this colloquy was the first notice the governor had of the pending litigation; for the council which he recommends had already met and tried the case, to which it was evident Pilate was not privy; he could not therefore have used his military power in the first part of the proceedings. But the Jews, taking the case as it stood, answered him in reference solely to the execution of their sentence; for they replied to Pilate's suggestion, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." After this Pilate entered upon the enquiries he made of our Lord himself; for though the council had condemned our Lord upon the ground of blasphemy, and for that sought his death, it is plain they first made the charge of a treason to the Roman supremacy the ground of their delivering him up for punishment by the Roman power; for Pilate's enquiries are at once directed to that point, "art thou the King of the Jews?" He was soon satisfied, upon our Lord's declaring that he was such a King, but that his kingdom was not of this world, that the Being who stood before him was no temporal rival of the Roman power, but if of any authority at all, it was only of such as was of a divine nature. After this St. Matthew relates that Pilate endeavoured to get our Lord released under the paschal amnesty; but that, when the people chose Barabbas, he at once delivered him to the soldiers to be crucified. But St. John makes another stage in the process; and that after the choice of Barabbas, and when Pilate had scourged our Lord and the soldiers had mocked him, he brought Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe, and then again, to the cries of the people to crucify him, "Pilate said, Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him" (John xix. 6). Having thus failed in the charge of treason, "the Jews answered, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." Pilate was then more afraid than before of sacrificing the innocent person before him; and again he went back into the judgment-hall and took our Lord with him, and there again questioned him of himself and his condition; and from thenceforth, says St. John, Pilate sought to release him, but the Jews

cried out, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend;" which when Pilate heard he finally brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the seat of judgment, and said to the Jews, "Behold your King: and the chief priest answered, We have no king but Cæsar: then delivered he him therefore to them to be crucified."

The whole proceeding was an evident controversy between the Roman governor and the Jewish priesthood as to the execution of a judgment; which the latter claimed to have right to pass upon a malefactor against their law, and which at last Pilate submitted to give effect to. St. Luke speaks of the sentence entirely in this way, "And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required" (xxiii. 24).

It is as plain as words can make it, that Pilate was a most unwilling agent in the death of our Lord, and would have excused himself from awarding the judgment he passed upon him. Whether such an obligation existed in the nature of his office to fulfil the decrees of the Jewish council, as may excuse his act before the throne of the Judge Eternal, no mortal may venture to affirm. That a certain obligation lay upon him to execute the judgments of the Jewish rulers was quite necessary, so long as the shadow of a judicial power was left to them; and by a process similar, though perhaps somewhat less formal in its kind, as happened under the writ "*de comburendis hereticis*" in Roman Catholic communities.

The introduction of the Roman military into the antecedent proceedings of the Jewish factions, appears then to be quite out of keeping with the prophetic type of this great event. Its whole character would be lost, if it was not the Jews themselves, but the Roman power, which cut off the Messiah in the midst of his age: his rejection could only be by those who were his own people.

It seems to us then, that the notion of our Lord's capture in the garden by a Roman military force, is an error. There is absolutely nothing in the whole of the accounts, that gives any sanction to that view, except that in one place St. John uses the word, "*chiliarch*," for the officer of the band that took him. That word is undoubtedly applied to military command only in its general acceptation; and it cannot be denied that it occasions great difficulty to the view here contended for: but the question is, whether its use is conclusive against many reasons for supposing it erroneously inserted. Before touching upon St. John's account, however, we will briefly refer to those of the other gospels, relating to the events of our Lord's capture in the garden.

Of these St. Matthew's and St. Mark's are the same; that "immediately while he yet spake (referring to our Lord's conversation with his apostles) came Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude (*ὄχλος πολλός*, a great crowd of people) with swords and staves, from the chief priests, and scribes, and elders of the people," Mark xiv. 43; "and Jesus said unto them, Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and with staves to take me?" (ver. 48). We ask, can this be taken as descriptive of an organized force of military? Would Jesus have observed upon the multitude being armed, if it was a military band;—or would the narrator have called a military guard, a multitude at all? St. Luke follows pretty much in the same track. "While he yet spake, behold a *multitude*, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them." The address of our Lord to this assembly is the same as given by the two preceding evangelists: but St. Luke designates the parties to whom he spoke, as the "chief priests and captains of the temple," *στρατηγὸς τῆ Ἱερῆς*. Now this expression, Schleusner informs us, is rendered in the Syriac, by what is answerable in the Latin to "*Ducibus militiæ templi*," "captains of the militia of the temple;" of which he shews, there was a regular establishment for watch and ward, with numerous officers; whom Josephus, no less than St. Luke, designates *στρατηγοί*: a passage in the Acts, ch. v. 26, calls the subordinate body to these *στρατηγοί, ὑπηρέται*, or "*servants*" in some certain office or ministration. In their ministry as custodes and watchers of the temple, they were essentially the same as our disciplined police. The scripture word for soldiers is uniformly *στρατιῶται*.

St. John's gospel refers to this assembly of captors in two passages; first in chap. xviii. 3, where he relates that "Judas, having received a *band of men and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees*, cometh with lanterns and torches and weapons:" in which the non-military character of the band is still more marked by the accompaniment of the lanterns and torches; which were very suitable to a midnight mob of city constables, but not at all to a Roman guard of soldiery. In this passage the apostle uses the word "*σπεῖραν*," which has a military signification, where soldiers are in question; but has an unimilitary meaning where otherwise employed, and signifies "*a multitude*" or band of people, with as indeterminate a meaning as the English word has; and so exactly answers to a company of irregular police sent upon such a mission. The word, which is englished here, "*officers from the chief priests and Pharisees*," is that which in the Acts denotes the general ministering body or guard of the temple, "*ὑπηρέτας*;" so that we still have the two parts

of such "*a body*" as is spoken of in the Acts; as forming the common "guard," for external duty beyond the precincts of the temple:—namely, the police force and its officers; only St. Luke describes it by the name of captains with their ministering array; and St. John, by that of "the band with its ministering officers from the chief priests;" St. Luke's captains, being select persons out of the superior authorities of the temple; and St. John's ὑπηρέτας, being selected worthies out of the same body, exercising a command over their appointed band.

The descriptions in John xviii. 3, and Acts v. 26, appear then to apply to the very same organized domestic force of the Jewish temple, though varied in the denomination of its divisional elements; and that force exactly answers to the police of the temple, which Schleusner, under the authority of Josephus, describes as the common guard of the priesthood.

The other passage of St. John contains the exceptional word we have referred to, and occurs at ver. 12 of the same eighteenth chapter; only nine verses in fact below the first passage: "Then the band and the captain (χιλιάρχος), and the officers of the Jews took Jesus and bound him, and led him away to Annas." The word '*chiliarch*,' is purely military, and its insertion alters the character of the history from the first account entirely; which of itself is a strong argument against its genuineness. The usual repetition of descriptive particulars so generally found in the sacred writings, and indeed in all ancient writers, where the same things or the same persons are referred to in historical narratives, is here entirely broken through; and the whole transaction is changed in its character by an unusual departure from the historical methods of the period; and this change of description is against the others' accounts of the same transaction, as well as of the antecedent statement of St. John's own account. It seems impossible to account for this except by supposing an interpolation, or some defectiveness in the original manuscript; for there is no discrepancy in the copies on this point, that we are aware of. The subject is one on which conjecture only can be offered; but the words in question occur in a compass and position which might have given rise to the variation, from an accidental abrasion in a single line of the original Gospel. We can only submit the possible case, but will not venture to give an opinion upon the matter in the affirmative. The passage in the first account at verse 3 is thus written:—

Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιέρων καὶ φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας.

If this description were obliterated in the second position in

ver. 12, the restorations might have deviated into its present form: thus the line being found in a mutilated state, as shewn in No. 1, its restoration might have been made by the same number of letters, wrongly as in No. 2, instead of rightly as in No. 3:

- No. 1. *Kal* *αρχ* *αιων υπηρετας,*
 No. 2. *οι χιλι* . . . *ος και των Ιεδ* *υπηρετας,*
 No. 3. *εκ των* . . . *ιερων και φαρισ* *υπηρετας*

and the sentence being restored thus *in situ*, the words *των Ίεδαλων* would have been transposed to the end of the sentence for the sake of the necessary euphony, which the restorer would find to be required in that change of the description. The hypothesis of the erroneous insertion of this word is strongly supported, by finding two subsequent references to the same party in this account of St. John; one, in the history of St. Peter's denial, where it is stated that "the *servants and officers* stood there, who had made a fire of coals and warmed themselves, and Peter stood with them" (xviii. 18); and secondly, where upon our Lord's reply to the high priest, to refer to those who had heard him, "*one of the officers* which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so?" (ib., 22); in both of which the same word is used as in ver. 3, to denote the leaders of the force that took our Lord—namely, the word *υπηρετας*; and it was clearly not a Roman military officer who could either have been with the attendants of the high priest, or have taken upon him the officious duty of correcting a supposed irreverent speech towards the Jewish high priest, by so unsoldierlike a method.

Much stress is laid by commentators upon the word *σπείρα*, a *band*, as if it necessarily meant a military division, which went by that designation. But it is plain the word was as common and indefinite in its application, as its English rendering is with ourselves; and was applied to any congregated body of persons, who were banded together for a common object. In its military use, it probably also meant what in modern use is expressed by "CORPS" or "COMPANY;" and had both a specific and a general sense, as both those words also have in English. For the chiliarchs answered to our lieutenant-colonels, and were the commanders of separate divisions of a legion, consisting of about one-fourth part of its entire strength. Polybius informs us that every legion was divided into four classes, of which there was always one superior division of 600 men; which probably answered to our grenadier company. The rest of the legion was divided into three other divisions of about 1,200 or 1,400

men each; which were under the command of their proper chiliarchs. These divisions were subdivided into ten "*Spiræ*" or bands, which consequently comprised about 120 men in each, and these were commanded by the centurions: three of these spiræ constituted a cohort (Pol., lib. xi., 23). But this appears to have been a temporary formation only for occasional services. Schleusner—verb, *σπεῖρα*—quotes Lepsius, *De Militia Rom.*, lib. i., 4, for his authority, that this *σπεῖρα* was formed of the tenth part of a legion; whereas it was plainly the fortieth part according to Polybius,—being the tenth part of the chiliarchates, or fourth of the entire legion. But in either case the number appears out of all proportion to the occasion of such a midnight capture of our Lord amidst his apostles. It is altogether incredible besides, that if such an armament was necessary to capture our Saviour, it would not have been more necessary at his crucifixion; where the Gospel shews us very plainly, there were only four soldiers present; for the soldiers divided his garments into four parts, to each one of them a part; and for his vesture did they cast lots.

This last fact shews the non-military importance attached to the proceeding by the Roman governor; who consigned that portion of the duty to what we should call in England a common corporal's guard. And taking the whole of the evidences together, it seems to us, that the weight of authority induces a conclusion that the Roman military interfered very little with the events of our Lord's death; and not at all till Pilate, after repeated attempts to dissuade the Jews to desist from their purpose of putting him to death, delivered our Lord over to the common guard on such occasions: a mere quaternion of soldiers, with perhaps the captain of their company in attendance, charged with seeing the execution of the sentence. And this is the more probable, because the prophecy, which timed the departure of the judicial sceptre from the Jews, requires that departure to concur with the exact time, in which the Jews rejected their proper king and condemned themselves to another sceptre, which proved their destroyer. Truly in that cry, "We have no king but Cæsar;" was terribly fulfilled the former things; "that to the people, who refused the waters of Shiloah, that went softly, and rejoiced in Rezin and Remaliah's son, the Lord brought up upon them the waters of the river strong and many: even a king, whose power passed through Judah, and overflowed even unto the neck; the stretching out of whose wings filled the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel!"

H. M. G.

THE LAST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

THE purpose of the following paper is to combine into one consecutive narration the accounts given by the four evangelists of the last year of our Lord's ministry, namely, from the feeding of the five thousand to the triumphal entry into Jerusalem; and in so doing, we shall direct our attention especially to the information which they give us concerning his journeyings during that period.

This is in some respects one of the most perplexing portions of the gospel history to the harmonizer; and that not so much from apparent contradiction between one or another of the evangelists, as from their seeming to move in altogether different spheres of narrative. *Matthew* and *Mark* indeed exhibit a very close parallelism; but *Luke*, who from the commencement of our Lord's ministry, has generally been found in tolerably exact accordance with either one or the other of them, now branches off into an altogether different track, inserting ten chapters which are mainly occupied with the account of our Lord's parables and other discourses, arranging these apparently without any very strict regard to the chronological order, but interspersing here and there a hint of some historical sequence, which it seems difficult to harmonize with that of the two former evangelists. Further, the discourses at Jerusalem, and the increasing hostility to Jesus, shewn by the Jews of Judæa, become now more than ever the one all-absorbing theme of the evangelist *John*, so that we find in his narrative scarcely a trace of that farewell ministry in Galilee, which is the chief subject of the other three.

Before we proceed to unravel this tangled skein, let us say a few words as to the depreciating tone, which has lately been adopted by some scholars, especially by Mr. Alford, in reference to the labours of the harmonizer. With many of his remarks, we agree: and if the definition of the harmonizer necessarily includes the claim to pronounce with dogmatic certainty on the sequence of all the events of the gospel history,—or the arbitrary assumption of the order of one of the four historians, as the only and universally correct order, to which the other three must in all cases of difficulty be twisted and accommodated,—or more absurd still, so slavish a conception of the meaning of the term historic truth, as to imagine himself bound to contend for the two-fold or three-fold occurrence of almost every

miracle and discourse, rather than admit that each of the synoptical gospels sometimes follows the order of *subject* in preference to that of *time*; if these be the necessary fruits of the harmonizer's labour, then we subscribe *ex animo* to Mr. Alford's censure. But the attempt to frame one consolidated narrative out of the four which we possess, honestly stating the difficulties where they arise, and recognizing the low degree of probability which after all our labour will necessarily attend some of our hypotheses: this seems to us an undertaking of a wholly different kind, and one which every enquiring student of the gospels who believes that it is in reality but one life whereof they all bear witness, must necessarily enter upon to some extent, consciously or unconsciously, in the course of his reading.

To proceed then with a detailed enquiry into the points of agreement and difference between the four histories. They all coincide at the miracle above mentioned, the feeding of the five thousand. This is in Matt. xiv., Mark vi., Luke ix., John vi. Moreover all but Luke record the miracle of our Lord's walking on the sea of Gennesaret, the main difference being that *John* alone records the very important conversation which he held with the staggered, yet still unbelieving, Jews, who followed him to Capernaum.

From the point above mentioned to the triumphal entry, which is described in Matt. xxi., Mark xi., Luke xix., John xii., we have no instance of any one event recorded by all the four evangelists. Especially the paths of John and of the other three which have momentarily coincided, now fall back into their old divergence. John, according to his custom, relating exclusively the history of our Lord's ministrations in and near Jerusalem, the other three, mainly those in Galilee.

Let us examine them in detail, commencing with *John*. From chapter vii. we learn that "after these things" (our Lord's desertion by many of His disciples on account of the "hard sayings" which He had uttered to the Jews at Capernaum), "*Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Judæa, (A.V. Jewry,) because the Jews sought to kill him.*" No doubt in this verse the history of a considerable portion of time is briefly alluded to, but as almost everything which happens out of Judæa is as though it were not, for this apostle's object, he proceeds at once (ver. 2) "Now the Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand" and then goes on to say, how our Lord's brethren tauntingly urged him to go up to attend this feast, and show Himself to the people; how He refused to go then at their bidding, and "abode still in Galilee:" but afterwards "about the middle of the feast went up unto it, not openly, but as it were in secret." The remainder

of the seventh chapter is taken up with the narrative of his teachings to the people during this feast, and of the abortive attempt of the Pharisees to arrest him in the temple; it ends with the words, "*Καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ*," in which (if they be genuine) we may possibly trace a faint allusion by contrast to their *temporary* dwellings, during the continuance of the feast. The feast of tabernacles lasted from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of the seventh month, *Tisri* (roughly corresponding to our October). It was incidentally mentioned (John vi. 4) that the feeding of the five thousand took place at a time when "the passover, a feast of the Jews was nigh:" It occurred therefore in, or before, the first month *Abib*, and we thus get an interval of at least six months (possibly, but not probably, of eighteen) for that residence in Galilee, which is briefly noticed in ver. 1.

The eighth chapter, without any apparent interval of time records, (1) our Saviour's judgement on the woman taken in adultery, (the question touching the genuineness of this portion is immaterial to our present purpose); (2) a discourse uttered by him "in the treasury, as he taught in the temple;" and (3) (ver. 30) an address, possibly distinct from this, to those Jews who believed on him which led to the unbelieving Jews engaging in a discussion, which they ended by "taking up stones to cast at him; but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple going through the midst of them, and so passed by" (*παρήγεν*).

The ninth chapter, continuing the narrative with the words "And as Jesus passed by" (*παράγων*), contains the history of the cure of the man born blind, which was performed on the Sabbath day. This is followed by the parable of "the good shepherd" in the early part of the tenth chapter (verses 1—19). Verses 19—21 describe the division produced among the Jews: and here the uniformly consecutive history of our Lord's deeds and discourses during and immediately after the feast of tabernacles (which has occupied from chap. viii. 2 to x. 21) comes apparently to a close.

"Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ ἐγκαλνία ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ χειμὼν ἦν καὶ περιεπατεῖ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Σολομῶνος." Such are the 22nd and 23rd verses of chap. x., in which there is nothing to oppose, but everything to favour the supposition that they do *not* form one continuous narrative with what has gone before. An interval of *time* there must be, if we are correct in supposing the preceding portion to have been continuous: for the feast of tabernacles occurred on the fifteenth of the seventh month *Tisri*, that of the dedication, on the twenty-fifth of the ninth,

Cisleu: and it seems probable enough, that there was an intervening change of *place*, else, why the marked emphasis on the words *ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις*. It is no doubt a hazardous thing to conjecture what the under-current of thought in a writer's mind at a particular time may have been; but at least a probable explanation of a statement apparently so pleonastic, as that this great national feast (instituted for the sole purpose of commemorating the re-purification of the temple after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes) was held *at Jerusalem*, is that an intervening *absence from Jerusalem* was present to the apostle's mind, and induced him thus to note the fact, that that absence had terminated.

Verses 24—38 of the tenth chapter contain our Lord's memorable declaration of His oneness with the Father, drawn from Him by the questioning of the Jews "How long makest thou us to doubt? If thou be the Messiah, tell us plainly:"—followed by their attempt to stone, and then (ver. 39) to arrest Him (*πιάσαι αὐτόν*): "but He escaped out of their hand, and went away again beyond Jordan unto the place where John was at first baptizing," (probably "Bethabara," cf. John i. 28,) "and there remained." The comparison between his mighty works, and the unmiraculous character of John's mission, the remembrance of which was still fresh in their minds, caused many in these parts to believe on him. It is manifest however that the full avowal of his divine nature made in chap. x. had stimulated the fury of the Jerusalem Jews to a point unknown before. Some subsequent allusions (John xi. 8, 47, 58, 54, and 57) shew the progress of this hostility in the more determined form which it had now assumed.

Chap. xi. 1—53 contains the account of our Lord's visit to Bethany, and raising of Lazarus, and of the deliberations of the Sanhedrim in consequence of this renewed and more wonderful manifestation of his power in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. (ver. 54) "Jesus therefore walked no more with boldness among the Jews" (*οὐκ ἔτι παρρησίᾳ περιεπάτει ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*. *Ἰουδαῖοι* is here evidently used with strictness of the inhabitants of Judæa proper), "but went thence into the country near to the wilderness to a city called Ephraim, and there abode (*διέτριβε*, not *ἐμείνε*,) with his disciples." But by this time an interval of *nearly four months* must have elapsed since that first withdrawal from Jerusalem, which was recorded in the fortieth verse of the tenth chapter; for that, as we have seen, took place immediately after the twenty-fifth of Cisleu (the ninth month), and now, as we learn from ver. 55, "the Jews' passover was nigh at hand," and various conjectures were afloat among the

multitude, whether he would present himself there or no. We are consequently again nearing the first month Nisan.

As for the geographical position of the place, now chosen by Christ for his temporary concealment, we know only that it was near to the wilderness, *i.e.*, the desert tract on the east of Judæa, and (from its being mentioned in 2 Chron. xiii. 19, as one of the places taken, along with Bethel, by Abijah, out of the hand of Jeroboam), probably on the *northern* border of it.

From chap. xii. we learn that six days before the passover, he came to Bethany, and was present at a supper at which *Δάζαρος ὁ τεθνηκώς* was one of those who also reclined at table, and at which Mary anointed his feet with costly ointment (ver. 12). On the following day, that is, the fifth before the passover, he made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem; and here then we reach that point of reunion between the four narratives, which in starting we proposed as our goal.

Let us now turn to the history of this same period given by Matthew and Mark, whose accounts during this period, coinciding so far more frequently than they diverge, we shall find it most convenient to take together.

In the first place, after describing the feeding of the five thousand, and the walking on the sea of Galilee, they describe (Matt. xiv. 35—xv. 20: Mark vi. 55—vii. 23) the "fame which went abroad of Christ through the whole land of Gennesaret," the multitudes brought to him for healing, and his discussions with certain "Pharisees and scribes, which came from Jerusalem" (a noteworthy indication of the progress of the spirit of opposition and repression *there*), concerning eating with unwashed hands. Matt. xv. 21—28 and Mark vii. 24—30, record his departure to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and cure of the Syro-Phœnician woman's daughter: Matt. xv. 29, Mark vii. 31, his withdrawal from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and his coming unto the sea of Galilee (Mark, "nigh unto" it; Matthew, "through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis" (the last member of the sentence is in Mark alone).

Mark vii. 32—37 tells of the cure of the deaf man, with an impediment in his speech (omitted by Matthew).

Matt. xv. 30;—xvi. 12; Mark vii. 38—viii. 21, describe the feeding of the *four thousand*, his taking ship, and coming into the coasts of *Magdala* (Matthew), or *Dalmanutha* (Mark), the refusal of a sign to the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the warning against the leaven of Herod.

Mark viii. 22—26, alone records the cure wrought at Bethsaida on the blind man, who at first "saw men as trees, walking."

In Matt. xvi. 18—xvii. 21; Mark viii. 27—ix. 29, we have the account of his journey into the "parts" (*μέρη*, Matthew) or villages (*κώμας*, Mark) of Cæsarea Philippi, (i.e., to the regions about the sources of the Jordan :) of his memorable conversations by the wayside with his disciples,—memorable, as containing at once a more emphatic statement of his Messiahship, and a clearer prediction of impending struggle at Jerusalem, than any which had preceded them—of the transfiguration, of his answer to the question about the necessary pre-advent of Elias, (where Matthew alone gives the solution of the difficulty, viz. the reference to John the Baptist,) and lastly, of his cure of the lunatic child, which his disciples had attempted in vain. After it,

Mark ix. 30, tells us that "they departed thence, and passed through Galilee; and he would not that any man should know it, for he taught his disciples, and said unto them, The Son of Man is delivered into the hands of men," etc. "And he came to Capernaum;" and when there, questioned his disciples about their dispute on the way.

Matt. xvii. 22—23, says, "And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of men:" thus omitting all mention of the *secrecy* of the journey, and not directly stating that this communication was made on a journey at all, but he implies it; for ver. 24 continues the narrative, "And when they were come to Capernaum."

Matt. xxii. 24—xxiii. 35, and Mark ix. 38—50, record divers discourses of our Lord's, apparently in Capernaum, the former evangelist being here considerably the more minute; in fact the incident of the tribute-money, and the Stater in the fish, is recorded by Matthew alone.

MATT. xix. 1.

"And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan (*εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*), and great multitudes followed him, and he healed them there."

MARK x. 1.

"And he arose from thence, and cometh into the borders of Judæa, through the country on the other side of Jordan (*εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας διὰ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*), and the multitudes again come together to him, and as was his wont, again he taught them."

Now, taking these two accounts together, observing the slight, but significant difference of language between them, and comparing them with John's history of the same period; there can, we imagine, be no doubt that we have here two very much condensed statements of those movements of our Lord, which occupy

the ninth, (from verse 22, onwards) tenth, and eleventh chapters of that evangelist; these movements being the (implied) journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, the short stay there, the withdrawal to the scene of John's first baptisms on the other side of Jordan, the visit to Bethany, and the withdrawal to Ephraim. Our two evangelists, whose attention has been, throughout, so much more fixed on their master's journeyings in the north, than in the south of Palestine, do but describe the broad general result of these movements:—that he left Galilee, and after traversing some part of the country east of Jordan, established himself for a time on the frontiers of Judæa: and that throughout this last journey, his teaching and his mighty works attracted a more than ordinary amount of popular attention. So stated and considered only as rapid sketches of his journeyings during this time, these accounts, which at first sight appeared to differ, really correspond with considerable closeness, to John's. If we would insist on rigorous accuracy in the interpretation of the two, we might perhaps conclude that *Mark* has traced our Lord's course as far as Ephraim, while *Matthew* stops short with his sojourn at the place of John's baptism.

Matt. xix. 3—xx. 16, and Mark x. 2—31, record with very close parallelism the chief events and discourses of this period: almost the only difference between the two, being, that Mark omits the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, which Matthew inserts.

MATT. xx. 17.

"And Jesus going up to Jerusalem, took unto him the twelve disciples apart in the way."

MARK x. 32.

"And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem, and taking to him again the twelve disciples."

These are the words with which the two evangelists respectively preface their account of our Lord's prophecy of his approaching humiliation, which was followed by the strange request for preëminence made by the wife of Zebedee on behalf of her sons. As we find him in the next section of the narrative passing through Jericho, it is plain that he must have taken a circuitous route, possibly returned to Bethabara, in the interval between arriving at Ephraim, and thus finally "going up to Jerusalem."

Matt. xx. 29—34, contains the account of the restoration of sight to two blind men: Mark x. 46—52, is the obviously parallel narrative (though with features of difference, which we cannot now hope to explain)—of the cure of "blind Bartimeus;" both describe it as occurring "when they were going forth out of Jericho."

Neither of these two evangelists allude to his halt at Bethany on the evening of the sixth day before the passover: but both go on (Matt. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1) to describe as it were continuous with the journey from Jericho, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Yet we may probably trace an allusion thereto in Mark, who preludes his account thus, "when they came nigh to Jerusalem unto Bethphage and Bethany," whereas Matthew only mentions Bethphage.

We now turn to the gospel of Luke.

This evangelist, immediately after describing the feeding of the five thousand, passes on (omitting the journey to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, the return to the sea of Galilee, and the feeding of the four thousand) to relate the transfiguration, the discourses which preceded and followed it, the cure of the lunatic child, the rebuke to the disciples for their desire of preëminence, and the prohibition to interfere with the man who cast out demons in Christ's name (Luke ix. 12—50).

Verse 51 is as follows, *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστήριξε τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.* This verse raises one of the most difficult questions to be met with in the whole course of our attempt to harmonize the four narratives. To what journey of our Saviour's to Jerusalem is allusion here made? The words, *τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ*, being admitted to be rightly referred to his approaching crucifixion, the first impression which we derive from the passage certainly is that it must allude to his last journey (from Ephraim or Bethabara) by way of Jericho to Jerusalem. But in that case we must suppose an absolute disregard of chronological sequence to pervade a large portion of Luke's gospel; for nine chapters further on we find this journey unmistakably described. And as, moreover, many of the *intervening* descriptions appear to correspond sufficiently close with the accounts given by the other evangelists of his journeyings and sojourn in Peræa, it would certainly much simplify our labour if we could believe ourselves not *compelled* by these words, denoting the time of the journey, to fix it at the very end of our Lord's ministry.

But if it be not the final journey, which is it? Not certainly the rapid and hurried visit to Bethany. It may be, then, either that secret journey which he made (as recorded in the 7th of John) to attend the feast of tabernacles, or that other of which we have conjectured the existence from the terms of John viii. 22, between this festival and the feast of the dedication.

We incline to believe—though this can of course be little more than conjecture—that it is the former of the two.

In the first place, this is the journey which in the regular course of his narrative St. Luke ought here to notice.

Secondly, the allusion to Elias made by James and John, enraged at the churlishness of the Samaritans (Luke ix. 54), seems to tally well enough with a time shortly after the transfiguration; for from Matt. xvii. 10, we see how vividly present to the minds of the disciples was the memory of this the greatest of Jewish prophets shortly after that event. Their thoughts seemed to have been full of him; his name came naturally to their lips: and this rejection of God's chosen one by the inhabitants, too, of the very district in which Ahab had reigned, and Elijah had fought the battles of Jehovah with that idolatrous king, at once raised the question, "What would he have done to such men as these?" But if this journey really occurred shortly after the transfiguration, we may with some confidence say that it *must* have been the journey of John vii. 2.

Thirdly; there is no doubt an apparent contradiction between John and Luke as to the *circumstances* of the journey. The former represents it as undertaken with the appearance of a sudden resolve, and "not openly, but as it were in secret;" while the latter speaks of his "sending messengers before his face." But the contradiction is rather apparent than real. For these messengers do not appear to have been sent on this occasion to publish abroad his approach, or to fulfil any of that missionary labour which was at another period formally entrusted to the seventy, but simply to provide the needful accommodation in each place for our Lord and his disciples. It is possible that the character of a "forced march," which this journey bore, may have rendered such a proceeding all the more necessary. And the words of Luke, "He stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem," (*ἐστήριξε τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ε. Ι.,*) by no means necessarily imply a long preconceived purpose of undertaking the journey; but rather seem to point to a struggle of mind in the prospect of exciting the known and daily increasing hatred of the Jerusalem Jews, ended by a resolute determination to go at whatever hazard. Such a conflict of heart is not undoubtedly what our *à priori* reasonings would have led us to expect, but in the face of the wonderful history of the scene in Gethsemane we dare not deny its possibility.

Other indications besides the statement of John shew that our Lord's movements about this time were surrounded with a degree of mystery that he had not before made use of. Thus Mark ix. 30, says, "And they departed thence, and passed through Galilee, and he would not that any man should know it. For he taught his disciples and said unto them, The Son of

Man is delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him, and after that he is killed he shall rise the third day."

This brings us back to the original difficulty, viz., the words, *ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ*. On turning to Matt. xvi. 21, and xvii. 22, and Mark viii. 31, we see that on the journey towards Caesarea Philippi (i. e., very shortly before his transfiguration), our Lord first began to warn his disciples of the humiliation and sufferings which at no distant period awaited him at Jerusalem. This is a new and strange subject of conversation to them; how new and how strange, we see from Peter's impetuous unwillingness to admit the impending woe. But once introduced, it becomes the frequent, almost continual, theme. In the transfiguration,—itself no doubt an important element in the preparation of the minds of the disciples for the coming trial of their faith,—“his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem,” is again the subject of that wonderful converse which he holds with Moses and Elias. Over the whole period one dark shadow of coming calamity (*λέγω κατ' ἀνθρώπων*) seems to brood; the “hour” of the oppressors, and “the power of darkness” seen from afar, seem already to chill and sadden the hearts of the faithful disciples.

The interval thus characterized would be about six months (extending from the feast of tabernacles to the passover). Under these circumstances we think we are justified in translating the words of difficulty, “As the days for his being taken up were being fulfilled;” or (to keep closer to the A. V.), “When the time was *coming* that he should be received up.” And so translating, we refer this description to the journey of John vii. 10.

But though inclined to believe that this journey is inserted in its true chronological place in the gospel of Luke, we must confess that chaps. x.—xvii. bear far less evidence of chronological arrangement than either the preceding or succeeding portion. They contain no fewer than fourteen parables and numerous other discourses. *Prima facie* there is a strong improbability that in the two and a half years of our Lord's previous ministry he should have confined himself to the working of miracles (the record of which occupies almost the whole of chaps. iii.—x.), and then during the few months between the transfiguration and the journey to Peræa should have uttered all the discourses here reported. And farther, several of the incidents of these chapters are introduced by words which do not seem intended to convey the idea of any very definite notation of time. “Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς” (x. 38); “ἔγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον” (xi. 1);

“καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον” (xi. 14); “τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἐπαθροισμένων” (xi. 29); “ἦν δὲ διδάσκων ἐν μιᾷ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι” (xiii. 10); etc., etc. On the whole, we think the intention of this evangelist is sufficiently clear, namely, to give towards the conclusion of our Lord's ministry in Galilee a summary of the most memorable discourses which he had uttered during that ministry; or, in other words, we may say that chaps. iii.—x. record chiefly the *external*, x.—xvii. the *internal*, history of his teaching and life in Galilee.

But though this is the general character of this portion of the gospel, a certain slow progress is made by it in the chronological history also. The chief statements of the latter nature interspersed in the unchronological chapters are (chap. x.), 1. The mission of the seventy, sent “by two and two before his face into every city and village whither he himself would come.” (From these preparations we should infer that his last journey from Galilee southward would be of a peculiarly solemn kind, purposely slow and circuitous, in order to enable him to give a final and emphatic warning to all who had listened to his ministry during the two and a half years preceding. And herewith accords our next statement,) 2. “Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων, καὶ πορεύων ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ” (xiii. 22). 3. “Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας” (xvii. 11).

These two passages probably refer to one and the same journey. The order in which the two regions through which he passed are named—Galilee being postponed to Samaria—might suggest a conjecture that this latter was a different journey,—one undertaken with Peræa or Ephraim for its starting point, and terminating perhaps with the visit to Jericho, in which the cure of Bartimeus was performed. But looking at the fact that the following chapter of Luke records passages in our Lord's history which undoubtedly took place during his residence in Peræa, we think it more probable (though the balance of probability varies but slightly in the weighing of such bare conjectures as these) that Samaria was mentioned first simply because the cure of the Samaritan leper was the uppermost subject in the evangelist's mind. And the journey thus doubly described was, we have little doubt, that one whose existence we suspected from John xi. 22, and learnt more clearly from Matt. xix. 1, and Mark x. 1; the one, namely, in which our Lord took his final departure from Galilee, and came up to Jerusalem to attend the feast of the dedication. (4) Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς κώμην τινά,

etc. (x. 38). The village we know *aliunde* to have been Bethany, and the incident which follows has reference to the different modes of serving him, shewn by the two sisters Martha and Mary. It is evidently inserted without reference to the time-order in Luke's gospel, and on the occasion of what visit to Jerusalem it occurred it is impossible now to determine. We may remark, however, that all the other allusions to the little household at Bethany are connected with a very late period of our Lord's ministry.

At chap. xviii. 15, after the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, St. Luke falls again into the same track with the two first evangelists. Chap. xviii. 16—34, narrates with more brevity most of these incidents of our Saviour's residence in Peræa, which occupy Matt. xix. 8; xx. 17; and Mark x. 2—32. Verses 35—48, contain the account of the cure of the blind man, as it appears, *before entering into Jericho* (one of those discrepancies of detail between the evangelists of which it is hopeless now to look for the explanation). Chap. xix. 1—28, the incident of Zaccheus's eagerness to see Christ and the parable of the nobleman and his servants, both of which are peculiar to this evangelist. After this, follows the account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, in which we have nothing particular to note, save that Luke, like Mark, mentions the neighbourhood of Bethphage and *Bethany* as the point of departure on that occasion.

We have now completed our survey of the four narratives of the last year of our Lord's ministry, and may briefly exhibit the results as follows:—

(Feeding of the four thousand).

ABIB.

- (1st mo.) 1. Journey into the Coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and return through the Coasts of Decapolis (Matt. xv. ; Mark vii.)

(Feeding of the four thousand).

2. Passage across the Sea of Tiberias to the regions of Dalmanutha (Matt. xv. ; Mark vii.)
3. Journey to the villages of Cæsarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. ; Mark viii.)

(Transfiguration).

TISRI.

(7th mo.)

4. Secret and rapid journey to Jerusalem, where he arrived in the midst of the feast of tabernacles (John vii. 2 ; Luke ix. 51 : ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ (?) ; Mark ix. 30 (?)).
5. Return to Galilee (mentioned by none of the evangelists : hinted at by John's words, "ἐν τοῖς ἱεροσολυμοῖς," x. 22,

and agreeing with Luke's description of a double journey in the opposite direction).

CISLEU. 6. Journey to Jerusalem in time for the feast of the dedication (9th mo.) (Luke xiii. 22, and xvii. 11).

7. Retreat from Jerusalem to the scene of John's earliest baptisms in Peræa (John x. 40; Matt. xix. 40; Mark x. 1: the two latter evangelists amalgamating this journey with No. 6).

8. Visit to Bethany (raising of Lazarus) and withdrawal to Ephraim (John xi.) Very shortly after this (ver. 55),

ABIB. 9. Final journey to Jerusalem by way of Jericho, and triumphal entry (narrated by all the four evangelists).

One word in conclusion. An enquiry of this kind will seem to many persons dry and profitless enough; in fact, one of the mere husks of the gospel narrative: yet by the Baconian test, *fructus*, it will not, we think, be wholly condemned, in so far forth as it supplies a practical comment on the words "The Son of Man had not where to lay his head." To follow his wanderings step by step, imprints more forcibly on the mind the remembrance of the weary wayside life which he led for our sakes; and if in this age of ease and comfort the word of old holds true of too many hearts, "Because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God," it may be well that we should be reminded of that ever-living witness, against earth-bounded hopes and earth-engrossed desires, which was borne alike by Abraham in his tent on the plains of Mamre, and by Abraham's seed sitting tired and wayworn by the well of Samaria. Of him as of them we may in all reverence say that he confessed himself by his life, to be "a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth," desiring a better country, that is, a heavenly; and looking forward to that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

T. H.



A CHAPTER ON THE HARMONIZING GOSPELS.

By the late DUKE OF MANCHESTER.*

ANY careful student of the evangelical history must have observed certain remarkable features in the harmonizing gospels. Sometimes the same events are recorded in two, or in all three of the gospels, but we also find matter equally important reported by only one, and omitted by another; we have even intimations of many mighty works which are mentioned by none of the three; there are indications again that our Lord's labours were extended through Judea as well as Galilee, and yet the records are chiefly confined to events that occurred in peculiar localities of Galilee. Sometimes, when in the narratives we find identity of subject, there is only equivalence of expression; but at other times we have not only "words and phrases alike, but even rare and singular expressions are identical" (Davidson). Again, there seems something capricious in the use made by the evangelists of the Old Testament,—sometimes apparently the Septuagint, sometimes the Hebrew original, having been preferred.

These phenomena have been made the subject of much ingenious conjecture. There is sufficient verbal resemblance to mark some common Greek original; there is also sufficient historical independence to make it difficult to say what that common origin was. What was the rule for the selection of matter? If the gospels were supplemental to each other, why so much repetition? If substitutionary, why so many omissions? What common original could there have been, sufficiently fluctuating to account for the variations and apparent discrepancies of independent historians, and yet so stereotyped as to preserve the minutest verbal peculiarities? Why should the less important field of Galilee be selected in preference to Judea and its capital? And when we come to the all-absorbing events occurring at the close of our Lord's ministry at Jerusalem, why is the peculiar verbal phenomenon so much less prominent? Why in the quotations should the Messianic passages be chiefly from the Hebrew, and yet in some of our Lord's arguments, should the force of the quotation rest upon words found only in the Septuagint?

It is not my purpose to refute, or even to state, the hypotheses which have been proposed; no one theory can be very generally thought satisfactory, because up to this moment each

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has had equally clever and ingenious advocates. As hypotheses they all seem defective, inasmuch as that they do not attempt to account for all the phenomena. But there is one point upon which I must make a passing remark,—they are not only unsatisfactory and insufficient,—they all appear more or less derogatory to the integrity of the evangelical histories, the effect of which, I think, is plainly seen in the very different feeling with which the gospels are approached now, from what was the case a very few years ago.

If the hypothesis elaborated by Bishop Marsh be adopted, that from some original anonymous document, different copies had been made, to which different anonymous additions and interpolations had been annexed, and that from those the various gospels were compiled, it will be scarcely possible to estimate their historical value very highly.

The theory of an oral traditional original is perhaps somewhat better, for its origin is admitted to be apostolic; but if it be supposed to account for the verbal resemblance, I cannot conceive how the traditional gospel could have been stereotyped in the reciters' memories, first in Aramaic, and then in Greek, as long as there were any eye- or ear-witnesses of the events described still alive, for their reminiscences would have constantly disturbed the monotonous uniformity. Could the relaters of the oral gospel have so constantly reiterated, as to produce great verbal similarity, such a passage as, "Woe unto thee, Chorazin," etc., without any one of the many mighty works which had been done in Chorazin ever having been brought to mind? But if we suppose so late a date for the composition of the gospels as this theory would necessitate, I fear we should go far towards admitting their mythical origin.

If, according to the supplemental theory, one evangelist wrote with a previous gospel before him, there would be apparently either collusion or contradiction; in fact, we avoid the suspicion of collusion, by admitting the charge of apparent contradiction; but if one gospel was written with cognizance of another, then the contradictions become more than apparent, they amount to corrections, they are no longer the discrepancies incident to independent authorities; the succeeding evangelist stamps the narrative of his predecessor with error. Hug, by no means an irreverent writer, while he maintains that Mark wrote with Matthew's gospel before him, does not disguise the result to which this hypothesis leads: Mark "is not, as some have repeated from Augustine, the epitomist, but the reviser of Matthew; and sometimes his revision is so rigid, that he seems positively to contradict him." (Hug, part ii., chap. i., § 27).

Hug then gives instances which differ in their aspects; precisely according to the manner in which we view them, they are the differences of independent authors, or the corrections of Matthew by Mark. He says they are, "what indeed would be real contradictions, did we not know that Matthew was indifferent as to things not connected with his purpose." But if Mark corrects Matthew, Matthew's indifference does not prevent their being real contradictions, for the instances cited are not of omissions, but, according to this theory, of over-statements; instead of two demoniacs, Mark corrects Matthew, and says there was but one; instead of two blind men, Mark corrects Matthew, and says there was but one. Whereas, according to the commonly admitted rule, viewing both as independent witnesses, the mention of but one blind man or one demoniac by one of the historians, does not invalidate the testimony of the eye-witness to the effect that there were two.

Again, if Luke wrote having cognizance of Matthew's and Mark's gospels, then they must be amongst the many which he intended to supersede; and if he desired to record all that Jesus did and taught, in order that Theophilus might know the certainty of them, he seems to render doubtful the authority of those portions of Matthew which he does not repeat.^b

There is, lastly, one other objection common to the practical result of all these theories. We cannot make use of the very strongest internal evidence for the authenticity of the gospels, viz., that springing from the undesigned coincidences of independent witnesses: because the coincidences are not undesigned, the witnesses are not independent.

I will first enter a little more into detail with regard to the peculiar features of the synoptical gospels, and then suggest a thought springing from the previous inquiries of others which I think will give a solution, not of some few, but of all the phenomena noticed above, which, therefore, as an hypothesis, will have claims superior to those hitherto propounded, but which has the still greater recommendation of elucidating most satisfactorily the authenticity and inspiration of the gospels.

^b The effect of the different theories upon the construction of a harmony is evident. Thus Mr. Greswell, who supposes that Mark wrote after, and with express relation to Matthew, and Luke in like manner, subsequently and in direct accommodation to both Matthew and Mark, makes the order of Matthew in every instance give place to that of Luke. Matthew's Gospel, however, could not have been alluded to in St. Luke's Preface, for he was *ἀντίρροτος*—whereas St. Luke speaks only of gospels composed by persons *indebted for their information to those who had been διδάσκαλοι*. Again, St. Luke did not allege his design "to record *all* that Jesus did and taught"—he only asserts that he had perfect understanding of *all* things, and so was qualified for the task which he had undertaken.

The three first gospels have not the character of continuous histories, but are rather composed of brief sections, forming a series of short narratives, complete in themselves, and very commonly quite independent of what precedes and follows.

There are plain intimations in the gospels of many events having occurred of which not one evangelist gives any account. There is, for example, no record of our Lord ever having been at Chorazin, or at Bethsaida either, until after the woe was denounced, though most of his mighty works were done in those places. Yet, at the same time, there is a very constant repetition of some other events, sometimes by all three, sometimes by two of the evangelists. Mark has many additional circumstances, but only twenty-four verses narrate facts not contained either in Matthew or Luke. Matthew records sixteen miracles, Luke fifteen, but eleven are repetitions of Matthew; Mark records fifteen also, but twelve are repetitions of Matthew, and ten of Luke.

Again, without taking the gospel of John into account, we may gather from the first three gospels, that the evangelists were aware of considerable part of our Lord's ministry having been passed in Judea, and yet they chiefly confine their records to events occurring in Galilee.

We learn from Matt. iv. 12, and Mark, i. 14, that Jesus remained in Judea after his baptism until John was imprisoned,—a period of about six months. The effect of his ministry seems apparent, in multitudes following him from Jerusalem and Judea (Matt. iv. 25). The other evangelists record a similar following, on another occasion of withdrawal (Mark, iii. 8; Luke vi. 17). The faith of the centurion (Matt. viii. 10; Luke vii. 9) is compared with what Jesus had met in Israel; this "no, not in Israel," cannot be limited to the people of Israel in Galilee, as contrasted with others that our Lord had also met there, but "Israel" seems to be put in opposition to "Galilee of the Gentiles." Neander takes an intimation from Matt. xvi. 1, "in which the scribes and pharisees of *Jerusalem* are spoken of as gathering round Jesus in *Galilee*, and asking him entangling questions. . . . After his labours in Jerusalem had drawn their hatred upon him, they followed him, and watched him suspiciously, even in Galilee" (Neander's *Life of Christ*, p. 157). The same may be noticed upon another occasion (Luke v. 17). Had our Lord been supposed to have confined his ministry to Galilee, the historians would hardly have recorded his declaration, that he was only sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv. 24), or that his apostles were to confine their labours to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, to the exclusion of the cities of the

Samaritans and Gentiles (Matt. x. 6), for the inconsistency would have been manifest. "Again, the earnest exclamation of Christ recorded in Luke xiii. 34; Matt. xxiii. 37, distinctly implies that he had *often* endeavoured by his personal teaching in Jerusalem, to rouse the people to repentance and conversion, that they might be saved" (Neander, p. 157). Luke xix. 41, 42, is a similar example: "If thou hadst known . . . but now are they hid from thine eyes," implies former warnings and strivings unheeded, and the consequent judicial blindness which then was supervening.

There are, I think, other intimations of our Lord having been in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The parable of the two who "went up to the temple to pray" (Luke xviii. 10), implies that locality. So also, Luke xiii. 1, "There were present at that season some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices;" this must have been where the sacrifices were offered. The allusion to the two sparrows (Matt. x. 29) probably also intimates the vicinity of the temple, the sparrows being used by the leper for purification (Lev. xiv. 4—9).

With regard to the verbal particularities, the author of the *Introduction to the English Translation of Schleiermacher on Luke*, says:—"One phenomenon which struck Mr. Veysie . . . which cannot safely be neglected on any hypothesis, and which seems more likely than any other to lend a clue in the most difficult parts of the subject, is that the verbal agreement of the evangelists is found chiefly in the words of our Lord, or of others, and comparatively seldom in the narrative of facts" (*Introduction to Schleiermacher on Luke*, p. xxxvi.)

"In Matthew's gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other gospels amount to less than one-sixth part of the contents, and of this about seven-eighths occur in the recital of the words of others. In Mark's gospel, the proportion of coincident passages is about one-sixth, of which not one-fifth occurs in narrative. In Luke, the proportion of verbal agreement is one-tenth, of which one-twentieth is in narrative" (Norton, vol. i., note D, p. cl.) Now, the proportion of resemblance between the narrative and the relation of the words of others being so different, "the same cause could not have operated alone in both these different portions, to produce coincidence of language" (*Ibid.* p. cii.)

"For the comparison of *verbal correspondence* in three gospels, the following passages . . . may serve:—

* The verbal coincidence between Mark and Luke amounts, in all, to less than one-twelfth part of Mark's gospel.

Matt. iii. 3, 11.	Mark i. 3, 7.	Luke iii. 4, 16.
„ viii. 2—4.	„ i. 40—42, 44.	„ v. 12—14.
„ viii. 15.	„ i. 31.	„ iv. 39.
„ ix. 2, 4—6.	„ ii. 5, 8—10.	„ v. 20, 22—24.
„ ix. 15.	„ ii. 20.	„ v. 35.
„ ix. 22, 24.	„ v. 34, 39.	„ viii. 48, 52.
„ xii. 13.	„ iii. 5.	„ vi. 10.
„ xiv. 19, 20.	„ vi. 41—43.	„ ix. 16, 17.
„ xvi. 21, 24—26.	„ viii. 34—37.	„ ix. 23—25.
„ xvi. 28 ; xvii. 5.	„ ix. 1, 7.	„ ix. 27, 35.
„ xvii. 17.	„ ix. 19.	„ ix. 41.
„ xix. 29.	„ x. 29.	„ xviii. 29.
„ xxi. 12, 13, 23, 25	„ xi. 15, 17, 28, 30—	„ xix. 45, 46 ; xx. 2,
„ —27.	„ 33.	„ 4—6, 8.
„ xxi. 42.	„ xii. 10.	„ xx. 17.
„ xxii. 44.	„ xii. 36.	„ xx. 42, 43.
„ xxiv. 6—9, 19, 30,	„ xiii. 7—13, 17, 26,	„ xxi. 9—17, 23, 27,
„ 35.	„ 31.	„ 33.
„ xxvi. 29.	„ xiv. 25.	„ xxii. 18.

“Specimens of verbal correspondence in sections, common to only two of the evangelists :—

Matt. xiv. 22, 34.	Mark vi. 45, 53.
„ xv. 7—10.	„ vii. 6, 7, 14.
„ xv. 26, 32.	„ vii. 27 ; viii. 1, 2.
„ xix. 5, 6.	„ x. 7—9.
„ xx. 22—28.	„ x. 38—45.
„ xxiv. 22.	„ xiii. 20.
Mark i. 24, 25.	Luke iv. 34, 35.
„ viii. 38.	„ ix. 26.
„ ix. 38, 40.	„ ix. 49, 50.
Matt. v. 44 ; vii. 5.	„ vi. 27, 28, 42.
„ viii. 8—10.	„ vii. 6—9.
„ viii. 20, 22.	„ ix. 58, 60.
„ xi. 3—11, 16—19.	„ vii. 19—28, 31—35.
„ xii. 41, 45.	„ xi. 31, 32, 24—26.
„ xiii. 33.	„ xiii. 20, 21.
„ xxiii. 37, 38.	„ xiii. 34, 35.
„ xxiv. 46—48, 50.	„ xii. 43—46.”

(Davidson's *Introduction*, p. 378.)

The quotations from the Old Testament in the gospels compose so integral and important an element, that no theory intended to account for the origin of the gospels can be pronounced satisfactory which leaves their phenomena unexplained. But as in the phenomena noticed above, it was necessary to draw a distinction between the occurrence of verbal resemblance in the narrative and in the conversations, so here a similar distinction must be observed between these quotations of our Lord which are recorded by the evangelists, and the prophecies which are cited by the evangelists themselves as fulfilled by occurrences in our Lord's history. For the correctness of the citation in the one instance, is resolved into the historical accuracy of the evangelists ; in the other case, it comes simply as a quotation made

on their own authority. I, therefore, subjoin a list of quotations from the Old Testament, found in the first three gospels, taken from Horne's *Introduction*, but separated according to the above-named distinction, and the result is somewhat remarkable:—

QUOTATIONS BY OUR LORD FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Matt. iv. 4; Luke iv. 4	Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ iv. 6 [by Satan]	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint (but omitting a sentence).
„ iv. 7.....	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ iv. 10	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint. (Alexandrine Text.)
„ ix. 13; xii. 7	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint. (Alexandrine Text.)
„ xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 27	{ Differs from both Hebrew and Septuagint.
„ xiii. 14, 15; Mark iv. 12; Luke viii. 10.....	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint. ^d (Alexandrine Text.)
„ xv. 8, 9	{ Differs from the Hebrew. The oldest MSS. and Versions agree in a reading which is almost verbatim with the Septuagint. (Alexandrine Text.)
„ xix. 5	{ Almost verbatim with the Septuagint. (Alexandrine Text.)
„ xix. 18, 19	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ xix. 19; xxii. 39.....	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ xxi. 13; Mark xi. 17; Luke xix. 46	{ Agrees both with Hebrew and Septuagint. Bloomfield on Mark; Govett on Isaiah lvi. 7. Not mentioned by Horne. Our Lord also, in his words, “a den of thieves” (σπήλαιον ληστών) quotes verbatim from the Septuagint of Jer. vii. 11.
„ xxi. 16.....	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ xxi. 42; Mark xii. 10; Luke xx. 17	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ xxii. 32; Mark xii. 26; Luke xx. 37	{ Mark quotes, with an omission, verbatim from the Septuagint. (Alexandrine Text.) Matthew almost so. Luke's quotation is <i>indirect</i> .
„ xxii. 37; Mark xi. 30; Luke x. 27	{ Matthew agrees exactly with Hebrew, except in rendering יהוה “thy might,” by <i>διανόια σου</i> . Mark and Luke resemble the Septuagint more than Matthew.
„ xxii. 44; Mark xii. 36; Luke xx. 42	{ Verbatim with the Septuagint.
„ xxvi. 31	{ Nearly verbatim with the Septuagint. (Alexandrine Text.)
„ xxvii. 46 [in Hebrew] ..	{ Differs from the Septuagint; agrees with the Hebrew.
Luke iv. 18, 19.....	{ Taken from the Septuagint.
„ xxii. 37..	{ Agrees in words with the Septuagint, the only difference being the use of another preposition, which slightly alters the construction. Exact with the Hebrew.

“Here it will be observed, that our Lord's quotations almost

^d St. John (xii. 40), in quoting this passage (Is. vi. 9) for himself, does not agree with the Septuagint—a forcible illustration of the theory proposed.

universally agree with the Septuagint,^e some of which, at the same time, differs from the Hebrew. But, as has been well remarked, it is obvious that [even] in those instances in which quotations precisely agree both with the Hebrew and the Seventy, they must be regarded as [immediately] derived, not from the former, but from the latter source" (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, January, 1852, p. 270). The truth of this observation will be readily admitted, when the ambiguity with which it is stated is removed; "a *precise* agreement with the Hebrew," must be understood in a different extent from "a *precise* agreement with the Septuagint;" a precise agreement with the Hebrew, means that we have an exact equivalent; a precise agreement with the Seventy, means that we have verbal identity, and where there is verbal identity, the copiousness of the Greek language prevents the idea of an independent translation.

The next list is of citations by the evangelists of prophecies as fulfilled by circumstances in our Lord's life and ministry.

CITATIONS BY THE HARMONIZING EVANGELISTS.

Matt. i. 23.....	{ Nearly agrees with the Hebrew. ^f Taken from the Septuagint (Alex. Cod.)
" ii. 6	{ These words express the answer of the Sanhedrim to Herod, and are not a citation by the evangelist. "It is a free paraphrase of Micah v. 2" (Alford), but agrees not exactly with either.
" ii. 15	{ Differs from the Septuagint, exact with the Hebrew.
" ii. 18	{ Differs from the Septuagint, rendered from the Hebrew.
" ii. 23	{ Not quoted from any particular prophet. ^g
" iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4—6	{ Agrees in sense (though not exactly) with the Hebrew, and also with the Septuagint, probably so rendered by the sacred writers themselves.
" iv. 15, 16.....	{ Differs from the Septuagint, rendered generally from the Hebrew.
" viii. 17	{ Differs from the Septuagint, rendered from the Hebrew.
" xii. 18—21	{ Differs from the Septuagint.
" xiii. 35.....	{ Differs from the Septuagint.
" xxi. 5	{ Differs from the Septuagint, rendered, with omission, from the Hebrew.
" xxvii. 9, 10	{ Differs from the Septuagint, rendered, with some variation, from the Hebrew.

^e There are four exceptions,—Matt. xi. 10; xxii. 37; xxvii. 46; Luke xxii. 37; which shall be noticed after the theory has been propounded.

^f "The single difference is, that in the Hebrew it is said, '*thou* shall call,' and in the New Testament it is, '*they* shall call.'"—*Journal S. L.*, No. xiii., p. 121. The reviewer does not consider it taken from the Septuagint.

^g If the allusion is to *Ps.* Isa. xi. 1; lx. 21, the evangelist must have had the Hebrew, *not* the Septuagint, in his mind.

Mark xv. 28	{	Differs slightly in construction from the Septuagint as before remarked (p. 62), on Luke xxii. 37, ⁴ exact with the Hebrew.
Luke ii. 23.....		Not a direct quotation. Agrees generally with the Hebrew.
„ ii. 24		Agrees in sense, not in words, with the Septuagint, exact with the Hebrew.

Here it will be perceived, that the general rule is very different from what prevailed with regard to the former class of quotations. The passages cited by the evangelists themselves, *and not their records of quotations occurring in conversations*, do not shew that verbal identity with the Septuagint, which in the former case was so remarkable. Moses Stuart, no mean authority, would lead us to suppose that, with scarcely one exception, they are exact renderings from the Hebrew, that in no instance is the authority of the Septuagint preferred to that of the Hebrew, but, on the contrary, whenever they differ the Hebrew is followed. Possibly this statement is rather too strong, and it is certainly much more decided than my theory requires. It is sufficient for me to say, that the manner of quoting by the evangelists is obviously different from that of our Lord. Had there been the same verbal identity with the Septuagint, in their own quotations, as is discovered in their record of the Lord's quotations, it might have been said that in the latter case they had substituted what they found in the Septuagint, for what our Lord had said in Aramaic; but there being this different law in the one case from the other, it is only to be accounted for by the fact that when our Lord quoted the Scripture, he used the Septuagint, but when the evangelists quoted it, the Septuagint was not exclusively followed. They did not allow the Septuagint to ignore the Hebrew, though we suppose that their familiarity with the Septuagint would influence them even when rendering directly from the Hebrew, and still more so if only quoting from memory.

We now have got two distinct sets of appearances, and both plainly pointing to one solution. The peculiar verbal resemblance between the evangelists, preserved in the Greek, is chiefly in the records of conversations, whether those of our Lord or of others, and rarely in the narrative. In like manner, the quotations used by our Lord in conversation verbally agree with the Septuagint; while, with regard to the quotations by the evangelical historians themselves, though they may indicate that their translations of the Hebrew were influenced by a familiarity with

⁴ This verse is omitted by the best MSS., and seems to be the insertion of a copyist from Luke xxii. 37.

the rendering of the Septuagint, yet there is by no means a servile adoption of that version; on the contrary, a preference for the authority of the Hebrew is evident. And this must lead us to conclude, that when the Septuagint is quoted, it is not from any supposed superior authority, but from some other cause.

Before stating the hypothesis which I propose, I will give the result of a very interesting inquiry of Hug's as to the language of Palestine at the time of our Lord's ministry:—"The Syrian, Phœnician, and Jewish coast throughout, to the borders of Egypt, was occupied by cities either entirely or half Greek. The Israelitish coast, from the Arnon upwards, Gilead, Bashan, Hauran, Trachonitis, including Abilene, was entirely Greek towards the north, and towards the south mostly in possession of the Greeks. In Judea and Galilee there were several cities wholly, or at least in great measure, inhabited by Greeks" (Hug's *Introduction*, part. ii., chap. i., § 10, p. 339, Fosdick's Ed.)

That Hug's conclusion is correct seems to be generally admitted. The author of the *Introduction to Schleiermacher's Essay on Luke*, says:—"The result of the inquiry seems to be, that in the time of Christ several towns of Palestine were exclusively inhabited by Greeks; that Greek was the medium of intercourse between the Romans and the Jews; that the knowledge of it was very general in the cities and amongst the more educated classes; and that on the whole the number of those who knew no other language was greater than that of those who understood only the vernacular tongue of Palestine" (*Introduction*, p. ci.)

Moses Stuart says: "Hug has shewn amply, and I should think conclusively, that Greek was very extensively spoken in Palestine during the apostolic ages."—(Note 15, p. 705, Fosdick.)

Our Lord was induced at various times to leave Judea and to pursue his ministry in Galilee, not from want of success, but, apparently, from prudential motives. When he learned that John had been cast into prison, and that the Pharisees were aware of his still greater success (Matt. iv. 12, with John iv. 1), expecting that their undivided opposition would thenceforth be directed against him, he departed from Judea and fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, by pursuing his ministry in "Galilee of the Gentiles." When he again attempted Judea, the persecution of the Pharisees caused him a second time to retire to the sea (Mark iii. 6, 7); and thus another prophecy with regard to our Lord was fulfilled in two respects, first, his desire to avoid strife (Matt. xii. 19), which caused him to retire from the Pharisees;

and next, his successful efforts among the Gentiles. "He shall shew judgment unto the Gentiles . . . and in his name shall the Gentiles trust" (Matt. xii. 18—21). John states the same reason upon two other occasions (John vii. 1; xi. 54), as explaining why our Lord walked in Galilee in preference to Judea. Where the Gentile element was strong, there the persecuting propensity of the Pharisees was not so powerful; and, as our Lord was forced to pursue his ministry where Jewish prejudice had been partly broken down by the Gentile intermixture, it is clear that many of his labours and discourses must have been where the Greek language and not the Aramaic prevailed.

The theory, then, which I propose is simply this:—In those parts where Greek was the more prevalent language, or when our Lord was addressing a mixed multitude among whom the Greek was the most generally familiar language, his discourses were in that language; and the Apostles being scrupulously faithful, and intending to write their histories in the language which obtained throughout the world, preferred recording those events, and relating those discourses, in which the very words of our Lord, and not mere translations, could be preserved. Now, were two or more ear-witnesses to record a conversation, the probable, or, I may say, under ordinary circumstances, the inevitable consequence would be, that whilst the very words or expressions which were not of uncommon occurrence might be recorded by one, yet by another they would be conveyed in synonymes, but "rare and singular expressions" would be recorded by all, and such we find to be precisely the case with regard to the verbal resemblances in the discourses of our Lord, and we need no other theory to account for the phenomenon. In like manner, if our Lord was discoursing in Greek, and with those who were familiar with the Septuagint version, he would, most probably, have quoted from it, rather than render his quotations from the Hebrew. This idea accounts for by far the greater portion of verbal identity in the gospels; but, as Norton justly observes (vol. i., p. 102), another cause must have been in operation to produce coincidence of language, where the evangelists spoke in their own persons. This I will attempt to point out hereafter in each individual case.

This theory also accounts for the law which regulated the evangelists in their quotations from the Old Testament. When using their Scriptures as an authority, they preferred the original Hebrew; but, as I have already noticed, when recording our Lord's arguments, the Septuagint is followed. This is perfectly intelligible, if the conversations in which these quotations are found were carried on in Greek; but, had our Lord discoursed

in Aramaic, and quoted from the Hebrew, it is inconceivable that the evangelists would have followed the Septuagint version in recording his quotations, whilst they themselves preferred using the Hebrew as an authority.

The theory also accounts for the peculiar character of the Greek. Luke by his introduction shews himself by no means incapable of writing good Greek, yet his Gospel, and the first part of the Acts, as well as the other two harmonizing gospels, "next to the Apocalypse, are the most thoroughly Hebraic of any part of the Scriptures."—(Newman in Kitto's *Bib. Cyc.*, article "Hellenists.") Now, it is pretty evident, that even in those parts of Galilee where Greek was the more prevalent language, it would not be in a pure form, but would have a strong Aramaic intermixture, which the evangelists, if they were not translating, but recording what actually occurred, would preserve. In the latter part of the Acts, when Luke was not influenced by this cause, he gives us purer Greek.

The same reason will explain why the verbal resemblance is not discernible in the record of conversations connected with the crucifixion. The language of our Lord's most prejudiced opponents in Jerusalem was not Greek.

The same reason which influenced the evangelists in the choice of their subjects will account for the events of Galilee being almost exclusively recorded.⁴

The resemblance between any two, together with their difference from the third evangelist, either in the incidents or in the historic order of the events, may, I apprehend, be accounted for by our tracing the personal history of the evangelists. Luke and Mark being sometimes together witnesses of apostolic discourses, where Matthew was absent; Mark again, being with Matthew when Luke was absent, and Luke possibly, during his two years' residence in Judea, deriving his information partly from Matthew, or the hearers of Matthew, when Mark was elsewhere.

I have now stated the theory, and shewn how as an hypothesis it accounts for all the phenomena, except one minor point (see p. 72, note), which I have reserved for future examination; and I maintain that, as an hypothesis, it is superior to any one hitherto proposed, inasmuch as it solves all the phenomena, and does so in a probable and simple manner, instead of only accounting for one particular feature, by many improbable and gratuitous assumptions.

⁴ The reason why events in particular localities of Galilee are not recorded will subsequently be noticed.

I now propose making some observations on the different sections in which the verbal resemblance is discernible; but, as Bishop Marsh's observations were made with reference to the theory which he propounded, it will, perhaps, be safer to follow Dr. Davidson in the examples which he has given as quoted above, without, however, losing sight of the learned prelate, particularly with respect to the passages where the verbal resemblance ceases, which did not fall within the province of Dr. Davidson to notice. I append some passages (arranged in harmony), which present any remarkable verbal resemblance. To give in full the whole of the passages referred to would take up too much space: it is hoped, however, that a selection of some remarkable cases of verbal identity, as here given, will assist the reader in following the remarks on each section.

MATT. iii. 1—12; MARK i. 2—8; LUKE iii. 1—18.

In the mission of the Baptist, there appears considerable verbal resemblance. In the third verses of Matthew and Mark, and the fourth of Luke, all differ in the quotation, both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, and all agree in the deviation.

MATTHEW iii.	MARK i.	LUKE iii.
3. . . . The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.	3. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.	4. . . . The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.
4. And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle (<i>ζώνην δερματίνην</i>) about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey.	6. And John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of a skin (<i>ζώνην δερματίνην</i>) about his loins; and he did eat locusts and wild honey.	
5. Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan.	5. And there went out unto him all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem,	
6. And were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.	and were all baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.	
7. . . . O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?		7. . . . O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?
8. Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.		8. Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance,
9. And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our		and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our

MATTHEW iii.

father, for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

10. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.

11. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear.

He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.

12. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, but he will chaff up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

MARK i.

7. There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.

8. I indeed have baptized you with water, He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

LUKE iii.

father, for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

9. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree, therefore, that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.

16. . . . I indeed baptize you with water, but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose.

He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.

17. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.

The verbal resemblance with each other in the quotation, where they at the same time differ from the Septuagint, shews that all could not have derived it immediately from the Septuagint, there must have been some common source for the quotation in its present form. Mr. Horne says:—"It agrees in sense, though not exactly, with the Hebrew, and also with the Septuagint, probably it was so rendered by the sacred writers themselves;" but the verbal resemblance in like manner prevents our supposing that it was so rendered *independently* by each of the sacred writers. Mr. Huxtable, in his learned essay having discussed the matter at some length, infers that the quotation was derived from the Septuagint, but that it was a quotation from memory. Now, it will also be observed, that the resemblance in Matt. iii. 6, with Mark i. 5, is in the narrative, which leads to the conclusion that whatever verbal resemblance there may be between any two of the three evangelists in this passage, it cannot be accounted for solely by the supposition that the language was originally Greek; it comes under the second class of phenomena which I noticed, viz., the verbal resemblance where the evangelists spoke in their own persons. Here then we must

admit that they derived their information from the same source, and that not the immediate fountain-head. But that it was not either a written document or *stereotyped* oral original appears probable from the clauses in Matthew iii. 11, and Luke iii. 16, not being in the same order as in Mark i. 7, 8. The sacred writers must have been ear-witnesses of Peter, or Andrew, or some other of John's disciples, and the quotation from the Old Testament having been from memory leads to the same conclusion.

MATT. viii. 1—4; MARK i. 40—45; LUKE v. 12—16.

In the healing of the leper, here related, the verbal agreement is in the conversation and not in the additional narrative by Mark and Luke. This passage, therefore, is a fair test of the theory with regard to the first and principal class of verbal phenomena, viz., the verbal resemblance in our Lord's discourses.

MATTHEW viii.	MARK i.	LUKE v.
2. . . . Lord, if thou wilt thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean.	40. . . . If thou wilt thou canst make me clean. 41. And Jesus moved with compassion put forth his hand and touched him, and saith unto him, I will, be thou clean.	12. . . Lord, if thou wilt thou canst make me clean. 13. And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean.
4. And Jesus saith unto him, See thou tell no man, but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.	44. And saith unto him, See thou say nothing to any man, but go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.	14. And he charged him to tell no man, but go and shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

Now, as we learn from St. Luke that the leper was *in* one of the cities, it must have been a city where Gentile influence predominated; for it was contrary to the law that a leper should be in one of the cities of Israel (Lev. xiii. 46). Our Lord, moreover, appears to allude to this very leper in his visit to Nazareth (Luke iv. 27); and as he justifies the extension of mercy to him by a similar benefit formerly conferred on a Gentile leper, we may infer that, not only was the city one in which Gentile influence predominated, but that the individual was himself a Gentile. I do not doubt, therefore, that the verbal resemblance in this passage is to be traced to the original discourse having been in Greek.

MATT. viii. 14—17; MARK i. 30—34; LUKE iv. 38—41.

Bishop Marsh finds no verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark in this passage. When Peter and his brother fishermen were first called, the vernacular language among them does not appear to have been Greek—the terms *Messias*[†] and *Cephas* (John i. 41, 42) seem to intimate the contrary; hence, we could not account for any verbal agreement in this passage proceeding from that source. The resemblance pointed out by Dr. Davidson between the fifteenth verse of Matthew and its parallels is not in conversation, but narrative; and as Matthew was not an ear-witness any more than the others, the resemblance is to be attributed to the same source of information, probably Peter himself.

MATTHEW viii. 15.	MARK i. 31.	LUKE iv. 39.
And he touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she arose and ministered unto them.	And he came and took her by the hand and lifted her up, and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them.	And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever, and it left her, and immediately she arose, and ministered unto them.

The quotation in Matthew differing from the Septuagint, but being, according to Moses Stuart, rendered from the Hebrew, is a negative confirmation of the theory proposed.

ISAIAH liii. 4 (LXX).	MATTHEW viii. 17.
Ὁςτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνηταί.	Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.

MATT. ix. 1—8; MARK ii. 1—12; LUKE v. 17—26.

The miracle recorded in this section was performed in Capernaum, one of the cities against which the Lord subsequently denounced the woe. And here I must point out a difference which appears in the contrast drawn by our Lord between Capernaum with Sodom, and that between Chorazin and Bethsaida with Tyre and Sidon. These two last were Gentile cities; but the greater fitness to receive the Lord among the Gentiles was not a

[†] But in Samaria we gather from the woman saying, "Messias, . . . which is called Christ;" that though she styled him *Messias*, in accordance with the usage of the Jews (as she was addressing one), yet that amongst her people, "Christ" was the more general designation.

When the Samaritans murdered Andromachus (cir. a.c. 33), Alexander hastened from Egypt to Samaria to avenge the murder, and having put to death the guilty parties, he banished the rest of the citizens, and repeopled the place with Macedonians.—*Quint. Curt.*, lib. iv.; *Euseb. Chron. A.*, 1685, in *Diodat.*, part i., chap. 2, § 2. After this the Greek language probably prevailed in Samaria.

better moral preparation, but the absence of Jewish prejudice; the contrast, therefore, leads us to infer, that in Chorazin and Bethsaida the Jewish element predominated, and this, according to the theory proposed, accounts for none of the many mighty works which were performed there having been recorded, the Aramaic having been the language which prevailed in those cities.¹ But with regard to Capernaum the case is different; much of what occurred there is recorded; and our Lord, when denouncing the woe, does not compare it with any Jewish or Gentile city then in existence, but with one which had been destroyed because of its moral pollution, implying that the hindrance to his doctrine was not Jewish prejudice, but Gentile dissoluteness. That the Gentile element predominated in Capernaum is, I think, to be gathered from our Lord's address at Nazareth, "Whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here." But he justifies his conduct by the example of Elijah, who was not sent to a woman of Israel, but to a Gentile at Sarepta of Sidon; and again, Elisha did not cure a leper in Israel, but Naaman the Syrian (Luke iv. 16—30). As then the Gentile element predominated at Capernaum, so also the Greek language prevailed there. We have, therefore, reason to expect verbal resemblance between the evangelists when recording our Lord's discourses at Capernaum.

MATTHEW ix.	MARK ii.	LUKE v.
4. . . . Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts?	8. . . . Why reason ye (<i>διαλογίζεσθε</i>) these things in your hearts?	22. . . . What reason ye <i>διαλογίζεσθε</i> in your hearts?
5. For whether is easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise, and walk?	9. Whether is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise, take up thy bed and walk?	23. Whether is easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Rise up, and walk?
6. But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, then saith he to the sick of the palsy, Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.	10. But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy). 11. I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go thy way into thy house.	24. But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power upon earth to forgive sins (he said unto the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go unto thine house.

¹ It was the solution of this particularity in the gospel history which, I stated above, I had reserved for future examination. The miracle at Bethsaida, recorded by Mark, must not be included in the many mighty works, for it was performed after the woe had been denounced. I have little doubt that Bethsaida of Galilee, "the city of Andrew and Peter," was the denounced place; and we have already seen, from John i. 41, 42, that Aramaic was the language which prevailed there.

And so we find it in this passage; all the verbal resemblance is in our Lord's discourse; it is not traceable in that which the Scribes said among themselves, some of whom came from Judea, and therefore, not only from prejudice, but from habit, preferred the Aramaic. And when we come to the narrative, the independent sources of information are evident, all three, for example, employing different words for "that whereon the paralytic lay." Matt., κλίνη. Mark, κράββατος. Luke, κλίνιδιον.

MATT. ix. 9—17; MARK ii. 13—22; LUKE v. 27—39.

This section relates to the call of Matthew, and the feast in his house. Bishop Marsh finds considerable verbal resemblance in this passage, particularly between the fifteenth verse of Matthew and its parallels, which is quite in accordance with the theory proposed.

MATTHEW ix. 15.	MARK ii. 19, 20.	LUKE v. 34, 35.
And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them?	And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? as long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast.	And he said unto them, Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?
But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, (ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν) and then shall they fast.	20. But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, (ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν) and then shall they fast in those days.	35. But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, (ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν) and then shall they fast in those days.

Probably some of the publicans in Judea were actually Gentiles. From our Lord's expression regarding Zaccheus, "He also is a son of Abraham," I should infer that it was not usual for a son of Abraham to be "a chief among the publicans." But whatever they were by birth, from the nature of their calling all must have been familiar with the Greek language, and, in consequence of the hatred of the Jews, they must have associated much either with the Gentile population or with those who were living without the pale of the Jewish Church. Hence, we sometimes find them classed with the "Heathen," or Gentiles, and sometimes with "sinners." Perhaps the latter term does not imply distinctly that they were "sinners of the Gentiles," though Mr. Burgh says, on Matt. ix. 10:—"Sinners.—This word, in this special use of it, probably denotes Gentiles here, as in the following places, chap. xxvi. 45 (compared with chap. xx. 19);

Luke vi. 32; xxiv. 7; Gal. ii. 15." And with regard to the females who were styled "sinners," one might expect that many of them would be Gentiles, as "it seems probable that some of the later Jews interpreted the prohibition against fornication" (Deut. xxii. 21), as limited to females of their own nation." And this, I think, accounts satisfactorily for our Lord's declaration, that the publicans and harlots were more ready than the scribes to enter the kingdom of God: their greater fitness did not proceed from their greater moral delinquency, but from their not having the strong Jewish prejudice of the Scribes and Pharisees.

From the whole I should conclude, that generally we might expect to find in our Lord's addresses to the publicans and sinners such verbal resemblance in the gospels as would indicate that Greek was the language in which the discourse was carried on. With regard to the passage in hand, we have a further confirmation in the quotation by our Lord (Matt. ix. 13), agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint.

MATT. ix. 18—26; MARK v. 22—43; LUKE viii. 41—56.

Bishop Marsh discovered no verbal resemblance in this section, but Dr. Davidson does trace some in the twenty-second and twenty-fourth verses of Matthew, with their parallels.

MATTHEW ix. 22, 24.	MARK v. 34, 39.	LUKE viii. 48, 52.
. . . . He said, Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole.	And he said unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole, go in peace. . . .	And he said unto her, Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole, go in peace.
24. He said unto them, Give place, for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth.	39. He saith unto them, Why make ye this ado and weep? the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth.	52. . . . but he said, Weep not, she is not dead, but sleepeth.

However, they agree in finding no verbal resemblance in the records of the intercourse between our Lord and the ruler of the synagogue. This is what our hypothesis would have led us to expect, the ruler of the synagogue did not address our Lord in Greek, but in Aramaic, and this is confirmed by the very words in which our Lord addressed the damsel, "Talitha, cumi."^a

^a Thus on Prov. ii. 16, "To deliver thee from the strange woman, the stranger," &c., Mr. Bridges observes: "Two different words in the Hebrew, the latter appearing to mark a foreigner."—Comp. Deut. xxiii. 17; Lev. xix. 29.

^b Mark, upon one other occasion, uses an Aramaic word, upon which, as the history (Mark vii. 31—37) has no parallel in the other gospels, we cannot argue with regard to verbal peculiarity; nor is the exact place where the miracle was wrought mentioned. Mr. Gresswell supposes it was Bethsaida; that it was in that neighbour-

The woman who had the issue of blood seems not to have been under the restraint of the Mosaic law of separation, for had the Jewish feeling been powerful, she would not have touched our Lord (Lev. xv. 19, 25). If he addressed her in Greek, a verbal resemblance, such as that in the twenty-second verse of Matthew, with the thirty-fourth of Mark, and forty-eighth of Luke, would be naturally looked for. So with regard to the similarity in the twenty-fourth verse of Matthew, with its parallels, I conceive the multitudes who had gathered from the town of Capernaum were addressed in Greek.

MATT. xii. 9—21; MARK iii. 1—12; LUKE vi. 6—11.

The gospels do not record the exact locality of this transaction. Mr. Greswell (*Harmony*, vol. ii., p. 319, 2nd Edit.), argues, I think correctly, that our Lord had returned from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem after the passover, and was now either in or near Capernaum; and, in accordance with the distinction that verbal resemblance in narrative must be traced to one common historical authority, but that verbal resemblance in the records of conversation is to be traced to the original discourses, the resemblance in this instance being in our Lord's words, I infer that the conversation was in Greek.

MATTHEW xii. 13.	MARK iii. 4.	LUKE vi. 9.
	And he saith unto them, Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day, or to do evil? to save life or to kill?	Then said Jesus unto them, Is it lawful on the Sabbath-day to do good or to do evil? to save life or to destroy it?
Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thine hand; and he stretched it forth, and it was restored whole like as the other.	5. . . . He saith unto the man, Stretch forth thine hand; and he stretched it out, and his hand was restored whole as the other.	10 . . . He said unto the man, Stretch forth thy hand; and he did so, and his hand was restored whole as the other.

MATT. xiv. 13—21; MARK vi. 31—44; LUKE ix. 10—17.

The verbal resemblance in this section occurs in the narrative, Matt., verses 19, 20; Mark, verses 41, 42, 43; Luke, verses 16, 17. We must, therefore, trace it to the same historical au-

hood is apparent from the history, and in features it much resembles the one which, it is recorded, was performed there. His taking the sufferer aside from the multitude before working the cure, and his subsequently charging those few who were witnesses to tell no man, imply that it was a denounced place. If it was Bethsaida, or Chorazin, which is, perhaps, as probable, it would accord with the theory that Aramaic would be spoken.

tho ity, which might have been Matthew himself, or any other of the apostles, for they all were present.^o

MATTHEW xiv. 19, 20.	MARK vi. 41, 42, 43.	LUKE ix. 16, 17.
19. And he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed and brake and gave the loaves to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude.	41. And when he had taken the five loaves and the two fishes, he looked up to heaven, and blessed and brake the loaves and gave them to his disciples to set before them, and the two fishes divided he among them all.	16. Then he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed them and brake, and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude.
20. And they did all eat and were filled, and they took up of the fragments that remained twelve baskets full.	42. And they did all eat and were filled, 43. And they took up of the fragments twelve baskets full.	17. And they did eat and were all filled, and there was taken up of fragments that remained to them twelve baskets.

MATT. xvi. 13—28; MARK viii. 27—ix. 1; LUKE ix. 18—27.

I observed above (see note, p. 22), that probably the vernacular language of Peter was Aramaic; but if, as I have attempted to shew, many, if not most, of our Lord's discourses in Galilee were in the Greek language, his immediate followers would gradually become familiarized with that language: and as "the Greek language, even during the life of Christ, was daily spreading in Palestine" (Davidson, p. 73), it would be quite in accordance with the wisdom of Jesus—who even in his miracles inculcated frugality in preserving that which divine munificence had provided (John vi. 12), and who commanded the use of means to strengthen the life which divine power had restored—not to be prodigal in conferring supernaturally that which could be acquired by ordinary means. We might expect, therefore, that before the mission of the Twelve they would, by the use of the Greek in their ordinary intercourse, be thus qualified for the more efficient exercise of their office. And may there not be an intimation to this effect in the evangelists, when (informing us of the mission) saying that Simon was sent forth with the surname of Peter, conferred by our Lord himself? (Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 14.) Hence, we may expect that, in the latter part of our Lord's ministry, the intercourse between him and his disciples would be carried on in the Greek language.

Before examining this section I must, therefore, make a short digression, in order to shew that our Lord was transfigured

^o The two Bethsaiidas,—that of Gaulonitis, where the miracle was performed (Luke ix. 10), and Bethsaida of Galilee, to which our Lord retreated (Mark vi. 45),—are both mentioned in this section. It is observable that this is the only section until the close where all the four gospels harmonize.—(Compare John vi. 1—13).

at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, six months before the Crucifixion, and consequently after his ministry had continued for full three years.

After the history of the Transfiguration, the next note of time which we have in Matthew is the demand for tribute at Capernaum (Matt. xvii. 24). This must have been in the middle of the month Adar, or only one month before the Crucifixion. (See my work, *The Times of Daniel*, p. 374). There is, therefore, no reason why the Transfiguration should not have been as late as the Feast of Tabernacles, because even then it would have occurred five months before the next recorded trans-action, and I think there are several positive reasons for its having been at that time, viz., the coincidence in doctrinal development, the manifest allusion to tabernacles, a striking coincidence between John and Mark, the harmonies of time and place in the progress towards Jerusalem, and lastly, the motive which our Lord had in manifesting forth his glory.

First, with regard to the doctrinal development: our Lord having so highly commended Peter for his enlightened testimony, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," makes it evident that this was the first explicit declaration on the part of the Apostles to that effect. It cannot be supposed that Peter had already spontaneously made this confession without any peculiar notice of it having been taken by the Messiah. I therefore conclude, that the declaration in John vi. 69, "We believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," as after Matt. xvi. 13, etc., and being a repetition of the testimony already given, it probably was but shortly after; I therefore date John vi. 66, vii. 1, at some time during the week which elapsed between the confession, "Thou art the Christ," etc., and the Transfiguration.

Next, the allusion to the Feast of Tabernacles:—we learn that this Feast "was at hand." It was time for those who intended to attend, to start from Galilee; our Lord, however, told his brethren, "I go not up yet to the feast." (John vii. 2—9.)

The Transfiguration was on the eighth day, inclusive, from the time of Peter's confession; and if Tabor was "the holy mount," our Lord had been drawing towards Jerusalem: and Peter (in accordance with nothing that is recorded in the synoptical gospels, but corresponding precisely with what our Lord had told his brethren, as reported by John) proposed to make tabernacles there, saying, "Master, it is good for us to be here. You are drawing towards Jerusalem, where the Jews of late sought to kill thee (John vii. 1): rather let us 'stay here' to keep the feast."

Thirdly, we have the coincidence between John and Mark: after "his brethren were gone up, then went [Jesus] also up to the feast, not openly, but *as it were in secret*" (John vii. 10), which appears to correspond remarkably with Mark ix. 30, "And they departed thence, and passed through Galilee; and *he would not that any man should know it.*"

We have also the harmonies of time and place, for our Lord appeared at Jerusalem about the midst of the feast (John vii. 14), corresponding precisely as to time, upon the supposition that he was upon the holy mount on the night previous to the first day of the feast.^p

Lastly, John acknowledges, or alludes to, the Jewish tradition, that Messiah would appear at the Feast of Tabernacles. "Now, the Jews' Feast of Tabernacles was at hand: his brethren *therefore* said unto him, Depart hence, go into *Judea*. . . . shew thyself to the world." (See the chapter on the Transfiguration in my treatise, *The Finished Mystery*.) That which his unbelieving brethren tauntingly demanded, but without avail, our Lord did vouchsafe to his confessing disciples,—the vision of "the Son of Man coming in his kingdom," and at the very season at which it was traditionally expected. Here I close what, I fear, may be considered rather a long digression, but having, I trust, succeeded in proving that the Transfiguration was at the Feast of Tabernacles, six months before the Crucifixion.

And now to turn to the passage in hand. When our Lord said, "Thou art Peter [that name which he himself had already conferred], and upon this *Rock* (*ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῇ πέτρῃ*), I will build my church"^q (Matt. xvi. 18), he must have been talking Greek. The remarkable verbal resemblance that there is throughout the conversation in this section, I, therefore, attribute unhesitatingly to the discourse having been originally in Greek.

MATTHEW xvi. 13.	MARK viii. 27.	LUKE ix. 18.
. . . He asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I (the Son of Man) am ? 14. And they said, Some . . . John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets.	. . . He asked his disciples, saying unto them, Whom do men say that I am ? 28. And they answered, John the Baptist, but some say Elias ; and others one of the prophets.	. . . He asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am ? 19. They answering said, John the Baptist, but some say Elias, and others say that one of the prophets is risen again.

^p His delay on the journey from Galilee, by Mount Tabor, to Jerusalem, would account for his saying to his disciples in Galilee, "I go not up *yet* to the feast."

^q If Peter was a translation, why was not "Simon-Barjona" translated ?

MATTHEW xvi. 13.	MARK viii. 27.	LUKE ix. 18.
15. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am?	29. And he saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am?	20. He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am?
16. And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.	And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ.	Peter answering said, The Christ of God.

MATT. xvii. 1—13; MARK ix. 2—13; LUKE ix. 28—36.

The matter of this section must have been derived from one or other of the three who witnessed the vision. I suppose that both Matthew and Mark derived their information from Peter, which will account, in part at least, for the resemblance between those two pointed out by Bishop Marsh (Matt. xvii. 1, 2, 4, with Mark ix. 2 and 5); but the verbal resemblance in this part being wanting in Luke, I should suppose that he derived his information from *Paul probably*, and if so, the verbal resemblance in his thirty-fifth verse with the fifth of Matthew and seventh verse of Mark must be in consequence of the words having been originally in Greek.

MATTHEW xvii.	MARK ix.	LUKE ix.
1. And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up unto an high mountain apart, &c., &c.	2. And after six days Jesus taketh Peter and James and John, and leadeth them up unto an high mountain apart by themselves, &c., &c.	
4. Then answered Peter and said unto Jesus, Lord (Κύριε), it is good for us to be here; if thou wilt let us make here three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.	5. And Peter answered and said to Jesus, Master (Ῥαββί), it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.	
5. . . Behold a bright cloud overshadowed them.	7. And there was a cloud that overshadowed them,	34. . . There came a cloud and overshadowed them, and they feared as they entered into the cloud.
And behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε).	And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, hear him. (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε).	35. And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, hear him. (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε).

MATT. xix. 13—30; MARK x. 13—31; LUKE xviii. 15—30.

In this passage Bishop Marsh traces considerable verbal resemblance, and the resemblance being in the conversation, the conversation must have been carried on in that language which has preserved the verbal resemblance; this might be expected, for the Lord was now east of Jordan, a district which, according to Hug, was mostly in possession of the Greeks.

MATTHEW xix.

16. . . Good Master
what good thing shall I do,
that I may have
eternal life?

17. And he said unto
him, Why callest thou me
good, there is none good,
but one, that is God;
but if thou wilt enter into
life, keep the
commandments.

18. He said unto him,
Which?
Jesus said,
Thou shalt do no murder.
Thou shalt not commit
adultery.
Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not bear false
witness.

19. Honour thy father
and thy mother;
and thou shalt love thy
neighbour as thyself.

20. The young man said,
unto him,
All these things have I
kept from my youth up.
What lack I yet?

21. Jesus
said
unto him,
If thou wilt be perfect,
go and sell
that thou hast, and give
to the poor,
and thou shalt have
treasure in heaven;
and come
and follow me.

23. . . . Verily,
I say unto you,
that a rich man shall

MARK x.

17. Good Master
what shall I do,
that I may inherit
eternal life?

18. And Jesus said unto
him, Why callest thou me
good, there is none good
but one, that is God.

19. Thou knowest the
commandments.

Do not commit
adultery
Do not kill.
Do not steal.
Do not bear false
witness.
Defraud not.

Honour thy father
and thy mother.

20. And he answered
and said unto him,
Master, all these have I
observed from my youth.

21. And Jesus beholding
him loved him, and said
unto him,
One thing thou lackest,
go thy way, sell whatsoever
thou hast, and give
to the poor,
and thou shalt have
treasure in heaven;
and come, take up thy cross
and follow me.

23. . . . And
saith unto his disciples,
How hardly shall they that

LUKE xviii.

18. . . . Good Master,
what shall I do
to inherit
eternal life?

19. And Jesus said unto
him, Why callest thou me
good, none is good
save one, that is God.

20. Thou knowest the
commandments.

Do not commit
adultery.
Do not kill.
Do not steal.
Do not bear false
witness.

Honour thy father
and thy mother.

21. And
he said,
All these have I
kept from my youth up.

22. Now when Jesus heard
these things, he said
unto him,
Yet lackest thou one thing,
sell all that thou
hast, and distribute
unto the poor,
and thou shalt have
treasure in heaven:
and come,
follow me.

24. . . . He
said,
How hardly shall they that

MATTHEW xix.	MARK x.	LUKE xviii.
hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.	have riches enter into the kingdom of God.	have riches enter into the kingdom of God.
24. . . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.	25. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.	25. For it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.
25. When his disciples heard it they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved?	20. And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves, Who then can be saved?	26. And they that heard it said, Who then can be saved?
26. But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible.	27. And Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God, for with God all things are possible.	27. And he said, the things which are impossible with men, are possible with God.
27. Then answered Peter and said unto him, Behold, we have forsaken all and followed thee, what shall we have therefore?	28. Then Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all and followed thee.	28. Then Peter said, Lo, we have left all and followed thee.
28. And Jesus said unto them . . .	29. And Jesus said unto them, . . . There is no man that hath left (<i>ἀφῆκεν</i>) house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake,	29. And he saith unto them, . . . There is no man that hath left (<i>ἀφῆκεν</i>) house, or brethren, or parents, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake. . . .
shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit eternal life.	but he shall receive an hundred-fold now in this time, and in the world to come eternal life.	and in the world to come life everlasting.

The quotations by our Lord from the Old Testament in this passage (Matt. xix. 18, 19), agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint, strongly corroborate the position that the discourse was in Greek; but a quotation in the immediately preceding context firmly establishes the fact. Hug has used this quotation (Matt. xix. 5) in proof of Matthew having written his gospel in Greek. It is, doubtless, good for that; but it goes farther, because the argument is not Matthew's, but our Lord's, and the proof lies in the words, "They twain," which are in the Septuagint, but are not in the Hebrew; our Lord, therefore, must have derived them from the Greek, and must have urged the authority of the Greek Scriptures upon his hearers.

MATT. xxi. 12, 13; MARK xi. 15—19; LUKE xix. 45—48.

The resemblance in the twelfth verse of Matthew, with its parallels, being in the narrative, cannot be accounted for by the language in use at the time.

MATTHEW xxi.	MARK xi.	LUKE xix.
12. And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, etc.	15. . . . And Jesus went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, etc.	45. And he went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought.

Comparing St. Mark's account, which appears more precise as to time, and more copious as to incident, I should suppose that Matthew had not been an eye-witness. The quotation from Isaiah in Mark, verse 17, and its parallels, agrees both with the Septuagint and Hebrew; there is nothing, therefore, I conceive, in this paragraph which would shew that our Lord's language was Greek upon this occasion; and perhaps, from his being in the Temple, the contrary would be inferred. There are, however, indications in this chapter which make it probable that Greek was the language very generally in use, even at Jerusalem, during the period of the Passover.

The money-changers, and those who sold the animals for sacrifice, did not look for their customers from among the Jews of Jerusalem; they posted themselves in the Temple for the convenience of those Jews who came from a distance, who could not bring their sacrifices with them, and who might not have the half shekel "according to the shekel of the sanctuary," which each person was obliged to pay individually for himself.^r It is to be observed, that on both occasions when our Lord cleared the Temple, it was at the season of the Passover, when "devout men" from a distance were congregated there; and perhaps, looking at second causes, the impunity upon each occasion might be attributed to the much stronger feeling of reverence felt towards him by those who were not under the influence of the Pharisaic party of Judea.

St. John also tells us that certain Greeks desired to see Jesus, an incident which Mr. Greswell inserts at the seventeenth verse of this chapter; they, I presume, must have talked Greek, yet there is no intimation that the language used by them was different from that of others.

^r According to the Talmudists, money-changers took their seats in the Temple on the 15th of the month Adar, and exchanged the coins of those who came up to Jerusalem to pay the half-shekel.—*Akerman's Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 19.

Again, the quotation in the sixteenth verse of Matthew is from the Septuagint; so that upon the whole it is probable that our Lord conversed in Greek upon this occasion.

MATT. xxi. 23—27, 33—46; MARK xi. 27—xii. 12;
LUKE xx. 1—19.

In this section the events of the following day are recorded. Here we find considerable verbal harmony in the conversation. And as our Lord was teaching the people and declaring the glad tidings in the Temple when interrupted by the chief priests and scribes, we must inquire whether it was probable that his discourses in the Temple at this time would have been in the Greek language.

MATTHEW xxi.

23. . . . By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?

24. And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in likewise will tell you by what authority I do these things.

25. The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him?

26. But if we shall say, Of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet.

27. And they answered Jesus and said, We cannot tell. And he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

MARK xi.

28. . . . By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority to do these things?

29. And Jesus answered and said unto them, I will also ask of you one question, and answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things.

30. The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?

31. And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say, Why then did ye not believe him?

32. But if we shall say, Of men; they feared the people; for all men counted John that he was a prophet indeed.

33. And they answered and said unto Jesus, We cannot tell. And Jesus answering, saith unto them, Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.

LUKE xx.

2. . . . By what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this authority?

3. And he answered and said unto them, I will also ask you one thing, and answer me.

4. The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?

5. And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say, Why then believed ye him not?

6. But and if we say, Of men; all the people will stone us; for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.

7. And they answered, that they could not tell whence it was. And Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

The multitude addressed by the Lord all held that John was a prophet (verse 26); they were not favourably disposed towards

the chief priests and elders, and they were well inclined towards the Lord (verse 46). We find, from the parable of the two sons, that the publicans and harlots were amongst those who were eagerly attentive to hear him (Matt. xxi. 31); from the parable of the wicked husbandmen, that the privileges of the Theocracy were to be taken from the Jewish rulers, and to pass to the Gentiles (Matt. xxi. 43); from the parable of the marriage-feast, that whilst those first invited would be rejected, others, both bad and good, the Hellenists and Jews not residing in Judea, as also perhaps the Gentiles, would be admitted (Matt. xxii. 10); and yet, though the whole tenor of his preaching was against the Pharisaic party, it gave satisfaction rather than offence to the multitude. Now our Lord, when interrupted by the rulers, would have been addressing himself to those most willing to hear him, in the language most generally understood by them; and if this included those Jews from a distance whose prejudices were not already awakened by the rulers at Jerusalem; if it included the publicans and harlots, who, as I have already observed, were most conversant with the Greek; if, in short, he was addressing those who were not under the influence of the Pharisaic party, it is not improbable that his discourses were in the Greek language. And therefore, when the elders challenged his authority, it would have been in the Greek language also. Hence I suppose that the verbal resemblance in the conversation in this passage is to be attributed to the language having been Greek, which is confirmed by the quotation in the forty-second verse of Matthew, with the parallels agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint.*

Bearing in mind the cause of our Lord's popularity with the multitude, we are able to discern how much of the wisdom of the serpent there was in the next step of the Pharisees. They sent certain of their own party with the Herodians, in order to ensnare him in his discourse, that by means of his words they might deliver him to the Governor.

From the nature of the question propounded (Mark xii. 13—15), one may infer that as the Pharisees were opposed to, so the Herodians were in favour of, paying tribute to Cæsar. Probably they belonged to Herod's jurisdiction (Galilee), and had adopted, or at least countenanced, the Gentilizing tendencies of the family, and were willing that Herod should hold his authority from the Gentile usurper. Now, to admit the lawfulness of Cæsar's claim to tribute was, in the estimation of the

* From the pleasurable surprise with which the Jews at Jerusalem heard Paul speak Hebrew (Acts xxii. 2), it is evident that had he addressed them in Greek it would not have been unusual.

Pharisees, the resignation of their hopes with regard to the Messiah, who they expected would seize the throne of David, and "put to flight the armies of the aliens." Upon this one question here propounded, therefore, the side taken by them was the popular one; but as to any other point of difference between the two parties, as to laxity or scrupulousness in the observance of the law, the multitudes who followed the Lord would have leaned to the Herodian rather than to the Pharisaic view.

The question, then, was full of subtilty, for had our Lord urged the payment of tribute, all the expectations of the people as to his being the King of Israel (John xii. 13, 15) would have been extinguished, his popularity would have been at an end, and the Pharisees would have been able to arrest him without fear. They therefore anticipated a reply, which seemed the only alternative, when they would have been able to say with some show of truth, "We found this [man] perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ [the] king" (Luke xxiii. 2).

I think it probable, therefore, that this conversation, intended by the Pharisees for the multitude, for the Herodians, and for the Roman authorities, was in Greek. So also was the continuation of the discourse by the Sadducees, as the quotation (Matt. xxii. 32), agreeing with the Septuagint, and not with the Hebrew, demonstrates. The resemblance in verse 44 is to be accounted for in a similar manner.

MATTHEW xxi. 44.

And whosoever shall fall on this stone
shall be broken:
but on whomsoever it shall fall,
it will grind him to powder
(*λυμήσει αὐτόν*).

LUKE xi. 18.

Whosoever shall fall upon that stone
shall be broken;
but on whomsoever it shall fall,
it will grind him to powder
(*λυμήσει αὐτόν*).

MATT. xxiv. 1—36; MARK xiii. 1—36; LUKE xxi. 5—36.

I have already suggested that, during the latter part of his ministry, our Lord discoursed with his disciples chiefly in the Greek, from which cause I derive the great verbal resemblance in this prophecy, of which are appended a few specimens.

MATTHEW xxiv.

2. . . . There shall not
be left here
one stone upon another,
that shall not be thrown
down, &c.

3. . . . Tell us when
shall these things be? and
what shall be the sign

MARK xiii.

2. . . . There shall not
be left
one stone upon another,
that shall not be thrown
down, &c.

4. Tell us when
shall these things be? and
what shall be the sign

LUKE xxi.

6. . . . There shall not
be left
one stone upon another,
that shall not be thrown
down, &c.

7. . . . But when
shall these things be? and
what sign will there be

MATTHEW xxiv.	MARK xiii.	LUKE xxi.
of thy coming, and of the end of the world? &c.	when all these things shall be fulfilled, &c.	when these things shall come to pass, &c.
6. And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled, &c.	7. And when ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled, &c.	9. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified, &c.
7. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, &c.	8. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be earthquakes in divers places, and there shall be famines and troubles, &c.	10. . . . Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, &c.
9. . . . And ye shall be hated of all nations, for my name's sake.	13. And ye shall be hated of all men, for my name's sake.	17. And ye shall be hated of all men, for my name's sake.
16. Then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains, &c.	14. . . . Then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains, &c.	21. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains, &c.
19. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.	17. But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.	23. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.
35. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.	31. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.	33. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

I suppose that the verbal resemblance in the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew is attributable to the conversation having been in Greek; the quotation in the thirty-first verse, agreeing with the Septuagint, confirms it.

VERBAL CORRESPONDENCE IN SECTIONS COMMON TO ONLY
TWO OF THE GOSPELS.

MATT. xiv. 22—34; MARK vi. 45—53.

The resemblance being in the narrative, and not in conversation, must, I suppose, be attributed to the same common authority. As Mark alone mentions Bethsaida (of Galilee), Peter's native place, perhaps the relation was from Peter.

MATT. xv. 7—10; MARK vii. 6, 7, 14.

MATTHEW xv. 7—10.

7. Ye hypocrites! well did Esaias prophecy of you, saying, 8. This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

9. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, &c.

MARK vii. 6, 7—14.

6. Well hath Esaias prophesied of you, hypocrites, as it is written, This people

honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

7. Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, &c.

The disciples were eating with defiled hands, contrary to the traditions observed by "the Pharisees and all the Jews" (Mark vii. 3), which shews their strong Gentile tendencies. Our Lord's quotation agreeing with the Septuagint, and not with the Hebrew, seems to imply that the conversation was in Greek. It is most probable that the appeal to the people (Matt. xv. 10) was in Greek. Matthew has probably preserved the conversation in the correct order, and the first part of our Lord's reply to the Scribes and Pharisees who came from Jerusalem may have been in Aramaic; but for the sake of the disciples, the latter part was in Greek. The sudden transition from one language to another will not appear strange to any one who has been in localities where two languages are prevalent.

MATT. xv. 26—32; MARK vii. 27—viii. 1, 2.

MATTHEW xv. 26—32.

26. But he answered and said,

It is not meet
to take the children's bread, and to
cast it to dogs, etc.

MARK vii. 27.

27. But Jesus said unto her,
Let the children first be filled,
for it is not meet
to take the children's bread, and to
cast it unto the dogs, &c.

The discourse with the Greek woman was doubtless in Greek; and when our Lord was passing through Decapolis (Mark vii. 31) the multitude who "glorified the God of Israel" (Matt. xv. 31) were, one would suppose, Gentiles, who hitherto had not believed in "the God of Israel."

MATT. xix. 5, 6; MARK x. 7—9.

MATTHEW xix. 5.

5. For this cause shall a man leave
father and mother, and shall
cleave to his wife,
and they twain (*οἱ δύο*)
shall be one flesh.

6. What therefore God hath
joined together,
let no man put asunder.

MARK x. 7.

7. For this cause shall a man leave
his father and mother, and
cleave to his wife.

8. And they twain (*οἱ δύο*)
shall be one flesh.

9. What therefore God hath
joined together,
let no man put asunder.

In this passage our Lord must have been speaking Greek; for, as I have already observed, he evidently quoted from the Septuagint, because his argument turns upon the words "they twain," which are in the Septuagint, but are not in the Hebrew.

MATT. xx. 22—28; MARK x. 38—45.

MATTHEW xx.

22. But Jesus answered and said,
Ye know not what ye ask.
Are ye able to drink of the cup that

MARK x.

38. But Jesus said unto them,
Ye know not what ye ask.
Can ye drink of the cup that

MATTHEW ix.

I shall drink of? and to be
baptized with the baptism
that I am baptized with? etc.

MARK i.

I drink of? and be
baptized with the baptism
that I am baptized with? etc.

Our Lord's converse with his disciples, as I have already observed, was now most probably in the Greek language. To that cause I should attribute the verbal resemblance in this passage. But as Matthew did not hear the first part of the discourse (Matt. xx. 24), he and Mark might both have heard it repeated by the same individual.

MATT. xxiv. 22; MARK xiii. 20.**MATTHEW xxiv. 22.**

22. And except those days should be
shortened, there should no flesh be
saved; but for the elect's sake
those days shall be shortened.

MARK xiii. 20.

20. And except that the Lord had
shortened those days, no flesh should be
saved; but for the elect's sake,
whom he hath chosen,
he hath shortened the days.

I have already observed that this prophecy was delivered in Greek.

SECTIONS COMMON TO MARK AND LUKE ONLY.**MARK i. 24, 25; LUKE iv. 34, 35.****MARK i.**

24. Saying, Let us alone, what have
we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth,
art thou come to destroy us? I know
thee who thou art, the Holy One of God,
etc. etc.

LUKE iv.

34. Saying, Let us alone, what have
we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth,
art thou come to destroy us? I know
thee who thou art, the Holy One of God,
etc. etc.

The language might have been Greek, or the similarity may have been from the narration of the same individual, probably Peter.

MARK viii. 38; LUKE ix. 26.**MARK viii. 38.**

Whosoever, therefore, shall be
ashamed of me and of my words,
in this adulterous and sinful generation,
of him also shall the Son of Man
be ashamed, when he cometh in the
glory of his Father,
with the holy angels.

LUKE ix. 26.

For whosoever shall be
ashamed of me and of my words,
of him shall the Son of Man
be ashamed, when he shall come in his
own glory and in his Father's,
and of the holy angels.

I have already observed that the language upon this occasion was Greek.

MARK ix. 38, 40; LUKE ix. 49, 50.

MARK ix. 38—40.

38. And John answered him, saying,
Master, we saw one casting out devils
in thy name, and he followeth not us,
and we forbad him, because
he followeth not us, &c.

40. . . . For he that is not against us
is on our part.

LUKE ix. 49, 50.

49. And John answered and said,
Master, we saw one casting out devils
in thy name,
and we forbad him, because
he followeth not us, &c.

50. . . . For he that is not against us
is for us.

The resemblance here is, I conceive, attributable to the conversation having been in Greek; had the verbal similarity proceeded from the two evangelists having used some common written original, or derived their knowledge from some stereotyped oral gospel, we should not have expected to find part of the same discourse wholly in another connexion in Luke (chap. xvii. 1—3).

SECTIONS COMMON TO MATTHEW AND LUKE ONLY.

MATT. v. 44, with LUKE vi. 27, 28; and MATT. vii. 5, with
LUKE vi. 42.

MATTHEW v. 44.

But I say unto you,
Love your enemies,
bless them that curse you, &c.

MATTHEW vii. 5.

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam
out of thine eye, and then shalt thou
see clearly to cast out the mote
out of thy brother's eye.

LUKE vi. 27—28.

But I say unto you which hear,
Love your enemies,
do good to them which hate you.
28. Bless them that curse you, &c.

LUKE vi. 42.

Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam
out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou
see clearly to cast out the mote
that is in thy brother's eye.

The Sermon on the Mount having been delivered in the hearing of a mixed multitude, some from Decapolis, some from the country beyond Jordan (Matt. iv. 25), and some from Tyre and Sidon (Luke vi. 17), was, I doubt not, in the Greek language.* In Matt. v. 47, 48, from the seeming jingle in Greek between "publicans" and "perfect," Wetstein argues that it was

* In Matt. v. 11, our Lord uses a Greek proverb,—“One iota or one apex shall not pass away from the law until all be fulfilled.” Diodati remarks, that the Greek *Iota*, the Hebrew *Yod*, the Chaldee *Hik*, and the Syriac *Yud*, being each the smallest letters in their respective alphabets, the proverb would hold good in any of those languages; but as the speaker only used the Greek characters, it is quite certain that it sprang from his speaking Greek. A Greek proverb was current in that day, whereby anything exceedingly minute was compared to an *iota* (Diodati, part ii., chap. ii., sec. 4).

written (or rather I should say *spoken*) in Greek.* In Matt. vi. 16, the Paranomasia, in like manner, intimates a Greek original. Bishop Jebb's remarks on this portion of Scripture, in his *Sacred Literature*, strongly imply a Greek original. He says on Matt. vi. 3, 4, 6, 17, 18, "In the original of these three pair of triplets are several rhyming terminations which in an English version it is impossible to preserve" (Jebb's *Sacred Literature*, pp. 160, 161)."

MATT. viii. 8—10; LUKE vii. 6—9.

MATTHEW viii.

5. . . . There came unto him a centurion, beseeching him,

6. And saying, Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented.

7. And Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him.

8. The centurion answered and said,

. . . . Lord,
I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof ;

but speak the word only,
and my servant shall be healed.

9. For I am a man set under authority, having soldiers under me : and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth ; and to another, Come, and he cometh ; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it, etc.

LUKE vii.

3. And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him the elders of the Jews, beseeching him that he would come, and heal his servant.

4. And when they came to Jesus, they besought him instantly, saying, That he was worthy for whom he should do this.

5. For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.

6. Then Jesus went with them, and when he was not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him,

. . . . Lord, trouble not thyself, for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof,

7. Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee, but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.

8. For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers, and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth ; and to another, Come, and he cometh ; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it, etc.

There is some difference between the two evangelists in the account of the healing of the centurion's servant : Matthew says that the centurion came to our Lord ; Luke says that, in the first instance, he sent elders of the Jews, and subsequently some of his own friends ; and yet, although there is this difference, there is a verbal resemblance in part of the conversation. Now a common written original, or a stereotyped oral one, cannot account for the verbal identity, because, in that case, the discrepancy could not have occurred.

* But against this it may be urged, that Griesbach gives a various reading,—“*heathen*” instead of “*publicans*.”

† When the Bishop made this observation, the impression upon his mind must have been, that the Greek of Matthew's gospel recorded the very words spoken by our Lord.

It is remarkable also that there is no verbal resemblance in the message borne by the elders of the Jews ; but the resemblance is observable in the message borne by the friends of the centurion. Is it not allowable to suppose that the elders addressed our Lord in Aramaic, but that the Gentiles used the Greek language ?

MATT. viii. 20, 22 ; LUKE ix. 58. 60.

MATTHEW viii. 20.

And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests ; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head, etc.

LUKE ix. 58.

58. And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests ; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head, etc.

It would be difficult also to account for the verbal resemblance in this passage, upon the supposition of a common written or stereotyped oral original, the connexion is so different. It appears probable that the language of our Lord was Greek.

MATT. xi. 3—11, 16—19 ; LUKE vii. 19—28, 31—35.

MATTHEW xi.

3. . . . Art thou he that should come ? or do we look for another ?

4. . . . Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see.

5. The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them, etc.

LUKE vii.

19. . . . Art thou he that should come ? or look we for another ?

22. . . . Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard ; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached, etc.

Matthew probably was absent at this time, so perhaps some might be inclined to attribute his verbal resemblance with Luke in this passage to the same source of information. But it appears much more probable that the messengers which the Baptist sent from the southern extremity of Peræa spoke Greek, and that our Lord continued to address the "publicans" and multitudes in the same language.

MATT. xii. 41—45 ; LUKE xi. 31, 32, 24—26.

MATTHEW xii. 41.

The men of Nineveh shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it : because they repented at the preaching of Jonas ; and behold, a greater than Jonas is here, etc.

LUKE xi. 32.

The men of Nineve shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it : for they repented at the preaching of Jonas ; and behold, a greater than Jonas is here, etc.

The Lord had now withdrawn to the sea to avoid the Pharisees, and as the multitudes who followed him were partly from

Idumea, and beyond the Jordan, and from Tyre and Sidon (Mark iii. 7, 8), it is probable that our Lord's addresses were in Greek.*

MATT. xiii. 33; LUKE xi. 20, 21.

MATTHEW xiii. 33.

Another parable spake he unto them
The kingdom of heaven is like unto
leaven, which a woman took, and hid
in three measures of meal, till the
whole was leavened.

LUKE xi. 20—21.

And again he said, Whereunto shall I
liken the kingdom of God? It is like
leaven, which a woman took, and hid
in three measures of meal, till the
whole was leavened, etc.

We learn from St. Mark (iv. 11) that the multitudes present were composed of "them that were without," that is, I suppose, the Gentiles; the language therefore was Greek.

MATT. xxiii. 37, 38; LUKE xiii. 34, 35.

MATTHEW xxiii. 37.

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that
killest the prophet, and stonest them
which are sent unto thee, how often
would I have gathered thy children
together, even as a hen gathereth her
chickens under her wings,
and ye would not! etc.

LUKE xiii. 34.

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which
killest the prophets, and stonest them
that are sent unto thee, how often
would I have gathered thy children
together, as a hen doth gather her
brood under her wings,
and ye would not! etc.

The connexion in which this passage occurs in Matthew, being so different from that in Luke, militates against either theory of a common documentary, or a stereotyped oral original. And the resemblance being in our Lord's own words, leads to the conclusion that the language was Greek, as we have already observed with regard to the twenty-fourth of Matthew.

Having now gone through the sections mentioned by Dr. Davidson, where verbal resemblance is found, I must now, according to promise, shortly notice those quotations by our Lord from the Old Testament, which do not agree with the Septuagint.

The first exception is Matthew xi. 10, together with the parallels, Mark i. 2, and Luke vii. 27. Here the evangelists differ both from the Septuagint and the Hebrew, from which, therefore, no positive argument can be raised either for or against the theory. Stuart supposes that the quotation is rendered from the Hebrew, whilst Randolph supposes some corruption in the text. Now, according to the theory proposed, the quotation as it occurs in Mark's gospel should agree with the Hebrew, because

* In Matt. xii. 49, our Lord mentioning the *whale* instead of *fish*, seems to indicate that he was quoting or referring to the Septuagint.

it is introduced as cited by the evangelist himself; but as it occurs in Matthew and Luke, it should agree with the Septuagint, because in those gospels it occurs as the quotation by our Lord. Now it is a fact that verbal resemblance is found between passages in the more modern manuscripts of the gospels, where, in the more ancient examples, the verbal resemblance is wanting, showing that verbal resemblance, in some instances, is to be accounted for by a tampering with the text, in order to produce uniformity. Now, in no case would such a tampering be more likely than in the one where the same passage from the Old Testament was quoted differently by different evangelists. I do not say positively that this was the case here, but it does not appear an improbable conjecture that the present reading may have been formed from the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and perhaps Luke i. 76.

Matthew xxii. 37, is the next exception. Our Lord's answer to the lawyer at Jerusalem, we might expect to have been taken from the Hebrew Scriptures.

MATTHEW xxvii. 46.

This exception is a great confirmation of the theory. When our Lord spoke in Hebrew, the quotation differed from the Septuagint, which leads us to infer that, when the quotation does agree with the Septuagint, and not with the Hebrew, he used the Greek version.²

LUKE xxii. 37.

Our Lord was not in controversy with enemies who might cavil at his words; but discoursing with his disciples, and the sense being the same, he may have rendered from the Hebrew, as probably as quoted from the Septuagint.

The only objection which I can anticipate to the theory, taken as a whole—I speak not of exceptions to the detail—is the opinion that Matthew originally wrote his gospel in Aramaic. This paper has already been extended to such a length, that I can only refer to Dr. Davidson for the arguments in favour of such a supposition, and to a long and able note of Moses Stuart, in Fosdick's edition of Hug, against it. I think I may be permitted to add, that if the arguments on either side were at all equally balanced before, the powerful internal evidence against an Aramaic original which this theory supplies, may be sufficient to es-

² The bystanders, from their remark, "This man calleth for Elias," must have supposed that our Lord was speaking Greek. We can hardly suppose that their ears were familiar with the Aramaic or Hebrew, and those who said, "Let be, let us see whether Elias will come," were probably speaking Greek.

tablish the blessed fact, that not only is the present Greek text of Matthew the original of that Apostle, but that in many of the discourses we have the identical words of our Lord himself. An original Aramaic gospel would have recorded events—of which there must have been many—connected with our Lord's discourses in that language, and therefore in the locality of Judea rather than of Galilee.

THE VISIT OF THE MAGI; THE TIME AND PLACE OF ITS OCCURRENCE.

THE events in the narrative of our Saviour's infancy and childhood form the exquisitely beautiful and appropriate introduction to the records of his ministry. Matthew and Luke have given us that most interesting introduction;—Luke fixing our attention on the earliest historical incidents; marking the relationship that existed between Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist; speaking more of Mary and her experiences, than of Joseph and his; telling of the visit of the shepherds to the new-born babe; of the circumcision; the presentation in the temple and the attendant circumstances; and lastly, of the return of the family "to their own city, Nazareth," (to all appearance) *immediately after* "they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord:" while Matthew, after briefly alluding to Joseph's conduct towards Mary, and to the calling of the child by the name "Jesus," proceeds to speak of Herod the king, and his fears, as roused by the visit of the Magi; of his cunning and cruelty; of the divine warnings given to Joseph on various occasions; of the secret return of the Magi to the East; of Joseph's secret departure to Egypt; and of his return on the death of Herod.

For the view of the order of some of those events, which we intend shortly to put before the readers of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, we shall require that sympathy, and impartiality, without which, no attempt to give a new^a explication of a difficult chronological problem can be fairly and justly valued.

The demand we have to make on the patient consideration of the biblical critic may be all the more willingly complied with, when we affirm that, while our views are *opposed to an*

^a See last paragraph of this article.

inference that has generally been drawn from the words of Scripture, they yet agree with the words of Scripture themselves, and reconcile those portions of the history of our Lord's infancy, in Luke and Matthew, which, hitherto, have been regarded as almost irreconcilable.

In reading Luke's narrative, *we propose to read continuously on to the thirty-ninth verse of the second chapter of Luke's gospel, and immediately after that, to take in the second chapter of Matthew.* This will shew, at once, how valuable such chronological order would be, if it could be legitimately obtained.

To consider, then, Matthew's precise statements:—

We object, in the first place, to the phraseology by which *Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ*, etc., has been translated. The indefinite time of the aorist would be more precisely marked by rendering "*After Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king.*" The ordinary translation in our English version, though not a mistranslation, yet insensibly leads the mind to regard what follows as following *immediately after* the birth of Jesus; and not as succeeding that event at a more distant and less definite period. But we merely require the admission that the phrases in the original Greek of Matt. ii. 1, would be equally applicable, where they occur, whether the visit of the Magi took place a month or two, or many months, after the birth of Christ.

Having made this allusion to Bethlehem, as the birth-place of Jesus, Matthew *does not again mention Bethlehem* in connexion with Jesus, or with Mary, or Joseph.

The Magi he describes as coming from the East to Jerusalem. Now, Chaldæa, Assyria, Persia, India, are the East, as far as Jerusalem is concerned. The part of Arabia that could be included under the same head is small, indeed. That they came from a very great distance is probable. And it is apparent that they saw the star for the first time, long before they began to make inquiries at Jerusalem. Indeed, whether the light that shone over and around the shepherds, on the very night of Christ's birth, was related to the sign the Magi saw, or whether a planetary or stellar phenomenon fixed their gaze; there are various reasons for supposing that the date at which they first beheld the sign, or the date at which it was most conspicuous, was the date of the Saviour's birth. This date it was that Herod, with considerable anxiety, secretly ascertained from the Magi. The use he made of it is too well known.

The position of the Magi at Jerusalem was very peculiar. They did not come in fear of an enemy, or seeking the protection of a powerful prince; the allegiance they offered was frankly

and disinterestedly offered; and out of deference to some higher idea, than the kingdoms they had known or passed through could afford them. It was not Herod's power they revered. In their earnest search, they forgot Herod and the citizens of Jerusalem. They wondered that no one could tell them of him whom they sought. "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" was their question; "for we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him." The Magi were not derided by any in Jerusalem. Their presence there, with their attendants (if we are to suppose that they were men of great influence in their own land, and wealthy men, as their gifts might lead us to infer), and the embassy on which they had come, awakened the fears of Herod regarding the security of himself and family, and the anxiety of the citizens, as to *their* safety in any approaching struggle. Either the wisdom, or the influential position of the Magi, made Herod and his people at once believe them to be sincere, and aid them in their search. It was a strange question to put publicly, "in the days of Herod the king"—"Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" And the readiness with which Herod aided the search; the heed he gave to the words of the prophet Micah; and the injunction he gave to the Magi, to search diligently for the young child, and when they had found him to bring back word, that he—even Herod, the king—might himself come and do homage also, are all to be accounted for by the desire of Herod to quench, at the earliest possible period, and as effectually as possible, the Star of Hope that had arisen on Israel.

In the assembly of the priests and laic scribes, "Bethlehem of Judæa" is the answer that is given to the inquiries of Herod regarding the place of the Messiah's birth.

In Herod's careful and cruelly interested injunctions to the Magi, Bethlehem is the place mentioned.

In the direction of Bethlehem we are warranted in supposing that the Magi set out at first; and whether they reached it, or were led in another direction by the re-appearance of the star; or after searching Bethlehem in vain, then turned their faces in a new direction,^b and were at length gladdened by the rays of the well-known sign which first prompted their journey; this, at least, is certain;—the word *Bethlehem* is not again mentioned, either directly or indirectly. Herod thought they went to Bethlehem. They meant to go to Bethlehem; and they *may* have gone thither. But it is merely said that the Magi *departed*;

^b For there *was* another Bethlehem, in the tribe of Zebulun, and near the sea of Galilee.

that the star was their ultimate guide (and not Herod's directions); that it preceded them in their search, and came and stood over the place where the young child was; that they went into the house (or home of the family), and, after paying their homage to the young child, and presenting to him gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh, departed into their own country, by another way from what they intended to take; thus avoiding Jerusalem, in obedience to the divine warning they had received.

Joseph, after their departure, is warned to escape from the wrath of Herod; and the flight into Egypt follows. It is to be observed that *Bethlehem* is not named from the time that Herod is represented as using the word. It may be said that the reason why it is not named is that it is *understood*. Well, that is an inference. But suppose that Bethlehem was *not* the "place in which the young child was," is there in Matthew anything contradictory to such a supposition? We believe there is nothing, except the inference to which we have already alluded. Again, it may be asked why Matthew did not name the place, if it really was not Bethlehem. There may have been reasons for its omission. It may have been well known. Matthew's narrative does not even mention Nazareth, when describing the conduct of Joseph towards Mary after her betrothal. We have no more right to expect that he should name the scene of the homage of the Magi, than we have to expect that he should name the scene of Mary's betrothal and of her husband Joseph's dream. We may be inclined rather to say that it was at Bethlehem than at any other place, that the Magi saw Jesus; but there is not, in Matthew, any word that contradicts the fact of its being at another place, *if that should be the fact*; and especially if that fact was generally known when Matthew wrote his gospel (as some say, eight years after the ascension; some, fifteen years; some, later). The same reason that led him to omit Nazareth in the first chapter, when speaking of what occurred there, may have led him to omit naming it, when speaking of the homage paid by the Magi, if *Nazareth also* was the scene of that event.

It certainly was natural to expect that the reputed "King of the Jews" would be found by the Magi in the place where he had been born. We know some reasons, however, why, after the lapse of a certain period, Nazareth was a more likely place in which to find him than even Bethlehem; for, not only does Luke say that the family returned to Nazareth after they had performed the sacred rites required of them at Jerusalem; but we have the best evidence that they had no relationship or other similar reason to keep them at Bethlehem, after Mary was able

to undertake the journey northwards,—in the few but significant words that tell us, “there was no room for them in the inn,” and therefore the new-born babe was placed “in a manger.” If kinsfolk or intimate friends of her’s or Joseph’s had resided in Bethlehem, they would not have left her, in the condition in which she was, to the tumult of a khan, caravanserai, or inn, or to the retirement of a stable. Kitto has remarked that “they clearly came very late” to Bethlehem, and that their friends may have been already over-burdened with guests. But Luke seems to imply that this was not the case; for his words are *ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ*, “while they were there,”—an expression that favours the opinion that they had been there for days before the birth took place; whereas the inn being still crowded when the birth did take place, implies that the enrolment was not concluded. Moreover, a woman in Mary’s condition would surely have found room in the house of a relative or intimate friend, even at the risk of usurping the place of one who had come earlier—if any such friend or relative had resided in Bethlehem. Mary *may have found room* in the inn, previous to the time of the birth, and yet may have been compelled to go out of the crowd and seek the place where Jesus was born, as the time of the birth drew nigh, greater seclusion being indispensable. The want of room or *place* in the inn is mentioned in *immediate relation* to the laying of the infant Jesus in a manger.

Not only is there no apparent reason for Joseph and Mary tarrying at Bethlehem longer than was needful; but there is every reason to suppose that when they had to appear at the temple in Jerusalem, they would make Jerusalem one of the stages in their homeward journey. This is precisely in accordance with the account given by Luke. And there is no reason why any commentator should explain away or soften down the literal meaning of that evangelist; except that he may wish it to appear that the visit of the Magi is capable of being inserted after the presentation in the temple and before the return to Nazareth.

Some have regarded the occurrence of the Magi’s visit *before* the presentation in the temple, as probable, because of the declarations of Simeon and Anna being sufficiently public to allow the citizens of Jerusalem to tell the Magi of a child who had already been spoken of as the Messiah; and because no adequate reason appears for a return to Bethlehem after the presentation in the temple.

Alford thinks there is “no reason why the Magi may not have come within the forty days before the purification, which itself may have taken place in the interval between their depar-

ture and Herod's discovery that they had mocked him." But there are two reasons, at least; for, after the visit of the Magi, the parents would have been glad to present a costlier offering than they did, when they went to Jerusalem; and it would have been a positive rushing into danger, instead of fleeing from it, to go straight to Jerusalem, where Herod was, after all his fierce suspicion and demon-like violence had been roused; and after he had been deceived by the departure of the Magi, in direct opposition to his request. And even Alford himself, when speaking of the command given to Joseph to arise and flee into Egypt (which command was given immediately after the departure of the Magi, in obedience to the warning *they* had received; in fact, it is impossible to separate the two warnings or commands, as, we think, Mr. Alford must admit), says, "The command was immediate, and Joseph made no delay. He must be understood as having arisen the same night and departed forthwith." The needful haste and secrecy are strong reasons against a visit to Jerusalem, after the Magi had left, in obedience to their warning; especially if Bethlehem, only six miles from Jerusalem, was the place where they found Jesus.

Mr. Alford's chronology contradicts Luke's account of the return to Nazareth, and countenances the supposition that after Herod's passions were aroused, and after the Magi had outwitted him, Joseph, instead of escaping, actually rushed, as it were, into the mouth of the lion.

That the presentation in the temple did not occur after the flight into Egypt, the account of Joseph's return from Egypt to Nazareth sufficiently proves, even if there were no other proof. But, according to Luke, the presentation in the temple occurred forty days after the birth, and was immediately followed by the return to Nazareth.

Perhaps the favourite way of eliminating the chronological difficulties connected with the subject has been to set aside the literal meaning which Luke's account conveys, and to make the return to Nazareth, as described by Luke, parallel to Matthew's account of the return to Nazareth from Egypt. According to this plan, the arrangement is 1. The presentation in the temple at Jerusalem. 2. The return to Bethlehem. 3. The visit of the Magi. 4. The flight into Egypt. 5. The return from Egypt to Nazareth.

One argument against this order is Luke's account itself, when attentively read. If we were told of a family, that, *after transacting all the business they had to do in London, they returned to Scotland, and arrived at their place of abode in Edinburgh*; should we be inclined to say that this plain statement was consistent with a journey to the Continent, made for *urgent*

reasons, and a *sojourn* of many weeks or months there, occurring in the interval between their leaving London and arriving in Edinburgh?

But another forcible reason against the order now before us is, the contrast between Luke's account of the return to Nazareth, and Matthew's account of the same. The one is a return from Jerusalem, to all appearance. The other is a return from Egypt. The one is made in circumstances of comfort and satisfaction, after the dutiful performance of sacred rites. The other is made in a state of considerable anxiety, and most probably of regret at not being permitted securely to approach the temple at Jerusalem, to give thanks, after long absence, for God's deliverance and continued protection.

Many reasons, unauthorized by Scripture, have been assigned for Joseph and Mary being at Bethlehem after the presentation in the temple. Some have said that they intended to reside always at Bethlehem; some that Joseph had found employment there. And Epiphanius has a very remarkable statement to the effect that the visit of the Magi was made to Bethlehem *two years after the birth of Christ*, when Mary was on a visit to her kindred there, possibly at a passover. The lapse of time between the birth of our Saviour and the visit of the Magi, thus accounted as long as two years, by so early a writer as Epiphanius, is worthy of particular notice in connexion with the chronology in dispute. It plainly intimates a tendency to place the visit of the Magi at a later period in the history of our Saviour's infancy than has been approved of in modern times. We have reasons to think that tendency a right one, although the view of Epiphanius as to Mary having kindred at Bethlehem is one we have already counted untenable. Of those reasons we shall speak immediately. It has also been supposed—in order to favour the view gathered by inference from the language of Matthew—that “Joseph and Mary, probably under the idea that the child was to be brought up at Bethlehem, dwelt there some time after the nativity.” It is scarcely needful to repeat that Luke's account is plainly inconsistent with the above suppositions.

Let us take a cursory glance of the events to which we have been referring, and of the circumstances that preceded and followed them; that we may have a clear perception of the inseparably consecutive relation of some of them, and of the possible lapse of time between the occurrence of others. 1. The circumcision of the child, and the giving of the name, *eight days* after the birth, is a period about which there is no dispute. 2. The presentation in the temple, *forty days* after the birth, can scarcely be assigned to any other period. 3. The return to

Nazareth after the presentation, is the testimony of Luke. 4. The visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, and the journey from Egypt to Nazareth, are the consecutive events related by Matthew. 5. The residence of the family at Nazareth, both before and after the birth of Christ, is an unavoidable conviction of all who attend to the testimony of the evangelists.

Now, the visit of the Magi, viewed in itself, is not so related to any previous event, as to prevent its being inserted, before or after the presentation, before or after the return to Nazareth or *even before or after the circumcision*; unless the consideration of the circumstances that attended and followed that visit, makes the insertion impossible. The flight into Egypt and the return from Egypt, however, cannot be separated from the visit of the Magi, without violating our sense of the harmony between the warning given to the Magi and the warning given to Joseph (above all, if that warning was given at Bethlehem, six miles only from Herod's residence). Wherever, therefore, we insert the visit of the Magi, there too, we must leave room for the flight into Egypt, and sojourn there, before returning to Nazareth.

After frequent study of this difficult subject, and exact weighing of the value of the terms used by Matthew and Luke, together with a consideration of the peculiar use made by Herod of the date communicated to him by the Magi, we are strongly inclined to follow Luke's account, as far as it goes; and then bring in the account of Matthew, narrating the visit of the Magi. This implies that Joseph and Mary had returned to their place of abode, before the Magi came to Jerusalem. It is difficult to avoid this conviction. Nazareth was *the home* of Joseph and Mary. It is most natural to suppose that, as they had gone to Bethlehem, for the purpose of enrolment, in connexion with a Roman tax to be ultimately levied, they would return home as soon as possible after that purpose had been served. That return would have been made, immediately, but for the birth of Jesus. It might have been made at an earlier period than forty days after the birth, as far as Mary's strength was concerned, had not the Jewish law required the rite of purification, and the sacrifice, as well as the presentation of the child. The child might be presented, either at the legal time—thirty days after the birth—when the fee of redemption for the first-born became due; or, ten days after that, when the mother appeared for the purpose of offering her sacrifice and going through the rite of purification. We see that the child Jesus was *not* presented in the temple at the end of thirty days, near as Bethlehem was to Jerusalem. And the reason for the delay of ten days is all the more apparent, when we think of the circumstances of Mary and

Joseph at Bethlehem, of their distance from home, and their contemplated return thither. *A return to Bethlehem* would never for a moment have been imagined, had it not been accounted desirable to place the visit of the Magi (as occurring at Bethlehem) soon after the presentation in the temple; notwithstanding Luke's apparent testimony to the contrary.

Alford has given his opinion that Matthew was utterly ignorant of the fact that Nazareth was the abode of Joseph and Mary, previous to the birth of Jesus. He prefers to entertain this opinion, (no doubt because it favours his theory of the *mutual ignorance* of the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, regarding their several gospels) even after admitting, "*it is, perhaps, just possible that Matthew, writing for Jews, although well aware of the previous circumstances, may not have given them a place in his history, but made the birth at Bethlehem the prominent point,—not localising what took place before it*" (nor, we would add, what took place after it). How Matthew, a Jew, a native probably of *Galilee*; and the man who is supposed to have been sitting at the receipt of custom, at *Capernaum*, when Jesus called him, could have been *ignorant* of the fact that Nazareth had been the residence of Joseph and Mary, both before and after the birth of Jesus—how an apostle, undertaking to write other things regarding his master, of more importance, and far more difficult to be ascertained, should "write under the impression that Bethlehem was the original dwelling place of Joseph and Mary," is what we cannot comprehend, and what we cannot understand a commentator like Alford firmly believing, or even hypothetically stating.

The fact that Matthew wrote for Jews, men living in the very region where the events happened, throws a flood of light on his omissions, and on the difference between his gospel and Luke's. And many are the difficulties, regarding facts and doctrines, that have been originated in the later ages of the Church from this very cause, that they were clear as light in the eyes of the early Christians, so clear that they did not see the necessity of speaking about them. We cannot avoid giving stress to the inevitable conclusion that Matthew *did know Nazareth* to be the *home* of Joseph and Mary, and that this knowledge was next to universal among the first readers of Matthew's gospel. A Jew, writing for Jews, did not require to write, and could not write, like a Gentile writing for Gentiles. And what if the words, *ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν*, in Matt. ii. 11 not only are precisely equivalent to the same words in Matt. viii. 6, but were accounted by Matthew and his hearers a sufficient indication of *the home* of Mary? This, however, we shall again return to.

The searching inquiries made by Herod when the Magi told of the star they had seen in the East, and the accurate information he received in consequence ; together with the deliberate selection, by that tyrant, of the period of two years as the outside boundary to the blood of the slaughtered innocents, constitute an important subject of reflexion in relation to the difficult question before us. He acted upon the information given him by the Magi. The sign they had seen they saw not now, otherwise they would have directed Herod's attention to it, (a result specially to be dreaded, and which the Divine plan prevented,) and would have found no sufficient reason for the exquisite delight they manifested, when that heavenly sign again presented itself before their eyes. It is by no means necessary to suppose that, immediately on leaving Herod, the star appeared. The historical narrative constantly brings together in words what may have been widely separated in time. It is not even so probable that the Magi left Jerusalem on a mission like theirs, at eventide, as at an earlier hour. Strangers do not choose that hour to set out on their journey through a land unfamiliar to them. But we can easily imagine that, in the course of their journey, the day drew near its close, and they saw shining like a jewel on the mantle of evening that welcome sign, which led the way to him who is "the light of the world." According to the view which we are endeavouring to establish, as the least cumbered with difficulties, they may either have gone to Bethlehem before beholding the sign, or have been diverted from Bethlehem in a northerly direction, at the sight of it. If they went to Bethlehem, and searched in vain for him whose birth took place there ; they would again leave it and follow the guidance of the suddenly reappearing star ; and the excessive joy they displayed at its reappearance, would correspond with such temporary disappointment as they had just undergone. No one, however, can appreciate the various probabilities of the case, who has not by careful examination of the original, and by the laying aside of all mere inferences, not firmly founded on Matthew's words, first put himself in the proper position of an impartial judge.

The visit of the Magi to *Bethlehem* seems so accordant with all our notions of sacred history, that it appears almost heterodox and irrational to hint anything to the contrary. But they who have studied the Scriptures most, know well the difference between the truths and facts they declare, and the inferences and popular notions that have been founded upon them. They, too, know the difficulties that in the process of time have given way to faithful criticism, as well as those that yet await solution.

The writer of this article may be wrong in his view; but no commentator has hitherto reconciled the accounts of Luke and Matthew; and it is this reconciliation which is the grand object to be accomplished, and not the establishment of any mere inference or familiar notion. If Bethlehem was the place at which the Magi offered their gifts, we should decidedly prefer the view of Epiphanius, that Mary was then on a visit to Bethlehem at a period considerably after the return to Nazareth, mentioned by Luke. For it is impossible to avoid attaching some tangible meaning to the precise period adopted by Herod, as a limit to his diabolical and never to be forgotten cruelty. The Magi may have occupied a considerable time in their journey, perhaps even several months: they may not have set out at once. The sign may have aroused their *attention* before any special revelation, or foundation for their *faith* may have been given; for, in the Divine plan, *attention precedes faith*. At the same time, Balaam's prophecy of the *STAR that was to arise out of Jacob, and the SCEPTRE that was to arise out of Israel*; being the prophecy of one who had no relation to the Jewish race whatsoever, shews us that the expectation of the Messiah, in times nearer to his coming, may all the more probably have existed among some who were neither Jews nor of Jewish extraction.

Allowing, then, that a considerable time had elapsed between their first sight of the star and their interview with Herod (whether they set out at once to Jerusalem, or delayed till they had made all possible inquiries, and pondered long and seriously on the matter in their own country), we shall suppose that they accurately told the tyrant, in all simplicity, how long that period was. Now we can hardly suppose that it was less than a year. Had it been less, even Herod would have hesitated to butcher innocent children of a much greater age than he could imagine needful to accomplish his horrible purpose. Nay more, Matthew expressly says, that it was "according to the time he had particularly ascertained from the Magi," that he did set a limit to the age of the tender little ones to be slaughtered at Bethlehem. If he in reality slew all the infants, however young, as well as the children who were two years old, we may form this conclusion; that it was just about a year before the Magi came to Jerusalem that they first saw the star, or accounted it a sign of the birth having taken place; and that Herod took the broad margin of a year on each side of *the point of time* they mentioned, the more certainly to secure his purpose. The Magi do seem to intimate that the appearance of the star, or a certain stage of its appearance, was to them a sign of the birth having really taken place. We are inclined, however, to regard the

κατωτέρω, as not signifying a descent to the child of a few days or weeks old, because indeed Herod probably had more than one point of time to guide him, if the sign continued in sight for a considerable period, and then disappeared from the eyes of the Magi. In this view we should interpret τὸν χρόνον τ.φ.α. as the time during which the star appeared to them. If it made its appearance previous to the birth, say months before the birth, and (whatever its nature, whether planetary, stellar, or meteoric, or even less according to such ordinary phenomena), went through a certain circuit or series of motions, we can see how those various facts might give Herod various data for the planning of his dismal project. For the sake merely of example, then, we shall suppose that the star began to shine very nearly two years before the Magi saw Herod at Jerusalem, and that it was seen by them for the greater part of a year, or even for more than a year; Herod in consequence would select that precise boundary and slay all the children from two years old down to an age somewhat under one year. If the star appeared only eighteen months before the Magi came, we must suppose that he added the six months to make sure of his victim; but then, whatever he added on the further side, he would probably add on the nearer; and this, allowing one year for the duration of the sign, would exhaust the whole two years and make the slaughter what it has often been supposed, a slaughter of every child in Bethlehem under two years of age. Two years, undoubtedly, *was the outer limit*, and whether the inner limit was the date of the Magi's visit or several months previous to that, the evident result of all that we can extract from the circumstance of the date is this;—that the calculation was *wondrously wide of the mark*, if it bore reference to a babe of only one or two months old, which it *must* have done if the visit occurred soon before or soon after the presentation in the temple. But after the presentation, that is, after forty days and the time spent in Jerusalem had passed by, the family returned to Nazareth. *So that either our view or something like it must be adopted* at once to allow for the accuracy of Luke's account, *and* the accuracy of the date given by the Magi to Herod. The two years are most unaccountable in relation to an infant of days, or, at the utmost, of a month or two old.

The words in Matt. ii. 11 imply, as we have hinted already, that the Magi entered *the home* of Mary. They found the young child *with* his mother. They fell down and did lowliest homage *to him*. They opened their treasures and presented *unto him* gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. This was a different scene altogether from that in which the shepherds beheld (not

the *παῖδ' αὐτοῦ* but) the *βρέφος*, on the night of the birth, or the evening of the day on which it had taken place. Italian, German, and other artists have depicted the shepherds also as presenting presents; and sometimes they have given the babe the appearance of being very much older than a few hours. This is contrary to Scripture, and it has probably been occasioned by a confused idea of the two separate occasions, which were, to all appearance, widely distant from each other; and, according to our view, separated by at least a year and more. It may seem to some scarcely worthy of attention, that the use of the pronoun, which we have twice put in italics, above, is consistent with a considerably greater age and observation than belongs to "an infant of days." It is of importance, however, to remember that the mind of the child Jesus may have been influenced, in a very peculiar manner, by the incident of the presence of the Magi, their homage paid to him, and their offerings placed before him, in his humble home; if, as our supposition implies, he was between one and two years of age, or nearly two, at the time of the visit of the Magi. "In all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest;" and therefore it is, that the consideration we have now presented, connected as it is with the early dawn of Self-Consciousness in the Holy Child, is one not to be lightly passed over. He who had to bear pain and death for us had also to *bear* infancy and childhood, as well as the later periods of his humanity. And while we may be unaccustomed to think of him in those years, when yet the frequent sweeping gusts and shadows of sorrow, and intimate acquaintance with grief, had not become the life portion of his Holy Soul, and while we may feel as if a loss of the dignity we attach to his character might be the result of thus thinking regarding his early childhood, it is not improbable that he found in the humble, innocent, sincere and teachable little children who sought his blessing, and whom he set forth as types of what the spirit of man must again become, reminiscences of his own Holy childhood and of early companions whom he loved. The visit of the Magi may have been one of the memories of the home at Nazareth, recalled perhaps at times by Mary, and spoken of as "she pondered in her heart" the destiny of Jesus; and, in the Divine plan, that visit may have had an influence on the Holy Child, as well as on his parents.

The Magi had an easier way of returning eastward from Galilee, than if they had been at Bethlehem. The route they took however, it is impossible to determine, few as the eastward routes from Palestine happen to be. They must surely have

long kept the memory of "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." In the eastern land they sought, his gospel may have been all the more gladly received in after years, that *they* had thus early found a way to the feet of one who was to destroy the partition wall erected between Jews and Gentiles.

The gifts of the Magi may have been of great use to the Holy family, now suddenly obliged to flee from the wrath of Herod, and to dwell in a strange land—the land where Israel was in captivity as an infant nation. It is interesting to look on the track taken by Joseph in the flight to Egypt, and in the return from it, as the same that was taken by the Israelites, when they approached the promised land. Applicable as Matthew's prophetic reference is, it would be still more applicable in this case. Thus too, the feeling in the mind of Joseph, on his return into "the land of Israel" would be better understood. For there was a passover (according to Josephus) soon after the death of Herod, and in this view especially, but indeed in any view, a pious man like Joseph and in Joseph's circumstances, would have a longing for the courts of God's own house, and for the high communion there enjoyed with "the strength of Israel." Before approaching the banks of the Jordan, or the vicinity of Jericho, he would hear that Archelaus was the prince that had ascended the throne and was reigning—at least over Judæa. His knowledge of the man's character, or the reports prevalent about him, made him afraid to go to that place which every Jew, that had been absent awhile from the land of his fathers, most earnestly desired to approach. Instead, therefore, of passing near to Jerusalem, instead of setting out in that direction at all, he obeyed the Divine monition received by him, and departed or withdrew (from the place where he heard of Archelaus, and was first afraid to draw near to Jerusalem) in the direction of Galilee. In our translation the Greek words "notwithstanding . . . he turned aside" are not rendered as they are in other parts of the same chapter of Matthew. In the first place, the δὲ is merely the historical conjunction *and*, which here links the successive statements of Matthew's condensed and simple narrative together. In the second place, *went away, retired, withdrew, left for, departed*, is a truer order of meanings for ἀναχωρῶν, as used so frequently by Matthew.

In marking the return to Nazareth, the evangelist does so with a degree of emphasis that has often been misunderstood. But to those who observe how like a *refrain* the prophetic allusions of Matthew are, the reason will be clear.

In relation to "Jesus" and "Emmanuel;" to "Bethlehem" and "the Governor of Israel;" to "Egypt" and the "call" to

return from Egypt; to the Slaughter of the Innocents and "Rachel weeping" at "Rama;" we see successive applications of prophecy, varying in their suggestive power; some of them being direct fulfilments, some of them secondary, and serving as added associations around circumstances which had peculiar power to move the spirit of the Jew. How some names and memories in our own history as a nation recur, amid the new phases of our national life! and how much more to the heart of a pious Israelite and Christian too, did the harmony of the Divine plan as again and again it revealed itself in successive eras, and with a reiterated but ever-deepening significance, come home with power!

The family were now to dwell for a long time at Nazareth. Hitherto, from the birth of Jesus, according to the view we have given, first Bethlehem, then Nazareth, then Egypt, had been in succession their places of more or less transient abode; but now Nazareth is to be the place of permanent residence for many years—the place where the *tender "Branch"* is to grow up—and a place most admirably named, inasmuch as it not only protected his early childhood, (Joseph feeling his charge was safe there, even though Archelaus reigned in Judea,) but in its name and character, bore a resemblance to him which to this day is testified by the traveller. "It is one peculiarity of the Galilean hills, as distinct from those of Ephraim and Judah," says a very recent traveller, "that they contain or sustain green basins of table-land just below their topmost ridges. . . . Such was Kedesh Naphtali, . . . such Dio-Cæsarea or Sepphoris. *But such* above all is NAZARETH." The hills appear to protect it in its green and flowery richness from intrusion. Such beauty hidden among the hills; such tender buds and shoots as it annually displayed, while the bare undulating mountain line hemmed it all around, formed an apt resemblance to him who was "to grow up as a *tender plant*, and as a *root out of a dry ground*." With fitness, therefore, and with a beauty in its application too, does the evangelist note emphatically the city *called* Nazareth; while at the same time he refers to the utterances of different prophets, (not of one only, as in the other cases already mentioned; utterances familiar to all who have perused the prophets,) which variously set forth the Messiah and the Messiah's progress, as "a rod out of the stem of Jesse,"^b a *tender branch* (shoot or sucker) out of his roots;" as "a tender

^b Isaiah xi. 1. The central passage from the prophets; the very word נֹסֵךְ being here used. The Septuagint translates *ἄρβος*.

^c Here again, that is in Ezekiel xvii. 22, the word is נֹסֵךְ, sucker, sprout, shoot, as it is in Hosea xiv. 7. It occurs in Job xiv. 7 in the like sense.

twig (shoot or sucker) planted on a high mountain and eminent" to "bring forth boughs and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar," under which shall dwell all fowl of every wing: in the shadow of the branches thereof shall they dwell." (Our Saviour himself revives the Messianic force of that passage in the parable of the grain of mustard seed.) The beautiful passage from Hosea xiv. 4—9 is of the same nature. And so is the term in the well-remembered fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; "He shall grow up before him as a *tender plant*,^d and as a root out of a dry ground." What the character of Jesus was to the protected and beautiful table land among the hills of Nazareth, the illiberal and rude Galilean peasantry, especially those of Nazareth, were to the bare hills around. As the bleak, rocky hills rose round the green enclosure, so were the rude Nazarenes around him who grew up in meek holiness, the blessed Son of the Highest. Instead, therefore, of regarding Matt. ii. 23 as a difficulty that yet awaits solution,^e we believe it to be so simple and clear to all who have pondered over the prophetic allusions to the Messiah as to require no solution. Isaiah xi. 1 is the central passage around which many other prophetic allusions richly cluster; and the use of various Hebrew words, in the same meaning, gives added instead of diminished force to Isaiah xi. 1. The emphatic reference to the *naming* of Nazareth and the *naming* of the Messiah—the *נָמַךְ*—gives the force Matthew was so fitted to perceive, to that prophetic burthen with which he, like a divine bard, closes again and again his separate introductory strains.

But we must allude, in conclusion, to the baffled cunning and cruelty of Herod. Bethlehem was very near Jerusalem; and it is scarcely to be imagined that no trace could be gleaned either of the Magi, or of the Holy Family they visited, if Bethlehem *was* the place where the homage was paid. The non-existence of a single trace (easily accounted for, if the Magi were led to Nazareth) would confound and enrage the cruel tyrant, and hence the slaughter of the innocents, in and around Bethlehem. If Herod could have afterwards heard, from any quarter, that a child had been presented in the temple, of whom great things were prophesied, he would have set his bloodhounds on the track to Nazareth; but the cruel tyrant died,^f and all those

^d The Septuagint has *παιδίον*.

^e See Alford in his note on this passage.

^f It is a fair enough objection that may be offered in the first instance to our view, that if Bethlehem with its environs was the dangerous district, there was no need of the flight into Egypt from Nazareth. Suppose, then, that while yet the Holy Family dwelt at Nazareth, a rumour comes floating along to the neighbourhood in which they are: their neighbours hear it, speak of it, and begin to wonder *whose* family Herod aimed at. There is a report that *certain Magi* from the East, who went to seek out

men of consequence in the Jewish nation who were shut up in the Circus to be put to the sword, in obedience to his dying commands, escaped a slaughter as causeless as that of the children at Bethlehem was.

The reason of Matthew's silence as to Nazareth, in the first chapter and early part of the second, is additionally evident, when we consider not only what has been said in the course of these remarks, but also the main current of events in the narrative that occupies the whole of the second chapter. The return to Nazareth is the *closing event*. The prophetic reference to Bethlehem, and the slaughter at Bethlehem, absolutely demanded the very name of that place to be mentioned. The home of the family was well known; their place of abode in Egypt—even the district of it in which they dwelt, is not alluded to; neither appearing needful to be mentioned in the current of a narrative written for the special benefit of Jews. But the silence as to the name Nazareth, *has a meaning*, when its introduction into the text, for the first time, in relation to an uninterrupted residence there, is made for the purpose of illustrating the accuracy and the beauty of the ancient prophetic references to the character and office of the Messiah.

After arriving at the very close of our remarks on this subject, we were much interested in finding from a paper in this journal for July, 1854, previously unnoticed by us, that the very view we have been trying to establish, in utter ignorance of its having been maintained before, was first upheld by J. G. Frank in his *Chronology* (Göttingen, 1774), namely, "that the adoration of the Magi, as it is commonly called, took place *not at Bethlehem* but at *Nazareth*."

It is a remarkable corroboration of a view like this, when inquiries conducted independently, combine to prove its truth.

J. L. B.

a certain child, went away home again without telling Herod where they found the child, or whether they found him at all. Is it not evident (supposing Herod's life prolonged, and Joseph abiding at Nazareth after the slaughter at Bethlehem), that no danger could have been greater than what, in that case, threatened the safety of the holy child Jesus. Nor can we venture to say how wide or how narrow the circle of defence is, that the God of providence may desire to surround his children with at a given period, any more than we can venture to affirm that Joseph and Mary did not *need to be taught* the inestimable preciousness of THE CHARGE entrusted to their keeping.

ON THE WORD HELLENIST, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE
TO ACTS XI. 20.

HAVING read Principal Kay's learned and concise paper on this subject, addressed to his students in Calcutta, and reprinted in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January, it has struck us as something desirable that the passage which he has undertaken to elucidate should receive a little fuller discussion than he has thought convenient to give it. The impression left on our mind by the reverend gentleman's observations was, that in the formation of his opinions he had scarcely allowed sufficient weight to those considerations which had led other scholars into conclusions differing from his own. The question in debate is, happily, one in which no point of vital interest is involved, and may therefore be handled without heat of controversy, or imputation of improper motive on either side. To the conclusion at which others may arrive on the premises which we now shall supply, we must be allowed to profess entire indifference, beyond the sphere of the interests of criticism. Our object is, not so much to maintain a favourite theory, or establish a pet reading, as to put on record more fully than Mr. Kay's plan called for, the evidence, *pro* and *con*, on the subject of the readings *Ἑλλην* or *Ἑλληνιστής*, in the classical passage of Acts xi. 20. As we cannot do better than follow the method which he has himself pursued, we shall take a review of—I. The Manuscripts. II. The Versions. III. The Fathers: and IV. The Editions. A consideration of the comparative suitableness of the two terms in the exegesis of the passage itself will naturally and appropriately close the discussion.

The texts of the New Testament which furnish the data of our disquisition, and our only ground of decision, are the three which follow; in all of which the word Hellenist is supposed to occur. We quote them at large, because it is more convenient to have them directly before the eye than to be obliged to turn them up one after another as occasion might call for them.

Acts vi. 1.—*Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς ΤΩΝ ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΩΝ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὅτι παρεθεωροῦντο ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν.*

Acts ix. 29.—*Ἐλάλει τε καὶ συνεζήτει πρὸς ΤΟΤΣ ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΣ· οἱ δὲ ἐπεχείρουν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν.*

Acts xi. 20.—*Ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Κύπριοι καὶ Κυρηναῖοι, οἵτινες εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐλάλουν πρὸς ΤΟΤΣ ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΣ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν.*

On this last our observations will chiefly concentre.

A. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

We first adduce the readings of the passage furnished by the Manuscripts; and of these the great Alexandrian Codex A, and the Cambridge Codex D, both of the most venerable antiquity, say the fifth and sixth centuries, read *Ἑλληνας* in Acts xi. 20. The text indeed of the Codex D, as printed by Kipling, presents the word *Ἑλλημιστάς*, but in his appendix he gives *Ἑλληνας* as a variation, declaring his inability to decide which is the earlier word in the Manuscript: "*Dubito an correctiones in hac paginâ (734) vestusta sint necne;—Ἑλληνας a librario.*"

We present our readers with his text:—

ΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ
ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΟΙ
ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΝ
ΕΛΑΛΟΥΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΣ
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΝ ΙΗΝ ΧΡΝ.

ERANT AUTEM QUIDAM EX IPSIS VIRI CYPRII
ET CYRENENSES
QUI CUM VENISSENT ANTIOCHIAM
LOQUEBANTUR CUM CRAECOS (*sic*)
EVANGELIZARE DNM IHM CHR̄M.

Assuming then that D, as there is reason for believing, read *Hellene* and not *Hellenist* at first hand, we have to oppose to the aforementioned two MSS. the authority of the Vatican Uncial MS. B, one of the same high class, and claiming, perhaps justly, a higher antiquity than the Alexandrian, but unfortunately never yet collated with fulness and accuracy.

But while we argue, in the absence of rebutting evidence, as if the Codex B reads *Ἑλλημιστάς*, we must be allowed to say that we think that report open to serious doubt, when so distinguished a student of the sacred text as Dr. Tregelles, and so cautious a critic, expresses his surmise that it reads otherwise, in terms so strong as these; we quote from a private communication:—"I have no note of the place (Acts xi. 20) as to the reading of the Vatican MS., but I do not doubt that it will be found to be *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤας*, i. e., *Ἑλληνας* a primâ manu; *Ἑλλημιστάς* a correctore." Contenting ourselves with hinting the doubt, yet arguing as if the reading were ascertained to be what it is commonly represented, we have thus four Uncial MSS. of first rate value in biblical criticism,—the Codices A, B, C, D; and

of these the fragmentary C is defective in the passage in debate, while two speak out in favour of Hellene, and one is alleged to exhibit Hellenist as the reading. E, G, H, are declared, in like manner, to support the received reading; and something like two hundred cursive MSS. do the same, assuming, as we are obliged to do, that all these have been examined for the purpose, and that their testimony has been conclusively ascertained. But while the testimony of these last is not to be overlooked as confirmatory evidence of a current lection, few persons of intelligence would appeal to the majority of cursive MSS. as having any independent authority, the mass of such MSS. being of comparatively recent date. We do not by this sentence intend to denude the cursive documents of their entire reputation and worth, for we believe that minusculous and majusculous alphabets were simultaneously in use at all periods, but merely to characterize with some approximation to correctness the two sets of MSS. challenging our appreciation. An uncial might be more recent, and a cursive more antique, according to our solid belief; but, in point of fact, it is usually admitted that the uncials A, B, and D, exceed by some centuries the date of the existing small-letter MSS. So far then the case stands thus:—two of the very oldest Greek MSS. read *Ἑλλῆνας*, and the only other one of equal authority with these reads *Ἑλλημιστάς*. To the last we must add the authority of three other uncials of dubious antiquity, and a numerous host of cursives, if their reading may be relied on. But if these last—the cursives—are notoriously recent—say from the eighth century downwards, they add little strength to the reading *Ἑλλημιστάς*, as they only prove it from accident or design to be current in the mediæval Churches, and generally received: whereas we, on the contrary, are able to shew that in the earlier Church—say that of the fifth or sixth century, the other reading had acceptance likewise. We fancy we can go further back than this on the evidence of the oldest versions of the Greek Scriptures, but that topic must be left for consideration a little further on. We can by no means acquiesce in the conclusion of Mr. Kay, that the balance of MSS. “is most decidedly in favour of the received text in any case.” The credit of Codex D is affected by nothing which he advances. Nor can we consent to his position, whereby he would discredit the evidence of A, viz., that a supposed blunder of that MS. at ix. 29 necessarily neutralizes its testimony at xi. 20. At the most, as we shall take occasion to shew elsewhere, that supposed blunder may avail to throw suspicion upon its later reading, but not to decide point blank against it. In the two allegations which follow, Mr. Kay, we conceive, has left

out of view certain elements which might have modified his conclusions:—1. The reading *Ἑλληνας*, he says, being easier, etc., one can more easily account for its supplanting *Ἑλληνιστάς* in a few MSS., than for *Ἑλληνιστάς* supplanting it. The fact seems to be that the reading, *Ἑλληνιστάς*, crept into the text from the other passages in which that word occurs, in a very early period of the Church's literature, and was thus propagated downwards in its documents. Yet two very venerable MSS. still remain to shew that concurrently with this depravation of the text, there was another reading, most likely the pure and true one, claiming all the while the acceptance of the Church.

2. The Alexandrian MS., it is next argued, reads *Ἑλληνας* in Acts ix., where it is allowed by all editors to be incorrect. We personally do not concede that *Ἑλληνας*, interpreted as we should interpret it, would be wrong in that connexion, although we admit it to be without reliable MS. authority; but even were we to allow all the weight to this circumstance which it may fairly claim, it will only amount to this,—that the transcriber of the Codex A, familiar with both words, inasmuch as both existed in the more ancient MS. before him, nevertheless, either from conscientiousness copied the *Ἑλληνας* of his exemplar in the two passages in chapters ix. and xi., or for critical reasons altered one or both, or through carelessness mistook them. But the same possibilities apply to the transcribers of every word of every other MS., even those on the fidelity of which Mr. Kay relies. We put, therefore, designed alteration out of the question, dispense with reliance on an original faithfully copied in its faults, and aver of even a conceded erroneous reading in ix. 29, that it by no means invalidates a presumed correct reading in xi. 20. So long as the lection ix. 29 may be regarded as an honest transcript of an earlier document, which may itself be wrong there; or, waiving that ground of defence, so long as it may be conjectured to be a natural blunder arising from the similarity of the words, this blunder is of no avail in damaging the credit of xi. 20, where the slumbering faculties of the copyist may have been wide awake. But we intend employing this argument again, and shall dispense with its further employment now.

B. VERSIONS.

The testimony of versions, where it can be relied on from a large collation of the MSS. of each, is very important as giving us the reading of their period, such as it was understood by the translator of the original text. But the versions which have found their way into print, while of presumable correctness, have for very obvious reasons, been formed from the most scanty

collation of Codices, and are more satisfactory for the purposes of the general reader than for those of the critic. Nevertheless, a very old and trustworthy MS. of a notoriously ancient version has an ascertainable and most important value,—such as may even in some cases exceed that of our oldest Greek or Hebrew text.

We are not aware that Tischendorf and Alford have added materially to the array of ancient versions in favour of *Ἑλληνες*, beyond the list of Griesbach. They are, in sum, the Syriac, Arabic, Æthiopic, Coptic, and Vulgate. The readings of these, according to the London Polyglott, are as follows :—

The Syriac

reads, in Acts vi. 1 and xi. 20, ܝܥܘܢܝܐ, *yaunoye*, *Ionians* or *Greeks*; but in the intermediate passage, ܕܝܘܕܝܢ ܕܝܥܘܢܝܐ ܕܝܥܘܢܝܐ, *ihudoye ailen d'yōdin wau yaunoith*, “the Jews who knew Greek.”

The Kharklensian Syriac reads *Greeks* in all the three passages, and thus differs from the Peshito in ix. 29.

The translator therefore, it is presumed meant to mark a distinction of class between the Hellenes of the first and last passage, and the Jews who spoke Greek of the second. The reading of this ancient translation is thus very important, naturally much more so than that of those versions which have a uniform reading in the three passages.

The Arabic, with the Æthiopic and Coptic,

I am enabled to cite through the courtesy of W. Wright, Esq., Professor of Oriental Literature in Trinity College, Dublin.

In the Arabic, in all the passages, *yunayyina*, “the Greeks.”

In the Æthiopic, “those who (were) of the Greeks” (Acts vi. 1). In Acts ix. 29, “with the nations and the Greeks.” In Acts xi. 20, “with the Greeks.”

The Arabic texts of Walton, of the Roman edition of 1591, and of Erpenius, exhibit the reading, *Greeks*.

The Coptic, Memphitic, and Sahidic.

The Coptic has everywhere ܢܝܘܥܝܢ, *nioueinin*, *Ionians* or *Greeks*. Wilkins translates the several passages thus :

vi. 1, “Murmur Græcorum et Hebræorum.”

ix. 29, (28) “Et disputabat cum Græcis.”

xi. 20, “Isti venerunt in Antiochiam, loquebantur cum Græcis.”

The Vulgate, Sabatier.

vi. 1. *Versio Antiqua* (ex MS. Laud.) "Facta est murmuratio Græcorum ad Hebræos."

In the Notes to the *Versio Antiqua* (MS. Cantabr.) "Facta est murmuratio quæ ex Græcis erant adversus Hebræos."

Vulg. 1590. "Factum est murmur Græcorum adversus Hebræos."

Vulg. Nova. "Factum est murmur Græcorum adversus Hebræos."

ix. 29.—*V. Ant.* "Loquebatur quoque et conferebat ad Græcos."

Ed. 1590 (ver. 27). "Loquebatur quoque gentibus et disputabat cum Græcis."

Vulg. N. "Loquebatur quoque gentibus et disputabat cum Græcis."

xi. 20.—*V. Ant.* "Loquebantur ad Græcos."

Ed. 1590 (ver. 17). "Loquebantur et ad Græcos."

Vulg. N. "Loquebantur et ad Græcos."

In the notes to the *Vers. Ant.* (MS. Cantabr.) "Loquebantur cum Græcos."

In Blanchini's *Vindiciæ Canonicarum Scripturarum*. Rom., 1740, there is a various lection: Act. ix. 29, Gentibus; (*deest in cod.*) *h. e.*, *Codex Gothicus*, "E bibliothecâ Toletanæ ecclesiæ Vulgatæ editionis manuscriptum pervetustum exemplar, literis Gothicis exaratum."

It will add nothing to the weight of the evidence to adduce the version of Castellio, but it may interest to see how completely he adopts the reading 'Hellene,' in the passage before us.

vi. 1. "Per eos dies crescente discipulorum numero, extitit Græcanicorum adversus Hebræos fremitus, quòd eorum viduæ in quotidiano ministerio prætermitterentur."

ix. 29. "Ita Saulus cum eis Hierosolymæ obversari, et in Domini Iesu nomine liberè loqui, ac cum Græcanicis colloqui atque contendere."

xi. 20. "Erant autem quidam ex eis homines Cyprii et Cyrenenses, qui Antiochiam ingressi, loquebantur cum Græcis, Dominum Iesum nunciantes."

C. THE FATHERS.

At the head of these we put Chrysostom, *Homily* xiv., Text., *Ἑλληνιστῶν*.—Commentary: *Ἑλληνιστὰς δὲ οἶμαι κάλειν, τοὺς*

‘Ελληνιστὶ φθεγγόμενους’ οὗτοι γὰρ ‘Ελληνιστὶ διελέγοντο’ ‘Εβραῖοι ὄντες.

Hom. xxi., Text. ‘Ελληνιστάς.—Comm.: ‘Ελληνιστάς τοὺς ‘Ελληνιστὶ φθεγγόμενους λέγει’ καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα σοφῶς. ‘Εκεῖνοι γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτον ἠθέλησαν οἱ βαθεῖς ‘Εβραῖοι.

Hom. xxv., Text. ‘Ελληνιστάς.—Comm.: ‘Ὅρα, ‘Ελλήσιν εὐαγγελίζονται. ‘Εἰκὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς τε λοιπὸν εἰδέναι ‘Ελληνιστὶ καὶ ἐν ‘Αντιοχείᾳ τοιούτους εἶναι πολλοὺς.

The passage in Chrysostom is thus introduced;—

“*Speaking to none but to the Jews.* Thou seest how all those things which happened concerning Cornelius bore the character of a dispensation [οἰκονομικῶς], for this was designed for the defence of Christ and the condemnation of the Jews. When then Stephen was killed, when Paul was twice in danger of his life, when the apostles were scourged, when many times they had to hide themselves, then the Gentiles were received, then the Samaritans. But Paul cries out, saying, *It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you; but since ye have rejected it, and have thought yourselves not worthy, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.* They made circuits therefore, preaching to the Gentiles. *And there were certain of them men of Cyprus, who, when they came to Antioch, spake to the Hellenists, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believing, turned unto the Lord Jesus; ὅρα ‘Ελλήσιν εὐαγγελίζονται. εἰκὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς τε λοιπὸν εἰδέναι ‘Ελληνιστὶ, καὶ ἐν ‘Αντιοχείᾳ τοιούτους εἶναι πολλοὺς.*”

Theophylact

is but an echo of Chrysostom, adopting his phraseology almost *verbatim*. We only quote him on Acts xi. 20;—

‘Ελληνιστάς δὲ λέγει; ἴσως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς ‘Εβραῖστὶ, ‘Ελλήνας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν.

Æcumenius

is to the same effect, and in almost the same words as Chrysostom and Theophylact. We adduce in proof on xi. 20:—

(xvi.) Πρὸς τοὺς ‘Ελληνιστάς.—Comm., ‘Ἴσως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ‘Εβραῖστὶ, ‘Ελλήνας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν.

Thus it will be seen that the testimony of these three Greek fathers virtually reduces itself to one—Chrysostom. That Chrysostom read ‘Ελληνιστάς is unquestionable, so that every MS. of that Greek father which exhibits this lection in the text is an evidence in favour of that word. But if we look at the exclamation with which Chrysostom prefaces his comment, as inviting special attention to a new phase of evangelism ὅρα, ‘Ελλήσιν εὐαγγελίζονται we might venture to infer that he meant to include the Gentiles amongst the subjects of the emigrant evangelists’ cares. Whether what follows can be supposed to

confine it to Greek-speaking Jews, or may be meant to imply that of the Syrian Gentiles in that city there must have been a Greek-speaking class entitled therefrom to the name of Greeks, we will not say. The 'lo' of the preacher, together with his introductory observations, would seem to indicate Gentiles exclusively, or to a large amount. Theophylact and Ecumenius, we think, must be given up; so that if no other good follow the composition of this paper, it may at least have the effect of narrowing the grounds of decision, and of thus making a satisfactory conclusion more easily arrived at.

Eusebius

reads thus, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, ii., 3, Ἑλληνας. Eusebius is most clear, for he classes the converts at Antioch along with Cornelius of Cæsarea, who was doubtless a Latin Gentile by extraction.

Ἄλλα γὰρ τῆς χάριτος ἤδη τῆς Θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρόνου ἔθνη, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὴν τῶν παλαιστινῶν Καίσαρειαν. Κορηηλίου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ δι' ἐπιφανείας Θειοτέρας ὑπουργίας τε Πέτρου, τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστιν καταδεξαμένον, πλείστων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλλήνων, οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Στεφάνου διωγμὸν διασπαρέντες ἐκήρυξαν, ἀνθούσης ἄρτι καὶ πληθύνουσης τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ταύτῃ τε ἐπιπαρόντων πλείστων ὄσων τῶν τε ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προφητῶν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλου, ἐτέρου τε πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἀδελφῶν, ἡ Χριστιανῶν προσηγορία τότε πρῶτον αὐτόθι ὥσπερ ἀπ' ευθαλοῦς καὶ γονίμου γῆς ἀναδίδεται.

"But the grace of God being now poured out upon the rest of the nations, and Cornelius with all his house having first received the faith of Christ in Cæsarea of Palestine through a divine vision and the ministry of Peter, many others also, Greeks of Antioch, to whom those who were scattered abroad on the persecution of Stephen preached, having done the same, the Church at Antioch now flourishing and abounding in members, a great number of preachers also coming to the same place from Jerusalem, amongst whom were Barnabas and Paul, and a multitude of brethren besides, the name of Christians then first sprung up there as from a grateful and generous [natural] soil [spring].

For the word γῆς in the Greek quotation Heinichen of Leipzig, in his edition of 1828, prefers πηγῆς, which is the reading of Savile, the Codex Mazarinæus, the C. Fuketianus, and the Medicæan. This seems to have been the reading of Rufinus, from his version which reads thus: "*Ibi primum discipuli veluti perenni fonte sumpto vocabulo appellati sunt Christiani.*" On this Heinichen suggests the slight verbal emendation of *velut e perenni*, to accord with the Greek ὥσπερ ἀπ'. Stroth, in his

German translation, reads *πηγῆς*; but Stephens prints *γῆς* from the Codex Regius.

But, whichever of these readings be adopted, there is not the slightest suspicion hinted that the name of Christian was indicative of discredit, when first bestowed, while the two generous adjectives combined with the word absolutely forbid such a suspicion. The testimony of Tertullian, quoted by Eusebius in the chapter directly preceding, conducts to the same conclusion, that the designation was not one of reproach.

Τιβέριος οὖν ἐφ' οὗ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄνομα εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλήλυθεν, ἀγγελλθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἔνθα πρῶτον ἤρξατο, τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνεκοινώσατο, δῆλος ὢν ἐκεῖνους, ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται.

"Tiberius, therefore, during whose reign the name of Christians originated when this doctrine was announced to him from Palestine where it first took rise, communicated it to the senate, appearing to them well pleased with that doctrine."

And although this passage does not fairly represent the words of Tertullian as given by Rufinus, which lay stress upon the miracles reported to Tiberius from Palestine, the spirit of the passage is the same. Rufinus presents Tertullian's meaning thus: "*Adnuntiata sibi ex Syriâ Palæstinâ quæ illic veritatem istius divinitatis revelaverunt, detulit ad senatum.*" What these miracles were is stated at the beginning of this chapter, wherein Pilate is declared to have reported to the Emperor,—*τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ νέκρων ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν*, I. X. The favour with which Tiberius is said, whether rightly or wrongly, to have regarded Christ and his followers is inconsistent with reprobation of the name. With this accords the testimony of Chrysostom who finds the reason in the Gentile character of the Church which was formed during Paul's lengthened sojourn at Antioch; *ὄντως διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐχρηματίσθησαν καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανοί, ὅτι Παῦλος ἐν ταυτῇ ποσούτῳ διετρίψε χρόνον.*

But in these observations, which naturally spring out of the text of Eusebius, we anticipate a topic which will present itself hereafter.

D. THE EDITIONS.

a. The very first, the *Princeps* of Erasmus, Basle, 1516, reads Hellenist throughout.

It may interest to have his annotations on the passages.

vi. 1. "Non est Ἑλλήνων, sed Ἑλληνιστῶν" Hellenistarum, ut factionem etiam sonet, non tantum nationem.

ix. 29. "Συνεζήτει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς." Disputabat ad-

versus Græcos. Rursus usus est verbo Hellenistæ, ceu factionem indicans. Cæterum illud quod præcessit, cum gentibus, in Græcis codicibus non invenio.

On xi. 20, Erasmus has nothing.

b. Wetstein agrees with Erasmus and the *Textus Receptus*. At the end of his long note on the word *Hellenist*, vi. 1, he says: "Ἑλληνισταὶ ergo sunt qui religione quidem Judæi, sed inter Græcos educati, et linguae et dogmatum peritiam erant consecuti."

Under ix. 29, he quotes the various reading "Ἑλληνας with the authorities A. *Versio*, *Copt.*, *Ethiop.*, *Arab.*

xi. 20. Var., "Ἑλληνας, A, D, a primâ manu. *Versio Vulg.*, *Syr.*, *Copt.*, *Arab.*, *Æthiop.*, *Eusebius* (H. E., ii. 3). *Chrysostomus*, *Œcumenius*, probante J. Clerico, H. Grotio, J. A. Bengelio (in *Gnom.*), J. Usserio, T. Beza. J. Drusio.

c. From Griesbach downwards most modern editors, including Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford, prefer and adopt the reading "Ἑλληνας in Acts xi. 20, assigning precisely identical reasons. The older editions which were notoriously formed from a few manuscripts of no great antiquity read 'Ἑλληνιστάς, although, as we have seen, several uncials are in its favour; but the more recent editions read with almost entire agreement the disputed "Ἑλληνας.

d. The text of Matthæi, however, reads *Hellenist* without exception: and the Scholia on the passages are these:—

On vi. 1. 'Ἑλληνιστῶν] τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν φθεγγομένων, καὶ τοὶ Ἑβραίων ὄντων τῷ γένει.

xi. 20. 'Ἑλληνιστάς] ἵσως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι Ἑβραῖσι, Ἑλληνας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλοιν.

His Latin texts, like the Vulgates already quoted, read *Greeks* throughout.

The sum of this accumulation of authorities appears to be about this: that the textual evidence rather dubiously favours the received reading 'Ἑλληνιστάς, while the sense of the passage requires "Ἑλληνας, a reading which is not without MS. and other support. Without, therefore, committing ourselves absolutely to the adoption of "Ἑλληνας, we argue in its favour on these grounds:

1. The ultimate authority for any reading must continue to be its agreement with the sense of any passage, until it can be proved that transcribers are infallible. Of course there may be cases in which the MSS. so universally agree in a particular reading, as to enforce its reception even where it may not be possible to make a good sense out of the text. But although in such a case we should perforce retain the reading without alte-

ration, it would remain in the text accompanied by an avowal that there must be some mistake, and that a dislike to make conjectural emendations prompted its retention. For instance, had the various sources of evidence to which appeal has been made issued in a uniform verdict in favour of Hellenist as the correct reading in the present passage, we should in that case have hewn our way out of the thicket of perplexity in which that reading would have involved us as best we might,—as in fact those critics and commentators, who patronize the reading of the received text, do; but now, without effort on our part, or violent straining of exegesis, an open passage from the labyrinth discloses itself in the simple and obvious reading *Ἑλλήνας*. This word gives a clear, full, natural, and sufficient signification to the passage, meets all the exigencies of the case, and perfectly resolves the knot of difficulty.

2. We are entitled to lean more decidedly on the Alexandrian MS., than Mr. Kay feels disposed to do on account of the lection *Ἑλλήνας* in the ninth chapter. Such a reading might be admitted to be a lapse of the pen, without necessarily invalidating the same word in chapter xi. Those who are familiar with MSS. know that mistakes of transcription from fifty causes are of perpetual occurrence; so frequent indeed in most documents, that they would prove extremely perplexing to textual critics, were it not that the occasion of them is, in most cases, transparently obvious. Now the reading *Ἑλλήνας* in chapter ix., may be a mistake arising from its close resemblance to *Ἑλλήν* [ιστ] *ας*; nevertheless we might, and should, and do, contend that it is the correct reading in the text before us, xi. 20.

3. There are the early Versions already quoted in full, the testimony of the Peshito being the most convincing, from its making a marked distinction between the Greek Jews of ix. 29, and the Greeks of xi. 20.

4. There are the Fathers, at the head of whom stands Chrysostom, whose language makes Hellenist the equivalent of Hellene, and whose exposition makes the subjects of the new ministry at Antioch, Gentiles—*τὰ ἔθνη*.

Thus although we should allow the word *Ἑλληνιστάς* to stand, we contend that the exegesis of those who maintain that reading is wrong, in so far as they confine the ministry of the Cypriote and Cyrenian evangelists to the Greek-speaking or Hellenistic Jews. The testimony of Chrysostom and Eusebius seems clearly against so narrow an exposition.

ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM 'Ελληνισταί.

After all which has been written on the subject of Hellenism and Hellenists, we must confess that that definition does not satisfy us which makes the speaking of the Greek language, and the use of the Old Testament Scriptures in the Greek version the origin of the terms. We need go no further than Acts vi. 1, to see how insufficient is such a definition to explain the facts: "And in those days when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there was a murmuring of the Grecians [τῶν 'Ελληνιστῶν], against the Hebrews [πρὸς 'Εβραίους], because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration."

Now if it be contended that these converts (Hellenists) who swelled the number of the disciples to an amount worthy of special record were merely Jews who spoke the Greek tongue, and in nothing else distinguished from their brethren of the synagogue, one is inclined to ask—How comes it that the marked increase of the Christian Church should have been derived from that quarter in particular? The bare fact of their acquaintance with the Greek language will scarcely account for their growing predominance in the Christian community at Jerusalem, in the earliest years of the promulgation of the gospel. The prejudices of a man in the holy city who was a Jew, would not be necessarily abated by his being an adept in the use of the medium of general linguistic intercourse of that day. Nay, the virulent prejudices of that very class were the occasion of conducting Stephen before the council and of securing his condemnation to death. It is expressly declared that it was the synagogue of the men of Liberta, and Cyrene, and Alexandria, and Cilicia, and Asia the pro-consular, who disputed with the proto-martyr, and suborned witnesses to denounce him to the authorities.

Again, what plausible or possible pretext could the Hebrew converts allege to justify the withholding of alms from their brethren, their fleshly kinsmen, grounded on the mere circumstance of the Hellenists speaking Greek habitually, while they themselves as habitually used the Hebrew tongue, assuming, as we do for argument's sake, that this was the grand distinction subsisting between them?

The error of those who thus define Hellenist, we conceive, consists in their confining it to too narrow a class, while we regard it as equivalent to Hellene, and as embracing three kinds of converts, namely, those from among the Gentiles, from among the Jewish proselytes, and from the foreign Jews resident in Jerusalem. We speak in the present passage of an element of the

Christian Church, a light in which the term seems forgotten in the discussion, and we claim the right to modify its meaning in its new connexion, from the stricter signification which it might bear in relation to the purely Jewish community. But it will be objected that the door of faith was not opened to the Gentiles till chapter x., wherein Cornelius is only admitted in consequence of a miraculous vision to the communion of the Christian Church. To which our reply is—1. The chronological series of events in the Acts is not consecutive, hence we cannot settle, beyond the possibility of dispute, when that formal admission of the Gentiles took place. Certain incidents narrated in sequence may have been running their course side by side of each other, and even that narrated last may have happened first. But we have to add—2. That as there always had been room to receive proselytes into the Jewish, so was there also admission for Gentile converts at all periods into the Christian Church. Our Saviour enjoined upon his apostles to go first to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, yet He himself admitted more than one Roman Officer into the circle of His believing friends, each of these just as probably a Greek by nation as an Italian, in either case a Gentile by birth, and all alike speaking Greek. He also received the Syro-Phœnician woman, and Samaritans without number, John iv.; while, in addition to these, few persons, perhaps, will doubt the genuine conversion of the Roman officer who superintended the crucifixion, and whose remarkable exclamation was—"Truly, this man was the Son of God."

But it will be further objected, that all these were Jewish proselytes. To which we answer, that if that could be shewn to be true in every case,—and in that of the last-mentioned personage, there is no ground for the surmise,—it would be of no consequence in the argument. These may have entered the shrine of the Christian Church through the portal of the Jewish economy; but we contend that they did enter, and made that entrance in despite of their Gentile origin, if they had been previously proselytes; and of their birth in a foreign country, if the children of Greek Jews.

It will be still further urged, possibly, that up to this time we have no evidence of any but persons of pure Jewish descent having joined the ranks of the Christian Church. The reply to this assertion might be confined to a simple reference to the Pentecostal Jews, of whom it is most unlikely that they were all of purely Jewish descent; no circumstance being much more common in those days than marriages between Jews and Gentiles in foreign countries. We need only refer in confirmation of this to the parents of Timothy (Acts xvi. 1). But we ask, in

continuation of our reply, what position must we assign in relation to the Christian Church to the Roman centurion, ruler, etc., and to the chamberlain of Queen Candace (Acts viii. 27), who all expressed so lively a faith in the Son of God, and the last of whom was baptized into the Christian belief? Did not Jesus himself and his disciples, nay, did not their own pious aspirations and convictions of duty lead them farther than their adopted Judaism? Is it not certain, even in the absence of express statement to that effect, that these converts did not remain stationary in the Jewish Church, but passed out of the region of shadows into the possession of the divine substance which these prefigured?

Now why should not these, and all like them, who would for various reasons, not forgetting the important bearing of the celebrated Pentecostal festivity upon the constitution of the Church in Jerusalem, form the most numerous class of believers from the very first,—be the Hellenists of the Christian Church,—speaking the Greek tongue it may be as a matter of course, but deriving their name rather from the fact of their Gentile extraction, or their birth in foreign countries, than from their lingual peculiarity? Between these miscellaneous and very numerous constituents of the Church of Jerusalem, who threatened by their numbers to swamp the native members, there might very naturally grow up a jealousy; and the Hebrew Christians might shew that feeling by a partial distribution of the alms. On the other hand, we must confess, that to us the narrow distinction of the Hellenists being Greek-speaking Jew-Christians, and the Hebrews Hebrew-speaking Jew-Christians, does not seem sufficient to warrant their antithetical position here.

But it might be further urged that the term Hebrews employed in this passage, is the proper term to describe persons using the Hebrew language, whereas the name of Jew would describe a person adhering to the religion of Moses; and, that if language was referred to as the peculiarity distinguishing the one class—the Hebrews, so would it be referred to in the other class which was contrasted with it, namely, the Hellenists.

To this the answer is easy.

1. Hebrew is a generic not a specific term, and includes natural descent and all which that descent embraces, such as soil, faith, polity, etc., and of course language. Nothing can limit its signification to any one of the foregoing particulars, except some express qualification. For all that this term either in the passage before us defines, or in its general acceptation implies, a man might be a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and yet,

like St. Paul, speak familiarly and habitually in the Greek tongue.

2. The Epistle to the Hebrews, that is, to the Hebrew-speaking Jews, according to the assumption that a Hebrew means necessarily a person who speaks Hebrew, was not composed in Hebrew but in Greek.

3. Although we should concede that a Hebrew meant exclusively a person speaking the national language of the natives of Palestine, while, on the contrary, a Jew bespoke a votary of the religion of Moses, we could turn the tables even thus upon Mr. Kay—by means of this very concession.

On the whole, therefore, we must close with the avowal that our belief does not recognize a linguistic peculiarity as the parent of the name Hellenist, although the accident of speaking Greek may have attached to most of the persons bearing that name; and we add that, without entertaining any very earnest convictions on the point, our leanings are towards the persuasion that Hellenist here is tantamount to Hellene, and most probably embraces three descriptions of converts; viz., Gentiles in very small numbers, Jewish proselytes more numerous, and foreign-born as distinguished from domestic Jews; these last probably in the greatest numbers of all.

The next passage is of no great moment in our discussion, but it recognizes the Hellenists as a distinct class of Jews resident in Jerusalem; that is, as we conceive, aliens and not native Jews.

Acts ix. 29. "And he [Paul after his conversion] spake boldly [at Jerusalem] in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians [*πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς*], but they went about to slay him."

That Paul should single out these especially for argumentation on the claims of Christianity, seems natural from his own Grecian birth and education. On what particular grounds these should entertain a marked enmity against the apostle is not very clear, although we can conjecture a variety of reasons. This class, however, still continuing unconverted and members of the Jewish Church, in a posture of hostility to the Christians, were doubtless identical in great part with the Hellenes of John vii. 35; and were the class from which the Christian Hellenists of Acts vi. 1 were mainly drawn.

Greswell distinctly declares these foreign Jews, or Jews of the dispersion, to be properly called Hellenists; but strangely enough denies them the title of Hellenes given them in the gospel. That very learned writer says (vol. iii., p. 84), when commenting on John xii. 20: "The account of St. John so far

as it belongs to the history of proceedings on the same day, consists of only one additional and supplementary particular; the request of the Hellenes to see Jesus, and the reflections which it drew from our Lord. If these Hellenes were, as I apprehended, and as their name implies, not *Jews of the dispersion*, whose proper denomination would have been *Hellenists*, but Gentile proselytes, numbers of whom attended every feast," etc., etc.

Only five chapters before St. John calls these very persons Hellenes: "Then said the Jews among themselves, whither will he go, that we shall not find him? Will he go unto the dispersed among the Gentiles [among the Greeks—τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων], and teach the Gentiles [the Hellenes—the Greek Jews, ΤΟΤΣ ἙΛΛΗΝΑΣ]?" Mr. Greswell states all we can desire when he calls the Jews of the dispersion Hellenists, but is wrong at the same time in denying them their rightful and more comprehensive name of Hellenes.

We come now, however, to the *locus classicus* itself (Acts xi. 20) on which we have to observe: 1. That there is no evidence to prove, and all the probabilities of the case are against it, that there were any Hebraistic, we mean Hebrew-speaking Jews at Antioch, with whom to contrast Hellenistic Jews. Antioch was a Greek-Syrian town, and the Greek element had prevailed in it for centuries; and the Jews resident there doubtless conformed to the common dialect of the place, and were Greeks or Hellenists in the same sense as Jews born in other Grecian towns. They continued to be Jews of course from the circumstance of their carrying their religion with them, in so far as it was confined to synagogue worship, and all those rites which were observable while away from Jerusalem; but there is no evidence whatever that they retained the Hebrew language. It is very remarkable in proof of the prevalence of Greek among all the extern Jews, that the Epistle to the Romans, which addresses itself very pointedly to the people of that nation, is written in Greek, and the Epistle to the Hebrews in Greek, and those of James and Peter to the Eastern Jews in Greek. The evidence upon this point furnished in the text of the New Testament, and in the incidents both of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles is overwhelming. So deep is the impression made upon ourselves personally by frequent consideration of this circumstance, that we are inclined to allow a larger latitude to the prevalence of the Greek tongue in Palestine in the days of our Lord, and directly afterwards, than we felt authorized to do when reprinting Diodati's treatise on our Saviour's speaking Greek (*De Christo Græce loquente*, 1843).

2. The proper term to employ at the close of the preceding

verse, had it been designed to specify persons of a different language from the Hellenists of the present verse, would have been Hebraists or Hebrews, that is, so far as this term would have expressed that signification. But how does it read? "Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution which arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only" [*εἰ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίους*]. This is followed directly by—"And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians [*Ἕλληνας* or *Ἑλληνιστάς*], preaching the Lord Jesus."

The inference is natural and incontrovertible, that to the men of the Jewish nation and creed alone did the greater part of the dispersed evangelists address themselves; but the Hellenists were themselves a portion of that nation, and birth-right professors of that creed, and of course as such shared in those ministrations.

3. Whence we conclude that the antithesis requires the adoption in the next verse of the term *Ἕλληνας* as the true reading, in the belief that the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who addressed these latter, did not confine their labours at Antioch, as did others of the evangelists, to the Jews only, but embraced within the circle of their operations the surrounding Greeks or Gentiles. Those who make the qualification of these men of Cyrene and Cyprus for addressing Hellenistic Jews to rest upon their knowledge of the Greek language, infer therefrom that the dispersed evangelists, spoken of just before, employed the Hebrew in their addresses, a position which we conceive quite untenable. Where is the evidence that in Cyprus; a purely Greek island, there were any congregations of Jews requiring to be ministered to in their own tongue, or using that language colloquially and homiletically? The reason why these Cyrenian and Cypriote emigrants addressed themselves to the Gentiles is to be found, not in the circumstance that they and their hearers possessed in common a knowledge of Greek which the other emigrants are assumed to be destitute of; but in the fact that these preachers were less likely to be under the dominion of prejudice, than the Jerusalem Jews who shared their exile. Of Greek Jews, like themselves, the Christian Church was mainly composed in the earliest age, or the first twenty years of its existence, before the gates were thrown fully open to the heathen.

4. Further, the word *Ἕλληνας* here employed is not used in its acquired sense, signifying either Jews necessarily Greek by birth, or Jews using the Greek tongue; but in its native and original sense, Pagans or Gentiles. Jew or Hebrew will mean

one of two things; a native of Judea, or a follower of the religion of Moses. It does not mean a man who speaks Hebrew, and the antithesis to it is not a Hellenist, or man who speaks Greek; but a Gentile by birth or a Pagan in religion. It is sheer assumption to resolve the antithesis into Hebrew-speaking Jews, and Greek-speaking Jews; and to advocate the reading *Ἑλληνιστάς*, as the basis of that rendering is only the more clearly to expose its unsoundness. If the persons first addressed at Antioch were Jews only, those addressed in the second place could not have been Jews at all. The first signal admission of Gentiles to the Christian Church took place at Antioch, we should say somewhat irregularly, that is, without waiting for instructions from Jerusalem; and there is unquestionably implied in the mission of Barnabas, himself a Cypriote, sent to look after the work of these native Cypriotes, a distrust of what had been reported to have taken place. This appears, as we think with Alford, on the surface of the transaction.

5. With what exquisite propriety the name of Christian dates itself from that locality in which first a large infusion of Gentile blood into the body of the Church took place, let those decide who think the glory of that Church consists in its Catholicity,—in making both Jew and Gentile one in Christ Jesus. The name is evidently of Gentile origin, no doubt an adoption of the Church itself, and not a term of reproach. The beautiful '*Christianus sum*' of Polycarp and the martyrs, before the tribunal of their persecutors, indicates no suspicion of the name as an ignominious epithet, rather as a simple and appropriate designation of a matter of fact—that they were followers of Christ. Tacitus indeed says that the Roman mob hated them, and called them Christians; but does not say that this was in its origin any name of reproach. Antioch was evidently the place where first the Church of the Lord Jesus emerged out of the penumbra of Judaism, a feat which it could scarcely achieve in its head quarters, Jerusalem, surrounded as it was there, by an overwhelming predominance of Jewish association; and Christian was the name which this now completed organization assumed when it shewed itself to the world, "bright as the sun, fair as the moon."

6. The sanction and precedent of the Church at Antioch, given to Barnabas and Paul, it was which justified those ministers in their succeeding evangelistic mission in introducing so freely as they did Gentiles [*τὰ ἔθνη*, xiii. 46] into the Church.

7. And that such was the constitution of the Church at Antioch itself is rendered clear by the appeal to the mother Church at Jerusalem, recorded in the fifteenth chapter. In the Church at Antioch were sundry uncircumcised persons, which

could not have occurred amongst the Hellenists, that is, Greek Jews, or Jewish proselytes; they must therefore have been converted heathens, namely, the *Ἕλληνας* of the amended reading. Barnabas and Paul were evidently men of large hearts and unsectarian sympathies. What they saw and aided in accomplishing at Antioch and elsewhere, made them decided advocates for an enlarged Church, and the free admission of Gentiles thereto, without submission to purely Mosaic institutions. When they defended, at Jerusalem, this liberal constitution of things, they were not vindicating their own proceedings and converts in the other Antioch; but addressed themselves to the actual condition of that Syrian Antioch of which we are now speaking: hence when the letter of license and approval arrived from Jerusalem, the brethren at Antioch "rejoiced for the consolation" (xv. 31).

On a review of all that has been stated here, we are justified in saying that the evidence derived from MSS. is not clear enough to decide the question; wherefore we freely own that in the present state of that evidence we should not feel confident in altering the text. At the same time we cannot but add that all the considerations of historical propriety preponderate decidedly in favour of the reading *Ἕλληνας*; that Jew and Greek are never contrasted, as here, in the writings of St. Luke without meaning Jew and Gentile, unless accompanied with some qualifying term; that the proceedings in the Syrian Antioch were the precedent followed by the apostles in Asia Minor; that the state of the early Church at Antioch awakened surprise if not alarm in the Church at Jerusalem, which would not have been the case if only Hellenists had been admitted freely to its ranks, as those already abounded in the mother Church, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that the large recent admissions consisted of Gentiles; and that the transition from the admission of Hellenists to the admission of Gentiles took place there and then, without any further gradation of circumstance or interval of time, such as Mr. Kay pleads for with Greswell (vol. iv., p. 58).

Thus the external and direct evidence, so far as hitherto ascertained (although we cannot but believe that it has been most imperfectly gleaned), can scarcely be said to be in favour of the common reading; while the internal evidence of the sense of the context requires the substitution of *Ἕλληνας*. This is the conclusion of the distinguished Neander, in vol. i., p. 65, of his *History of the planting of the Christian Church*:—

"Though the Christians of Jewish descent, who were driven by persecution from Jerusalem, were by that event induced to spread the gospel

in Syria and the neighbouring districts, yet their labours were confined to the Jews. On the other hand, the Hellenists, such as Philip and others, who originally came from Cyprus and Cyrene, made their way among the Gentiles also, to whom they were allied in language and education, which was not the case with the Jews."

To this statement Neander appends a note:—

"In Acts xi. 20, the common reading 'Ἑλληνιστάς' is evidently to be rejected as formed from a false gloss, and the reading which refers to the Gentiles ('Ἑλλήνας') must be substituted as undoubtedly correct."

This is the conclusion at which the Rev. Thomas Sheldon Green has arrived in his very valuable recent work, *A course of developed criticism of passages of the New Testament, materially affected by various readings*, published by the Messrs. Bagster.

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SUPPOSED ERRORS IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

In the last number of the *Westminster Review* is a long article on the revision of the English Bible, which ought to receive a careful perusal from all those who think a new translation necessary, for this article must be considered as giving the deliberate opinion of that party which has F. W. Newman and Co. for its leaders, and a quarterly Review for the promulgation of their opinions.

The writer of the article alluded to appears to be well acquainted with the original, yet his criticisms on the passages as rendered in the Authorized Version which he examines, are untenable, and prove—if they prove anything—the correctness of the present translation. This will appear evident to those who examine the passages without prejudice or desire to prove the correctness of preconceived opinions regarding the truth or falsity of the facts stated in the Scriptures. The first passage animadverted upon is given in the following extract:—"It does not belong to translators to rectify providence or inspiration, if they have 'permitted' the irreconcilable discrepancy, however fruitful it may be of controversy. In some cases the decision will be difficult. In the Gospel of Mark xv. 23, we read, 'and they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh,' apparently out of humanity; which act seems to have been repeated at intervals during the crucifixion; compare ver. 36, and John xix.

29. In Matthew and Luke these acts have a different aspect. Luke, xxiii. 36, makes the soldiers offer the vinegar in mockery, and Matthew appears to refer to Psalm lxix. 21, 'They gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.' But in Matt. xxvii. 34, there is a various reading of *οἶνον* for *ῥῆος*, of at least equal value, and adopted both by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Is the translator to conciliate this text with that of Mark, by rendering, as Wycliffe and the Rheims version, 'wine'—the proper English of *οἶνον*, and a permissible English for *ῥῆος*; or with Tyndale and the other versions, by the rendering of 'vinegar,' to dissociate the text in Matthew from the other evangelist, and to adapt it to the presumed prophecy in the Psalm?" It is added in a note that this word *ῥῆος* "might mean a kind of sour wine, served out with the soldiers' rations; or if not a wine, it was a drink for refreshment; see Ruth ii. 14 (*ἐν τῷ ῥῆει*, Sept.), compare Numb. vi. 3."

The Hebrew word *חֹמֶטֶז* (*chometz*) is derived from *חָמַץ* (*chamatz*), to be sour, acid, bitter; hence the origin of the proverb, "Vinegar the son of wine:" it is rendered *vinegar* both in this Psalm, and in Ruth ii. 14; Prov. xxv. 20; x. 26, by the LXX., *ῥῆος*; Vulgate, *aceto*; Luther, *essig*; Tremellius and Junius *acetum*; the only difference is that the Septuagint has in the last passage *δμφαξ*, i. e., *sour fruit*. A sour drink is then, to be understood by the term *chometz*, and it would appear from Num. vi. 3; Ruth ii. 14, that it was a kind of sour-wine. This drink was mixed with rosh. The LXX., *χολήν*; Vulgate, *fel*; and Luther *gall*; agree with our version in translating it as meaning gall; the Targum has "*the gall of asp's heads*." Bythner maintains it to denote the peculiar bitterness of an asp's poison; Trem. and Junius *amarorem*, *bitterness*; while Gesenius thinks it to be the poppy. This prophecy is rightly considered to have been fulfilled when our Saviour suffered death. The question: Are we to consider the *ῥῆος* of Matthew the same drink as the *δινος* of Mark? is rightly answered in the affirmative by Bloomfield and others. That they cannot both be translated wine is certain, for *ῥῆος* is correctly rendered *vinegar*, understanding by that term, what it originally meant, *sour-wine* (from the French *vin*, wine, and *aigre*, sour); St. Matthew names the particular kind of wine, whereas St. Mark only tells us that it was wine. It could be no other kind than the *acetum* of the Romans, thus described by Professor Ramsay in his brief but excellent account of Roman wines (*Rom. Antiq.*, p. 439); "If the fermentation was pushed too far, or if the wine was kept too long, it was changed into *acetum*; the vinegar itself in process of time

underwent decomposition and was transformed into an insipid useless liquor to which the name *Vappa* was given (*Hor. Sat.*, lib. i., v., 16).” Not only do the Evangelists allude to the same liquid, but it is probable, if not certain, that they also allude to the same plant, although it is named *gall* by Matthew, and *myrrh* by Mark. Dr. Macknight has a most excellent note on this subject in his *Harmony of the Gospels*; in his opinion the Evangelists may be reconciled more directly by supposing that *χολή* signifies any bitter drug whatsoever, as it is applied to wormwood in Prov. v. 4, and by parity of reason may denote myrrh, which has its name from a Hebrew word signifying bitterness. He also states that Casaubon thinks that our Lord’s friends being hindered from coming near to him by the soldiers, put a cup of myrrhed wine into the hands of one of them to give it to Jesus; but that the soldiers, out of contempt, added gall to it.

In several parts of the Highlands of Scotland there is a plant which receives the name *gall* and *sweet-smelling-myrtle* from the inhabitants. It is thus noticed by Sir Walter Scott in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, chap. xxvii.: “But fare you well, for I must go, as beseems me, to the burial of the best Chief the clan ever had, and the wisest Captain that ever cocked the *sweet gall* (*bog-myrtle*) in his bonnet.” One thing at least is certain, viz., that both of the Evangelists prove the prophecy in the 92nd Psalm to have been fulfilled. But it is useless to consider this subject any longer, for in the words of Dr. Isaac Barrow, “that Jesus our Lord did most thoroughly correspond to whatever is in this kind declared by the prophets concerning the Messiah, we need not by minutely relating the known history of his life and death, make out any further, since the whole matter is palpably notorious, and no adversary can deny it” (Sermon on Acts iii. 18).

Those who undertake a new translation, “must render,” says the rather dogmatic critic, “Psalm xvi. 10, as the words intend, of providential preservation in this life, although in Acts ii. they are applied to the resurrection.” The reference in Acts ii. 25, to Psalm xvi. 8—11, is to shew that David prophesied of Christ’s resurrection. The apostle could not, therefore, have considered David’s remarkable words to mean only “providential preservation in this life,” for there is not a single word in the original that could justify us in translating the passage as meaning anything but the resurrection of the body of him who is called the Holy One. The Vulgate is the same as the A. V., and also Luther, and the LXX.; Van Ess translates *leshol* as meaning “in the realm of the dead,” (*im Todtenreiche*), a most beautiful translation; De Wette renders it “lower regions” (*Un-*

tervelt) ; even the Rabbi Kimchi does not understand the verse to allude to this life, for he thus quotes from Midrash : "He tells that after death the worm or moth shall not bear sway over himself."

Another "extremely unfortunate rendering," says the same critic, "involving a gross anachronism, is that of 'silk,' which could not be known in the Bible countries during any part of the Old Testament period. There is a word *שֶׁשׁ*, *shesh*, one of the terms for 'fine linen,' or perhaps *muslin*, used in Gen. xli. 42, and rendered there in the text 'fine linen;' but not satisfied with that the translators must add in the margin 'or silk,' although they render the same word 'linen' in a great many other places. But worse than this, 'silk' occurs in the text itself of Prov. xxxi. 22 ; as though an industrious Hebrew woman of the middle class could be clothed in such a precious material, which certainly was unknown even to Solomon, and hundreds of years after his time was sold for its weight in gold. 'Silk' is again used for another word, in Ezek. xvi. 10—13, *meschi*, where, perhaps, is meant a net worn over the head by women, etc." In a note it is added, "There is only one word in the Hebrew Scriptures which looks at all like silk, though it cannot mean it, and that is in Isa. xix. 9, *serikoth*;" A. V., *fine flax*.

The word *silk* occurs in the text of the A. V. only four times, viz., Prov. xxxi. 22, Ezek. xvi. 10, 13, and Rev. xviii. 12, and that the correct term has been used by the translators, except in the first-mentioned passage, is evident from the following considerations. *Shesh*, from a root which means to be white, ought to be translated *fine linen*, and the word is so rendered 32 of the 33 times it is found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament by the translators of the A. V., there being nothing to justify a different translation of the same word. The word for *linen* itself is *bad*, and so rendered in the English Version, where we also find *butz*, *pishtah*, and *shesh*, translated *linen* or *fine linen* ; Mr. Yates and others also maintain they all mean linen, except *pishtah*, now considered by all scholars who have investigated the subject to mean *flax*. Mr. J. E. Ryland gives good reasons in Dr. Kitto's *Cyclopædia* (art. *Shesh*) in support of the opinion that *butz* (A. V., *fine linen*) is cotton. The *karpas* of Esther (i. 6) is proved by Mr. Yates to mean either *muslin* or *calico*, and it is translated *fine muslin* by Dr. Vincent, while Mr. J. E. Ryland thinks that cotton, white and blue, is the meaning of the passage in Esther ; in a new translation the word ought to be rendered *muslin* or *cotton* instead of the present rendering in the A. V., viz., *green*. *Serikoth* refers to flax, the fibres of which, Sir G. Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.*,

vol. ii., p. 99) shews, was parted and cleansed with a sort of comb: *combed* flax is therefore nearer the original than *fine* flax.

In Ezek. xvi. 10, 18, is the word *מֶשְׁכִּי* (*meschi*) from *נָמַךְ* to draw out, and nowhere else is it found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament writings. It is rightly translated in the A. V., "silk;" the Vulgate has *subtilibus*, but omits to translate the word in ver. 13. Luther has *schleier* (veil), and *seide* (silk); De Wette has *seide*; Trem. and Junius have *muslin* (*serico* and *sericum*), or rather *silk*. What was the fine linen of Scripture? Just the celebrated linen of Egypt which the Hebrews evidently knew how to make (see Ex. xxxv. 25, etc.), and which we cannot as it is equal to *our* silk; the quality of one piece of linen found near Memphis excites admiration at the present day, "being," says Wilkinson, "to the touch comparable to silk, and not inferior in texture to our finest cambric." The very fact that the products of India are traced to Greece in the time of Homer (*Il.*, vi., 289), to Egypt in the time of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 25, the names of the spices prove this, see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, vol. ii., p. 134), and to Jerusalem in the days of Solomon (1 Kings ix. 26, etc.), shews that it is highly probable that silk was early introduced from the East into Palestine and Egypt. This trade also introduced into the Hebrew language Sanskrit words, *e. g.*, nard, bdellium, calamus, and cassia. As these words bear terminations characteristic of the Dekkan, it has been maintained that the Ophir of the Old Testament must have been in India, and probably on the Malabar coast; see Speir's *Life in Anc. India*. The art of making silk was discovered at a very early period by the Chinese; that things arrived from China and were used in Egypt is well known. In the tombs of Thebes and other places in that country have been found bottles of undoubted Chinese manufacture; they were in the opinion of Sir G. Wilkinson brought from India by Arab traders. The historian Gibbon states that "silks which had been closely woven in China, were sometimes unravelled by the Phœnician women, and the precious materials were multiplied by a looser texture and the intermixture of linen threads" (*Dec. and Fall*, chap. xl.) The same historian eloquently remarks that the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of Sidon fifteen centuries after they had been celebrated in the poems of Homer. And it is his opinion that "*in every age a variety of animal and vegetable productions, hair, skins, wool, flax, cotton, and at length silk, have been skilfully manufactured to hide or adorn the human body.*" If the periods during which Solomon and Ezekiel flourished were exceptions, Gibbon certainly was the last person in the world to have forgotten such a fact. Ezekiel, who was contemporary

with Jeremiah and Daniel, is the first ancient writer who mentions silk (594 B.C.); Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, v., chap. xix.) is the first Greek writer who gives information respecting its use, and Pliny, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Basil, in the opinion of Dr. Wm. Smith, have adopted his account with various modifications. The objection that silk could not be known to Solomon or the Bible countries during any part of the Old Testament period, because it was expensive in Rome when imported in the age of Aurelian, applies also to the article linen, the *then* existence of which our critic does not deny, because linen was as great a luxury as silk to the Roman, "insomuch," says Professor Ramsay (*Rom. Antiq.*), "that the priests of Isis were at once marked out to the eye as a distinct class by the circumstance of their being robed in linen." When silk was imported into Rome from the island of Cos, near the western coast of Asia Minor, the price was certainly so high that thin gauzes (*coe vestes*) were chiefly used, or a mixture in which the woof was of silk, and the warp of flax; this kind received the name *vestes subserice*; cloths composed entirely of silk were called *vestes holoserice*. During the reign of Tiberius, the Senate passed a decree:—*Ne vestis serica viros fedaret* (*Tac. Ann.*, ii., p. 33); Elagabalus, however, using silk robes, etc., was the first Roman who dared to disobey the decree of the Senate. It is true that Aurelian complained that a pound of silk was sold at Rome for twelve ounces of gold, but then as the historian Gibbon remarks, the supply increased with the demand, and the price diminished with the supply. When the article ceased to be imported, at least to any extent, in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 532), the manufacturing of silk by the Romans was considered in the reign of Justin II. as not inferior to that of China.

It is certainly nothing but sophistry, and that of the worst kind, to assert that a substance could not exist, or become common, in a certain country in a certain age, *because* the same substance was dear in another country during a later age. But even although no trace of any connexion whatsoever with India or the East could be proved as having ever existed in Old Testament times, no one could be justified in questioning the truth of the statement contained in Ezekiel, viz., that silk garments were common in Jerusalem. Until the word in Ezekiel is proved to be an interpolation, it is absurd to maintain that by rendering it as meaning silk, the only meaning we can give to the word, is just to commit "a gross anachronism." The assertion has been made, and it is no imaginary statement, that certain arts, or the manufacturing of certain articles, have been discovered or practised by one people or nation, lost at their decline, and re-

discovered by another people, and probably more than once this discovery and loss has taken place in the history of nations. For instance, the art of casting in core, as it is technically called, is said to have been discovered in Greece; now, from a comparison of ancient colossal statues with two of the largest modern ones, and a few brief notices found in the oldest of books, we are enabled to prove that the three stages into which the art of casting has been divided, were certainly known to the ancients; the molten sea described in 1 Kings vii. 23, shews beyond doubt that the three stages were perfectly well known in Solomon's reign, while the golden bells (Ex. xxviii. 33, 34), shew that in the casting of small articles, they were known long before his time.^a A history of the progress made in the arts by the ancient Hebrews has been, until lately, a subject totally neglected; this, however, is not now the case, as it is fully investigated in a work just published called *The Ancient Workers and Artificers in Metal*, from references in the Old Testament, by Mr. James Napier, F.C.S., a gentleman of undoubted scientific attainments. From this work the following extract is taken:—"It must have been observed by those who have read works on the genuineness or authenticity of the Pentateuch, and other books in the Old Testament, that one argument often used by a certain class of thinkers is, that articles of manufacture are named in these books as being in common use at the time they were written; while, from profane history, it can be shewn that materials or substances capable of making such articles were not discovered till long after the reputed author of the sacred books was dead, and, consequently, such books could not have been written by that author, or the account of these articles must have been interpolated by later hands, and thus Scripture history must be considered doubtful. It appears probable that many of the ancient nations besides the Israelites often attained to great perfection in particular arts, but by a change of dynasty, or a series of wars, the arts fell into desuetude, and were forgotten by the artificers dying out,—no written record or description being left of the art. Long after this period the same art is again discovered and practised, and the history of this last discovery being written, it is remembered." His assertions are illustrated by several instances, "out of a great many mentioned in history;" we have only room for two, and those the most remarkable on record:—"Marking ink, made with silver solution, is another discovery of modern days; and it is found by analysis of the writings on

^a See an article by the present writer in *Macphail's Edin. Magazine* for July 1856, from which the above instance is taken.

linen, over the mummies, to have been used by the ancient Egyptians. I remember passing through the antiquity department of the British Museum a few years ago, when a gentleman present, pointing to a form of clasp amongst the Egyptian articles, stated, that recently a mechanic in England had registered the same clasp as a new invention, and no doubt it was to the inventor: 'The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us.'"^b In an age when scholars of undoubted learning and ability are doing their utmost to prove the Scriptures to be spurious and unworthy of belief, it is exceedingly gratifying to observe issuing from the British press, year after year, works illustrative of the truth of Holy Writ, written by laymen of great scientific and literary attainments, for Mr. Napier is not the only layman who has of late thrown great light on various passages which otherwise would still remain obscure and unintelligible; Sir G. Wilkinson, Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Layard, and Mr. J. Y. Akerman, have all contributed to this good work; all honour and praise is due to such men, and long may their works continue to be read and studied by the young and the aged, to the utter confusion of the Adversary.^c

"But there are some places," continues this new critic of the A. V. in the *Westminster Review*, "where the state of the text does not admit of a construction; and a translator must not act upon conjectural emendations. These places may be sufficiently comprised under three heads: (1) defective passages where something has evidently dropped out of the text; (2) redundant passages, where some word or words have crept in; (3) corrupt passages, properly so called, and untranslatable as they stand." Examples are given of the three heads: (1) of the first we have Gen. iv. 8, "'And Cain talked with Abel his brother.'—A. V. But the word *vayyomer* signifies not *talked* but *said*; *amar* is the common word for *said*, and must be followed

^b In a review of Mr. Napier's work by Dr. Goold in the *News of the Churches*, it is stated that "There can be little doubt that the author has entered on an untrodden path of scriptural investigation. It evinces thorough science and practical skill respecting metallurgical operations,—the two great requisites for an author on such a theme. Had the lamented Kitto been alive, he would have prized and esteemed it as a book after his own heart."—*N. C.* for November, 1856.

^c It is to be hoped that editions of *Ancient Egyptians*, *Shipwreck of St. Paul*, and *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, will soon be published in a cheaper form, so that all classes of the community may receive benefit from their exceedingly interesting investigations. This objection, it is but right to state, does not apply to Mr. Napier's valuable work.

by a supplement of what is said: 'And Cain said unto Abel his brother'—what? The defect in the Hebrew text may perhaps be supplied from the Sept. Version, which reads, 'Let us cross to the plain.'"

It is true means *said*; but that it also means *to speak*, see Bythner on the Psalms (Ps. ii. 7); in Psalm v. 2, we have *amarai, my words*, so that, "And Cain spoke with," etc., is just the same as, "And Cain talked with (or to)," etc., either of which renderings suits the original; there is therefore no necessity to imagine the passage defective, or that any words have dropped out of the text. The additional words in the LXX. are also in the Vulgate. Luther (*redete mit*), De Wette (*sprach zu*), and Van Ess (*einst besprach mit*), give the passage the same sense as the A. V. Dr. Davidson, it is true, wishes to add *וְהָאֵלֹהִים* after *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*, but it has already been stated in this Journal (April number for 1856), that such a reading *has not the support of a single MS.*

"Exod. xii. 40, we read according to the English version and the Hebrew text, 'Now, the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt (*was*) 400 and 30 years, and they came out in the selfsame day,' which verse disagrees with Gen. xv., where the evil entreating of Abraham's seed in a strange land is foretold to be 400 years. And in Acts vii. 6, the report of Stephen's speech gives the period as 400 years for the evil entreating of the children of Israel; but Paul, in Gal. iii. 17, again makes the period 400 and 30 years, but reckons it from the giving of the promise to Abraham. So that, as to the period, the texts are two against two; and as to the facts embraced by the period, they are three against one."

The facts stated in Gen. xv. 18, and Acts vii. 6, are the same, and both strictly true, consequently they cannot be considered defective passages. The 400 years begin at the birth of Isaac. That they are not the same facts as those mentioned in Exod. xii. 40, etc., and Gal. iii. 17, is clear, because in the former the seed of Abram is all that is intended, in the latter the time, end of 430 years, when a certain law was made, is what we find must be considered as the meaning. As commentators can easily be consulted, who have satisfactorily answered the question, When did the 430 years begin? by shewing that they are to be counted from the time when Abram went into Egypt, it is sufficient to state that the length of time mentioned is not contrary to statements contained in the Scriptures, and that until this is proved to be the case, the text must be considered correct.

2. "1 Sam. vi. 19, where it is obvious that the slaughter of

50,070 out of the people of Bethshemish is an impossibility, in the construction of the text as it now stands. Here Kennicott states, that three MSS. omit the 50,000, and what is likewise of importance in conjunction with this evidence, Josephus, in his account of the event, omits them likewise."

The A. V. rightly translates the original, which narrates a remarkable circumstance in the history of the ark. Because some of the men of Bethshemesh had looked into the ark of Jehovah, he smote (~~הָמַתּוּ מִן הָעָם מֵעַרְבָּן מֵעַרְבָּן~~), etc., 50,000, and 70 men; whether some only died it is impossible to state, as we cannot ascertain from the verse the circumstances connected with this awful instance of divine justice; it may have been a plague, or pestilence, as smiting does not necessarily imply death (see Gen. xix. 11; Num. xiv. 12), etc. It has been conjectured, with great probability, that all the surrounding population suffered, but did not all die, from a terrible plague. The fact as stated in the existing text is not an impossibility, and as only three of the numerous MSS. examined by Dr. Kennicott differ from it, more evidence must be produced before this passage can be considered "redundant," or even as having interpolated words. The *Textus Receptus* is considered to be correct in the LXX. and Vulgate; Luther (*funfzig tausend u. siebenzig*), Trem. and Junius (*quingages mille septuaginta*), also translate it the same as the A. V. Scholars ought to be very cautious before they pronounce a passage to be interpolated. Mr. Greswell (*Diss.*, vol. iii., p. 237), maintains 2 Kings i. 17 to be so; but the late Professor Blunt, in his *Undesigned Coincidences*, by explaining the true meaning of the passage, has satisfactorily proved it to be no interpolation.

"2 Sam. i. 18, where the word *keseth* is intruded into the text. For the solution of that difficulty cannot be that which is adopted by the A. V., '(The use of) the bow,' nor according to others, '(The song of) the bow,' which Luther adopts; nor in any way can the word be construed in the passage, as it has no objective particle. This case is rather one in which revisers should bracket the word as an interpolation."

There is no necessity to imagine that ~~קֶשֶׁת~~ (war-bow) is here intruded into the *Textus Receptus*, nor can any one find it difficult to understand the verse, as the 22nd verse shews that the words "teach the children of Judah the bow" mean nothing more or less than to teach the children of Judah the song of the bow. The A. V. has "the use of" in italics, as such words are not in the text; the LXX. omits *keseth*; Trem. and Junius have *to handle the bow* (*tractare arcum*,—the first word however is in italics); the Vulgate is like the A. V., excepting of course

the words in italics, nearest the original, "*docerent filios Judæ arcum.*" Dr. Robinson, in his edition of Calmet's dictionary, remarks on this passage, that "this mode of selecting an inscription to a poem or work is common in the East; so in the *Koran*, the second Sura is entitled *the cow*, from the incidental mention in it of the red heifer (comp. Numb. xix. 2). In a similar manner the names of the Pentateuch in the Hebrew Bibles are merely the first word in each book." To bracket *ke-sheth* as an interpolation would be absurd, as the meaning is obvious, and there is nothing to shew that the word is "redundant," or out of place, where it is.

(3.) "1 Sam. xiii. 1, 'Saul reigned one year, and when he had reigned two years over Israel.' So the incompleteness of the text in 2 Kings xxv. 3, where the word '*fourth*' is supplied by the translation from Jer. lii. 6, should be indicated in some further manner."

The literal meaning of 1 Sam. xiii. 1 is, "the son of a year was Saul in his reigning," and ought certainly to have been thus translated in the A. V. (although it is given in the margin); as the verse at present reads, one clause contradicts the other. The words evidently mean that at the time certain things happened, Saul had reigned one year, and when he had ventured on the second year of his reign, the subsequent events happened. Luther has, "Saul was a year king," etc. Trem. and Junius, "Saul living in his reign one year (but he reigned over Israel two years) did" so and so. The Vulgate, "The son of one year was Saul when he began to reign, but he reigned two years over Israel," etc., thus making Saul king when he was only a year old! Dr. Samuel Lee and others have maintained that "the verse is not in the Septuagint;" it is however, given in the printed copy published by Drs. Stier and Theile (Bielefeld, 1851), with a note stating that it is found in many codices (*in mult. codd.*) That the Hebrew text can be explained is certain, and that it can be translated is also certain, and as no one has yet proved it to be corrupt, it cannot be left out of any translation of the Scriptures. The same can be affirmed of 2 Kings xxv. 3, A. V., "And on the ninth *day* of the *fourth* month," etc., with reference in the margin to Jer. xxxix. 2; lii. 6. The LXX., Vulgate, and Luther,^d all translate literally. Had the text been considered incomplete by these translators, they certainly would not have done so, and although the A. V. has in italics *day* and *fourth*, it is wrong to assert that therefore our translators understood the text to be incomplete, because with-

^d In some editions we find [*fierten*] *monats*.

out the words in italics the passage is perfectly clear and intelligible. When a reference to another passage can supply such words, the reference only should be made and the passage translated literally, so that no one unacquainted with the original may suppose that the text is incomplete. But when in reading the passage without the italics, the reader finds it to be complete, he will at once understand the motive for printing them. This passage, however, is only one of the many verses in the A. V., where italics are out of place.

"2 Chron. xxii. 2 should be noted as corrupt with reference note to 2 Kings viii. 26, where his age is given as twenty-two years." Here there is certainly an apparent error, as the age given in Kings is considered by Mr. Blunt (and others) to be the correct one, and he remarks that the identity of names in the two families renders, whilst it lasts, the contemporary history of the two kingdoms extremely complicated and embarrassing. As it is stated at the end of the 21st chapter that Ahaziah's father died at the age of 40, the apparent error in the Hebrew text is one of a few which makes it desirable that MSS. ought to be sought for and carefully examined, as it has been well remarked by a late eminent Hebrew scholar, "We have cause to be thankful that, through God's good providence, the present Hebrew text has been handed down to us with such care and fidelity, as to be capable of comparatively very little improvement, by the aid of the immense number of MSS. and editions collated by Dr. Kennicott" (*J. S. L.*, Oct., 1856).

But although it is granted that in this single instance an error may have crept into the text, yet we affirm and maintain on undoubted evidence that the critic whose remarks we have examined and found untenable, is totally unable to prove the truth of his statement, that the texts are corrupt or irreconcilable "in which large and impossible numbers are recorded as the sum of the treasures said to have been amassed by David for the building of the temple, and the totals given of the fighting men of Israel and Judah, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 2; 1 Chron. xxi. 5, which are mutually irreconcilable and also excessive."

As many eminent commentators, who have written on the subject, reconcile and do not consider corrupt the numbers given of the tribes of Israel and Judah, it is sufficient to state that although they appear excessive, yet no one is justified in considering the passages as corrupt (as Dr. Clarke has done)

* If any of our readers have it in their power to refer to the collations of De Rossi and Dr. Pinner, perhaps they will examine them to see if they give a different reading to 2 Chron. xxii. 2.

or untranslatable. The numbers given of the treasures collected by David for the temple are certainly large, but far from being impossible. The sum collected, contributed, and accumulated for the temple has been calculated at the gross value of £989,929,687; this large sum was obtained in the course of forty years, and it has been proved to be larger than the quantity raised in all the mines in the known world these last fifty-five years. Are the statements of Scripture to be questioned because we who live in the nineteenth century cannot remember an accumulation of the precious metals, compared to that made by one nation 1014 B.C. (A.M. 2990)? Certainly not; for the experience of the present can never be the test of past ages. The calculation is the highest that can be given, and is perhaps too large, yet no one can deny that when correct returns are obtained from California and Australia, it may not only be equalled but greatly surpassed. In different ages historians relate that gold and silver have been accumulated by different individuals and nations, in particular localities and in certain countries, now remarkable for the absence of the precious metals. That such accumulations were made is not only possible, but cannot be doubted by any one willing to believe evidence of the highest kind, and not only does this evidence exist, but independent of it, such accumulations must, in the nature of things have been made, because banking being then unknown, the practice of hoarding was carried to a very great extent in ancient times, hence the reason why Greek and Roman coins are discovered in many parts of Europe, Asia and Africa; trade and commerce were then in their infancy, and could not as in modern times induce communities to allow their supply of the precious metals to circulate for the benefit of mankind in general. The treasures of gold and silver in ancient times was so immense, that not only have individuals, well-qualified to give an opinion, maintained that gold and silver were much more plentiful in ancient than they have been in modern times, but the late Sir W. Drummond believed, and published his opinion in the *Classical Journal*, that the ancients were acquainted with the art of transmuting the baser metals into gold! Are the passages in the Greek and Latin writers, which give statements of large sums, to be considered, like those in the Hebrew text, defective, redundant, corrupt, and untranslatable? Solomon, by his commerce, had a yearly supply of nearly £6,000,000; are we also to consider the passages where this is stated to be corrupt? Is 2 Chron. xi. 9 corrupt, simply because it contains the statement that the Queen of Sheba gave to Solomon in gold £657,000? Are the translators to leave out as a redundant and corrupt pas-

sage, the ninth verse of the third chapter of Esther, as it states that Haman offered to give to those who would destroy the Jews £3,000,000 (according to the Jewish talent; £2,119,000 according to the Babylonish)? When Herodotus states that Pythius possessed in the time of Xerxes, nearly a half of all the gold in present use, his assertion according to the critical rules of our reviewer, is just an impossibility, and his text is therefore corrupt! And some great scholar must alter the text of Pliny, for he says that Cyrus took from Asia in gold and silver £126,224,000. All the instances given by Sir G. Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians*, and by Gibbon in his celebrated history, proving, or at least attempting to do so, the truth of the statements made as to the amount of ancient wealth are fallacious, as they are founded on mere assertions found in ancient writers, the text of whose works are corrupt and should certainly be altered!

“If Scripture, though derived from heavenly birth,
Has been but carelessly preserved on earth;
If God’s own people, who of God before
Knew what we know, and had been promised more,
In fuller terms, of heaven’s assisting care,
And who did neither time nor study spare,
To keep this Book untainted, unperplexed,
Let in gross errors to corrupt the text,
Omitted paragraphs, embroiled the sense,
With vain traditions stopped the gaping fence,
Which every common hand pulled up with ease,
What safety from such brushwood helps as these?
If written words from time are not secured,
How can we think have oral sounds endured.”^f

Although we have proved that the criticism on the present translation of the Scriptures, which we have just examined, is contrary to all received opinions, yet it is not to be imagined that we deny the necessity of a new translation. If the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland are to have another Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments, we sincerely hope that certain renderings will be altered by the translators; for example, the most incorrect translation of 2 Sam. xii. 31, where we have “and put under saws,” etc.; as the dreadful punishment of the saw was unknown to the ancient Hebrews, it ought to be translated “and put to or unto (a) saws,” etc., *i. e.*, made them slaves. The use made of such translations by those un-

^f Dryden’s *Religio Laici* ought to be read by the writer in the *Westminster Review*, and by all those who may be of his opinion; if they have read it, they are recommended to peruse it again.

friendly to Christianity is known to every one ; and the passage just quoted gives an example, as the reader has only to look at Gibbon's first note to the sixteenth chapter of his *Decline and Fall*, where, presuming on his reader's ignorance of the original, he states that the unhappy victims of the Jews "were sawn asunder according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction of his example !"

P. S.

THE STATE OF THE HEATHEN WORLD CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

THOSE amongst our readers who have been in the habit of attending missionary meetings, will doubtless remember that the favourite argument used on such occasions was the non-salvability of the heathen. They were commonly spoken of as the *perishing* heathen, and were assumed to be left to perish, not on account of their moral degradation, but because they were considered as in no way the subjects of the Almighty Father's paternal care. The sole exceptions were understood to be that infinitesimally small number who are, or have been from time to time, converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of Protestant missions. These, and these only were represented as being precious in God's sight, because their election was foreseen from the foundation of the world. That such were the common assumptions made on these occasions, the *Record* newspaper admits, for that newspaper has warmly defended the monstrous idea in question, and administered a sound rebuke to the *North British Review* for adopting the more reasonable and charitable opinion.

We are willing to admit that these opinions are neither peculiar to our own day, nor to the party represented by the *Record* ; and that much which enlightened Christians now hold to be opposed to divine justice may be found in the writings of individual Fathers, as well as of Reformers. Still, in so important a question as that of the possibility or impossibility of the salvation of so many hundreds of millions of our fellow creatures, we think it right to divest ourselves of exclusive

devotion to authorities, however high, and to admit nothing as conclusive save Holy Scripture, and (if it could be ascertained) universal consent. Our readers will not suppose that we under-rate the incalculably great service rendered to the Church by the illustrious St. Augustine, if we state our belief that the dogma we are combating took its rise from the Predestinarian views advocated by that father. Providentially raised up to vindicate the necessity of the grace of God against the heresies of Pelagius and his followers, it cannot be denied that St. Augustine has ventured on some very strong statements on the non-salvability of the unbaptized, and that to him we are mainly indebted for the pressing of the favourite ecclesiastic dogma, in more recent times so fearfully abused by the Roman Church, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.

The question then is, does Holy Scripture speak of the Heathen in such a way as to compel us to conclude against the possibility of their being saved (as heathen)? We most emphatically declare our own conviction that it does not. There are, no doubt, texts which taken apart from their context, and from others apparently contradictory to them, *seem* convincing enough to a one-sided theology; but we are quite sure that they are neither sufficiently numerous nor definite to carry such a conviction to any one acquainted with the actual state and condition of the Heathen themselves; or whose mind is imbued with just and enlightened notions with respect to the attributes of God.

Our conclusions with respect to the heathen world would therefore take either of the following forms:

I. That our race is so utterly fallen, so totally depraved that no good whatever is left in us naturally; that we are literally *dead* in trespasses and sins; and the necessary corollary, that having thus come under the wrath of God (and Christ only dying for the elect) all are left to perish save true believers in Christianity. Or, on the other hand,

II. Admitting the statement of Article IX. of the Church of England that man is very far gone, *quam longissime distet*, from original righteousness, he is yet possessed of sense and conscience; that his corruption is not so entire as to make the substance of his nature evil altogether: but that whilst incapable of thinking one absolutely good thought, or doing one good act, our thoughts and acts are so far qualified, that whilst evil continually with respect to the holiness of God, they are not pure unmixed evil like the wickedness of the devil; and the necessary corollary that, admitting with our Article X. that "the condition of man after the fall is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith

and calling upon God," and "that we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will," we are yet justified in concluding that the grace of God does prevent and assist the heathen, that God's spirit does to some extent strive within them.

Emphatically we declare the latter to be our own conviction, emphatically we declare our persuasion that the former opposite belief is contradictory to every right notion of the Supreme Being. It falls short of the belief of the heathen themselves. The Cilician poet, whom St. Paul quotes to the Athenians, had attained to nobler conceptions of the Almighty Father; he could grasp the idea that we are *all* the offspring of God. *Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμεν.**

The texts commonly cited by those who maintain the total depravity of the human race are Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21; 1 Kings viii. 46; Eccles. vii. 29; Jer. xvii. 9. St. Paul's statements with respect to the law of the flesh and the spirit, Rom. viii; Gal. v., etc., together with David's confessions of humility, Ps. li., etc.

With respect to these and similar passages we would venture to propose for the consideration of our readers, three points.

1. That none of these passages are intended to be philosophical or theological descriptions of the exact state of our nature, like the account of the formation of the race from the dust of the earth.

2. That Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21, and we believe all texts of a similar character speak of man as he has made himself by *acquired habit*, and not simply as he is born.

3. That the texts in the Psalms and St. Paul's Epistles are to be understood as expressions of personal humility.

4. That several passages shew (what universal experience confirms) that some relics of the Divine image are still preserved to us. We would specially call attention to Gen. ix. 6, where the reason why death is to be inflicted on the murderer is shewn to be, because in the image of God made he man; a reason that would have no force whatever if that image were altogether lost. Again, Gen. vi. 3, "My spirit shall not always strive with man," shews that up to that period God's spirit did still exert its influences on the soul. If the opponents of the views we are advocating press closely the force of texts which do seem to them to speak so decisively on the entire corruption of

* Aratus, B.C. 278.

our race, we are entitled to the benefit of such passages as Job xxvii. 3, and xxx. 3, 4. "All the time my breath is in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils, my lips shall not speak wickedness, nor my heart utter deceit. My words shall be of the uprightness of my heart, and my lips shall utter knowledge clearly. The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life."

The conclusion then at which we ourselves have arrived with respect to man unrenewed is this, that at the fall our race lost certain gifts and powers supernatural, which, like King Æolus's power over the winds, restrained the otherwise discordant elements of our being. These gifts the fathers and schoolmen called the *ornamentum naturæ*. They believed them to be involved in the expressions—the image and likeness of God, and unlike some of the foreign reformers they considered them to be superadded gifts beyond nature.^b

To our own minds this account of the fall is the only one that frees the doctrine from the Manichean notions of the objective and substantial character of evil, and rescues it from the frightful heresies broached on the subject by some of the continental reformers. It represents the fall to have entailed a disorganization in the physical and moral constituents of our being, resulting from the loss of gifts and powers supernatural that would otherwise have warded off decay in the body, and restrained the passions of the soul. With St. Augustine it shews evil to be the "perversion of good." On such a theory we may thankfully affirm whatever of good we see in any man to be from God; human actions are made to partake of the mixed character of the man himself. They are evil when compared with the holiness of God: they are not altogether and absolutely evil.

And consistently with such a conviction of the actual state of man by nature, we proceed to the further conclusion that "the Lord and Giver of life" has nowhere allowed the spark to expire and the creature altogether to apostatize. To say nothing here of the witness of what is called natural theology, of which St. Paul speaks so plainly in Rom. i. 20, and which no man could receive were he totally lost, or be either excusable or accusable (Rom. ii. 15); the passages quoted above (and many more might be adduced), with individual instances, such as Abraham before the covenant of circumcision,

^b Such of our readers as are desirous of pursuing the subject will find this view of the case ably set forth by Bishop Bull in his *Treatise on the State of Man before the Fall*, illustrated by a multitude of patristic authorities by Bishop Jolly on Baptismal Regeneration, and in Möhler on Symbolism.

^c St. Aug., Enchirid. ad Laurent.

the father-in-law of Moses, Balaam, Job, etc., shew that God's Holy Spirit never ceased to be present as an energizing and directing agent. We hope presently to shew the difference between the operations within and without the church, before and after the incarnation, but we pause to ask our learned readers if their classical studies do not bear them out in such an estimate of the heathen world? If the human race is totally corrupt and the Sacred Dove has spread its wings and deserted the entire race with the sole exception of the few in outward and visible communion with the Son of God, we challenge our opponents to account for the actual virtues, the self-sacrifices, the constancy in friendship, the patriotism to be found amongst certain of the heathen. We challenge them to explain why in the mythologies of every country under heaven we find longings for a higher and holier destiny than this earth supplies, complaints of the tyranny of evil, of the usurpation of might over right, and yet convictions that the Supreme Being is nevertheless no unconcerned spectator of what goes on, and that ultimately justice and righteousness will prevail. Surely these things are utterly unaccountable on the absurd supposition of the total and entire depravity of the human race, and the absence of the influences of God's spirit, unless, indeed, we are prepared to adopt the frightful alternative of Melancthon, that the constancy of Socrates, the chastity of Xenocrates, and the temperance of Zeno were *vices* and *not virtues*.^d If our readers, with ourselves, are not afraid of truth by whomsoever spoken, they will pardon our introducing the following observations from the great Romish doctor and opponent of German infidelity, Dr. Möhler. (The chapters on original sin and the state of the heathen world are all well worth a careful study). "It is forgotten that when God makes man the mere mechanical instrument of his activity—when there occurs in man a violent obliteration (so revolting to all rational, and still more, to all Christian minds) of a natural spiritual faculty, and indeed the moral and religious faculty, (the prerogative which solely and truly distinguishes him from the brute) sin then from Adam to Christ *must be a thing unknown*,^e and all moral must be transferred into physical evil. How should man sin, when he has not even the faintest knowledge of God, and of his own destination; when he has not the faculty to will what is holy; when he is even devoid of freedom? *He may rave*, he may be furious, he may destroy; but his mode

^d Esto fuerit quædam in Socrate constantia in Xenocrate castitas, in Zenone temperantia . . . non debent pro veris virtutibus sed pro vitiis haberi.—Melanc., loc. Theolog., p. 22.

^e The italics are our own.

of acting cannot be considered other than that of a savage beast" (Möhler, *On Symbolism*, p. 91, English translation^f).

Again, in the whole ancient world, we discern a seeking after truth. Let us but consider what that signifies? If none by their own faculties were enabled to discover it (for to every creature it must be communicated), still it was the object of desire. The man all evil, the man who hath been despoiled of all spiritual powers, in whom the likeness of God hath been utterly effaced, strives not after truth, and cannot so strive. Undoubtedly, truth was but too frequently sought for in this world of creatures; and it was only rarely that man could persuade himself to raise a look of joy up to heaven. But if we discover one such example only, it can then be no longer a matter of doubt that man could do so when he wished, and the freedom born of the fallen creature is fully established (*Ibid*, p. 102, vol. i.)

How gratefully, after wading through the mass of contradictory matter that has been written by divines to prove the utter desertion of his creatures by their Heavenly Father, our minds should revert to Bishop Butler's truthful and philosophical account of human nature,^g and to the convincing fact, that the holy apostles themselves, in their dealings with Gentile equally with Jew, with Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, appeal at once to the moral sense of mankind, never even defining the nature of virtues, such as justice, temperance, and the like; but assuming the knowledge of them to be inherent in the reason, and witnessed to by the conscience. Surely such a view as the one we have taken must vindicate itself to the mind of every one who is not wedded to a theory, nor afraid to think or speak on divine truth, except through the dicta of a narrow and fast waning theology. It is surely something to shew that there is a law of natural religion by which the Gentiles shall be judged, that there is in their case an *afflatum spiritus* still keeping within the soul the little spark of life; that everywhere there were some who "were feeling after God if haply they might find him," and that it is a cardinal verity and care of the divine moral government, equally applying to the swarthy African, as to the fair inhabitant

^f We have not space for further quotations, but our readers will find much interesting matter on the state of the heathen world in Stanley Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, in the same author's *Eight Dissertations on certain connected Prophetic Passages bearing more or less upon the Promise of a Mighty Deliverer*, in Maurice on the *Religion of the World*, French's *Hulsean Lectures*, Blakesley's *Conciones Academicæ*, and in the *Asiatic Researches*. The subject is so interesting that we think it would amply repay a closer and more extensive study.

^g *Analogy*, part i., Of the Moral Government of God, etc.

of the north, that in "every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him," and that in the words of the Christian poet, "he knew them whom they never knew." Nor would such a conclusion as this in any way contradict St. Paul's sad description of the too great majority of the heathen in his day. That account we believe to have been strictly and painfully true. Every scholar can establish its truth from the testimonies of Greek and Latin satirists and historians, but it shews the true reason of that fearful decay of morals: not God's *withholding all knowledge* of himself, but "because when *they knew* God they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened—wherefore God gave them up," etc. (Rom i. 22—24).

But here it may be said, does not such an estimate of the state of the heathen world weaken the obligation to preach the Gospel? The objection has actually been made by the parties referred to at the commencement of this paper, and it has been assumed that the consequence would be a decay of missionary exertion. For ourselves, we are not careful to answer in this matter; for if the zeal of the frequenters of platform meetings has to be kept up by an unhealthy excitement, arising out of unjust and unscriptural views of the dealings of God with his creatures, the sooner it expires the better. It surely is a sufficient motive to excite to noble Christian self-denying exertion that our Lord has commanded the Gospel to be preached to every creature, and that whatever may be the regard in which the Creator holds those who are out of the pale of the visible church, the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth (Rom. i. 16). We are at a loss to conceive how any notion of God's arbitrary selection of individuals can add weight to the duty incumbent on every one to make known to others the unsearchable riches of Christ, or that we need anything more exciting than truthful accounts of the moral degradation of the savage tribes, who are the subjects of our missionary operations, and of the miracles of grace which are wrought, when converts are found at the feet of Jesus clothed in their right mind.

We may grant to the heathen to the full the benefits arising from a nature not totally depraved, of a spirit of life still striving within him, of certain traditional glimmerings of truth; but what is this compared with the blessings of the Gospel? The difference between the state of the world before and after the Incarnation is not solely, with all deference to Bishop Butler,^a

^a *Analogy*, p. 2, On the Importance of Christianity.

"that Christianity is a republic of the law of natural religion, with more light, and with circumstances of peculiar advantages" (a definition which has always seemed to us much to underrate the Gospel) : but that it is a *dispensation of grace*, whereby the baptized are put into a new covenant, relates to the God-man, the second Adam, the second Representative of our race, the beginning of the new Creation. Whatever the heathen or the Jew possessed, they were not gifted with the *παλιγγενεσία*, the new birth of water and the Spirit. They had not that transcendent gift of which St. John declares, "To them (*i. e.*, to Christians) gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.^b" Whatever the nature of the spiritual life preserved to the heathen, they had not that life eternal, the essence of which is to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. They are not blessed with the participation in that flesh which is meat indeed, and that blood which is drink indeed, that food of immortality, wherewith is mystically and sacramentally connected the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting, "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and *I will raise him up at the last day.*" And again: "He that eateth me, the same shall live by me; and he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever."^c

Such, then, as we have described, being the natural and spiritual condition of the heathen world, and such being the difference between the gifts enjoyed respectively by those who are without and within the Gospel covenant and the communion of the visible church, our consideration of the state of the heathen with respect to Christianity might take this practical form. Are our missionaries most likely to gain converts by denouncing them and their forefathers as having been for ages past under the ban of the divine displeasure, and as having no interests in the divine counsels, or by shewing them that however deeply they may have erred, they have never been disowned by their heavenly Father? Should we be most likely to gain their attention and win their hearts by disparaging their natural and spiritual gifts so as to mangify the Gospel, by contrast, as it were, or by making the very existence of these endowments the ground and assurance that there are still choicer blessings in store for them? We declare it to be our own conviction, that the latter is the wiser course, and that the experience of every Christian missionary capable of undertaking such

^b St. John i. 13.

^c St. John vi. 54, 57.

a holy calling, will confirm our own conviction, that in attempting to convert the heathen, the only safe and successful plan will be to find out the germ of truth hidden under the weight of error, to separate the wheat from the chaff, to find the want which such truths supplied; the human motives to which they appealed; frankly, to admit such truths and such longings to be from God, and then to shew that they can only be supplied by the gospel of our salvation. That this was the Apostles' mode of procedure needs no proof; to the Jews and proselytes they appealed to the law and the Prophets; to the Greek, St. Paul was not afraid to bring in the aid of his own poets. That it would be the wiser course, on motives of human prudence, cannot but be admitted; for the best means of convincing an adversary has always been found to consist in first finding out points of *agreement*, and from them to argue to those of disagreement. If, then, the Christian missionary finds anywhere tradition of a common Father of gods and men, let him proclaim God the Father who has made him and all the world. If he discovers latent longings for the advent of some deliverer, let him proclaim God the Son who hath redeemed him and all mankind. If he discovers the existence within of influences above mere human instinct, let him proclaim God the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth all the elect people of God. If he finds dreams afloat of God's conversing with men, of Avatars or manifestations of Deity in human form, let him tell of the Word which was made flesh, and dwelt among us. If he finds sacrifice everywhere observed, men offering their sons and their daughters unto devils, let his message be of one who spared not his own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; let him tell of the sacrifice of the Cross, where "mercy and truth met together, righteousness and peace kissed each other." If, lastly, through east and west, north and south, the Christian missionary finds that his less-favoured brother has ever dreamt of one who has passed through the gloomy portals of the grave, and returned from Elysian fields to welcome him to a home out of sight; yea, let him listen, though it be but to the tale of the poor Indian, of a place wherein his body shall no longer cast its shadow, where he and his faithful dog may meet again, let him (if he would not make his hearers infidels), let him not say, "My brother, you believe a lie;" but, "I will speak to you of one who is the resurrection and the life. I will tell you of new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." Let him shew that all these longings of an immortal spirit are but echoes of the voice of the God of the spirits of all flesh, shadows and adumbrations which only find their substance and reality in Christ.

G. H.

* * In the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* there is an excellent paper on "The Old Testament Saints and the Messiah," intended to shew that before Christ appeared, the old dispensation conveyed no clear knowledge of his character and worth. The following extract harmonizes with the spirit of the above article.—Ed. J. S. L.

"While there cannot reasonably be any doubt that a knowledge of the grace of God in Christ, is instrumentally the best adapted and most powerful means of convicting and converting sinners, it does not thence follow that God cannot bring, or that he has not brought them to repentance and salvation without such knowledge. Repentance is a saving grace, as well as faith in Christ. And where one of them, genuine in its character, is exercised, the other infallibly will be, if the subject has the requisite knowledge. Abraham and Job were doubtless truly penitent; and were doubtless pardoned and saved; though not knowing of Christ's atonement, they exercised no faith in him; and John Newton, after his conversion, while gathering slaves on the coast of Africa, and the pious rum-seller of the last generation, both, by believing in Christ, were in a pardoned and a salvable state: while yet, not knowing that their course of life was sinful, they were not for those sins penitent. So probably, Abraham, Jacob, David, and other pious men of their times, never repented of their polygamy and concubinage, because they never knew that these were great sins; while the general state of their minds in regard to right and mercy, holiness and sin, was such, that, had they been enlightened as to these practices, they would have sorrowed for them unto repentance.

"God acts on the general principle which is involved in the remark of Paul, Rom. ii. 12, 'As many as have sinned without law shall perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law.' And it seems to be reasonable, if not expressly scriptural, to believe that God never requires of any sinner of the human family, in order to his salvation, that which he has not the knowledge of, and the ability to perform; and that the penitent sinner may, so far as his own views, feelings, and character are concerned, be in a salvable state, though he may never have been informed on what ground God can, with propriety, bestow pardoning mercy. The state of the moral affections in man,—his aversion to sin and his desire after holiness,—all that can be regarded as moral excellence in the renewed sinner, is probably not less clearly indicated by his godly sorrow for sin and his hearty striving against it, than by the simple act of faith in Christ."

CORRESPONDENCE.

. The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I beg to call your attention and that of the readers of your most instructive periodical to two texts of acknowledged difficulty in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the hope of eliciting some expression of opinion which may be of lasting service to biblical criticism.

The first is in chap. v. 7;—"Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to *save him from death*, and was heard in that he feared."

The point of difficulty lies in the words italicized. The great majority of commentators interpret them, *to save him from incurring death*, i. e., from dying, and refer them to Gethsemane when our Lord so prayed, and was, they say, conditionally heard. It is sufficient to mention the names of Theodoret, Calvin, Bengel, Carpzov, Paulus, Tholuck, Bleek, Stuart, Barnes, and Ebrard. The last-mentioned commentator may be said to speak for all of them.—"the reference to Gethsemane is unmistakeable."

St. Paul means then, in this verse, to tell the Hebrews, resting his statement on the authority of the holy evangelists, that our Lord prayed in Gethsemane that he might not drink the bitter cup, and that in this prayer he was heard, being strengthened to drink it, and borne through the terrors of death. (See Stuart's Commentary on the Hebrews, Exo. xi.)

Is this interpretation satisfactory? I, for one, do not think it so. Three reasons are, in my mind, decisive against it.

1. It makes the Apostle refer to one passage only of our Saviour's eventful history—his prayer on the evening before his passion. It is indeed a most deeply sacred one; still it is but one. But St. Paul's words are strained by such a meaning being affixed to them; he is evidently referring to something *habitual*. This appears from the words themselves. It was not on one occasion only, but "in the days of his flesh," i. e., as Professor Stuart truly interprets, *during his mortal condition or state, whilst he dwelt on earth as the Logos Incarnate*, that he offered such prayers and tears. It appears still more from the succeeding context. What we translate "was heard" is a participle, and not a tense. The sense does not therefore terminate with verse 7, but goes on to verse 8; the entire statement of the apostle being, that having offered prayers and supplications, and having been in these prayers and supplications heard, our Lord learned obedience through the discipline of suffering. Now was it in Gethsemane only that our Lord learned obedience? No, it was the lesson of his life. These prayers and supplications then, these tears and

this strong crying were not confined to Gethsemane. He was the Man of Prayer as he was the Man of Sorrows,—acquainted with supplication as with grief.

II. It makes the apostle refer to New Testament authority, a thing which is without example (unless this be one) in his entire epistle. He refers indeed to New Testament truth, and expounds it in the fullest manner, but *never* to any writing or document of New Testament Scripture then extant. To understand him to do so on this occasion, is therefore to violate the unity and consistency of the epistle. It is a treatise on the Mosaic law, written for the edification of those Hebrews who believed on Jesus, and so framed as to meet the cavils of their adversaries. And in perfect keeping with this its character, it demonstrates Christian verities from “the Law of Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets” (Luke xxiv. 44), and from no other source. Were the words before us a mere incidental allusion to something in the life of our Blessed Lord, of no great or paramount importance, I should not urge this consideration so strongly. But they contain (as we shall see immediately) the demonstration of a most solemn and all-important Christian verity, viz., that Christ as a High Priest must have been (once) compassed with the infirmities of those for whom he (now) mediates. And this could not be demonstrated, in keeping with the rest of the epistle, on the authority of St. Matthew or St. Luke.

III. It makes the apostle state what is manifestly contrary to truth. Our Lord was not heard in his prayer in Gethsemane. It was not by being heard, it was *by being not heard*, that on that occasion he learned obedience, *i. e.*, learned to submit himself to another’s will. The very words of his prayer declare this,—“not my will but thine be done.” It is this evident contrariety to the facts of the case that has invested the text with its overwhelming difficulty. “The labours of learned men upon it,” says Dr. Adam Clarke, “have been prodigious, and even in *their* sayings it is hard to find the meaning.”

Let me now give my own view of the meaning of the passage, with the reasons which have determined me to it.

“Who in the days of his flesh, when He had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able *to save him out of death*, and was heard in that he feared.”

There is nothing in the Greek which demands this emendation. Classical usage may be abundantly pleaded in favour of *Σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου* meaning to save from incurring death. But the Greek will bear the other sense also. The primary and natural meaning of the preposition *ἐκ* is *out of*. It is “used of such objects as were before *in* another, but are now separated from it.” And the passages in the New Testament in which it bears this signification, are without number. To take the Gospel of St. Matthew,—“Salmon begat Boaz of (*ἐκ*) Rachab; and Boaz begat Obed of (*ἐκ*) Ruth” (i. 5); “*out of* Egypt have I called my Son” (ii. 15); “let me pull out the mote *out of* thine eye” (vii. 4); “shall gather *out of* his kingdom all things that offend” (xiii. 41); “those things which proceed *out of* the mouth defile the man; for *out of* the heart proceed evil thoughts” (xv. 18, 19); “a voice *out of* the cloud” (xvii. 5). We may

take also two quotations from St. Mark ;—"Coming up *out of* the water" (i. 10) ; "hold thy peace and come *out of* him . . . he came *out of* him" (i. 25, 26). It may indeed be said that these are concretes, while death is an abstract, and that we cannot reason from the one to the other. But *ἐκ* with an abstract, and with this very word *θάνατος*, bears the same meaning. Thus in John v. 24, "is passed from death (*ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου*) unto life;" and in 1 John iii. 14, "we know that we have passed from death (*ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου*) unto life." Nothing therefore can be urged from the Greek of the New Testament against *ἐκ θανάτου* in this passage, signifying "out of death." And to save out of death is to raise from the dead.

But *σῶζεν ἐκ θανάτου*, it may be objected, is not the expression usually employed to convey such an idea ; *ἐγείρειν ἐκ νεκρῶν* would have been much more natural. This objection, I confess, is not to be lightly passed by, especially as in this very epistle (ch. xi. 19), in a sentence too which in other respects has a striking resemblance to the one before us, the apostle uses this very phrase, *ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρειν δυνατὸς ὁ Θεός*. There may have been a reason, however, in the present instance, for the employment of another phrase. I believe that there was such a reason and will now endeavour to point it out.

When the Son of God descended into this our mortal estate, he entered into all our sad experience. We are begirt with sorrow and trouble on every side, born to it "as the sparks fly upward," and the only termination of this life of trial, is death as the wages of sin. There is indeed cheering hope beyond, the hope of a life over which death has no power for ever. In these solemn circumstances, every Christian has his eye on his Saviour. We look to him to guide, cheer and sustain us now ; to make us victorious over death when it shall come ; to keep our dust while we sleep in the tomb, and to raise us at the last day. And it was even so with our blessed Lord. His condition was the same ; he was the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. His prospects were the same ; he knew that he should extricate himself from the calamities of this mortal state only by putting off mortality ; that he should emerge upon "the path of life," only through the portal of death and the grave. And his spiritual exercises were the same ; in these solemn circumstances, his eye was fixed on the Father. He looked to the Father for guidance, consolation and strength amid the trouble which pressed on him on every side : he trusted in the Father for victory over that death whose certain and near approach he every day contemplated. He confided in the Father's faithfulness to keep his flesh while sleeping, and to bring it up again on the third day. To say that this faith found its expression in prayer, is only to affirm a necessary truth : all faith finds such expression. And the Father was not wanting to his "holy child Jesus," but fulfilled every word of promise, every assurance of eternal mercy on which he had thus caused him to hope. On this matter we have St. Peter's unambiguous testimony ; "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my face, for he is on my right hand that I should

not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoice . . . moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope. Because thou wilt not . . . suffer thine holy one to see corruption; Thou hast made known to me the ways of life" (Acts ii. 24—28). These words are a quotation, as we all know, from Ps. xvi. But it is not in that psalm only that David speaketh thus concerning him. Let any one read Ps. vi.; ix. 9—14; xviii. 1—6; xx. 1, with xxi. 1—4; xxx. 8—12; lxix. 13—17; lxxxviii. 1—13; if he does not find in every one of them the "prayers and supplications, the strong crying and tears" of a believing heart, I have read these psalms in vain. One of the most beautiful Christian verities is thus evolved; Christ is to us the same object of faith, hope, and confidence that the Father was to him. We are made victorious over death and find the path of life by obeying Christ's word, as Christ himself triumphed over death and found that path by obeying the Father's word. And the object of the apostle in this scripture, is to bring this verity before us, to exhibit Christ and us his people in these strikingly parallel positions. Christ, he says, in the days of his flesh, offered prayers and tears before One who was able to save him from all adversity, and obtained through obedience the blessing which he sought. And we, in like manner, must wait on him who is now exalted to save and bless us; through the same obedience we shall obtain the same blessing. Now, this I believe to be the reason why the apostle uses *Σώζειν*, and not *ἐγείρειν*. Let verses 7, 8, and 9 be read together, and it will be seen that *Σώζειν* corresponds with its cognate *σωτηρία*; and *ὑπακοή* with *ὑπακούουσιν*. The antithesis of the sentence is thus very strongly and beautifully marked. Our *σωτηρία* is as his *σωτηρία*, both being *σωτηρία αἰώνιος*, i. e., eternal life out of death conquered and spoiled, and both coming through that *ὑπακοή*, of which he was the perfect, the glorious, the eternal example.

It only remains to be considered whether such a view of ver. 7 falls in with the scope of the apostle's reasoning in the context, as specially addressed to Hebrews. To me it certainly appears to do so. Let us read from cha. iv. 14 to cha. v. 10; it is one sentence, and ought not to have been divided. The believing Hebrews were then exposed to much affliction for Christ's sake, and the apostle (iv. 14) exhorts them nevertheless to hold fast their confession of his name, remembering the greatness of that High Priest, Jesus the Son of God, who had "passed into the heavens" on their behalf. But this consideration might remind them too painfully of the distance—the infinite distance between their human infirmity and his divine glory. He therefore goes on to remind them (iv. 15) that all-glorious as their High Priest was, he had once been compassed with all that human infirmity of which they then complained. They were therefore not to be ashamed of it (iv. 16), but to confess it to him *boldly* (it had once been his own, and there was no cause of shame) asking, as they did so, that grace and mercy which his high office enabled him to minister. Now here were three distinct statements in reference to the Christian High Priest. 1. He was appointed and installed of God, his having passed into the heavens being the sign of this. 2. He had once been compassed with human infirmity. 3. He was ministering above on man's behalf. The writer accordingly turns first to the law of

Moses, to shew that these conditions were required in a duly constituted High Priest; and second, to the Psalms to shew that they were predicated of the Christ. "Every High Priest taken from among men," he says (chap. v. 1) has definite functions to perform on man's behalf. He must also be compassed (v. 2) with the infirmities of those for whom he mediates. And he must be called of God (v. 4). The Psalms are next referred to, to shew that these things were to be true of Messiah. David speaketh concerning him; "Thou art my son" (v. 5); and again, "Thou art a priest for ever" (v. 6); here was his call to office. David records his "prayers and supplications," his "strong crying and tears" (v. 7); here was his human infirmity. And if even the priest of Aaron's inferior order had functions of mercy to perform on behalf of those who waited on him, much more must he (v. 9, 10) be "author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him," as God's called High Priest "after the order of Melchizedec."

This divine sentence is thus perfect in all its parts: there is moreover a most beautiful connexion between them. We have the antitype realized; the antitype foreshadowed; the antitype predicted. The call of the typical High Priest (v. 4), answers to the call of the antitypical (v. 5, 6); the infirmity of the one (v. 2) to the infirmity of the other (v. 7); the functions of the one (v. 1) to those of the other (v. 9, 10). And it were wasting words to shew how this must have told upon every Hebrew feeling. Familiar from infancy with the type, and deeply reverencing their own prophetic Scriptures, they were conducted to him in whom every shadow was to find its substance, and all prophecy to terminate—"Jesus the Son of God."

I may mention that though it is more than ten years since I published the view given above of this important text, I was not aware till a few days ago, that I had two such authorities as Dr. Adam Clarke and Pascal on my side. It is a great gratification to me now to find that so eminent a scholar as the former saw no difficulty in rendering *Σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου*, to raise from death. He considered it the prayer of the Redeemer as the head of his body the church, that he and his members might be raised from death and glorified together eternally. Pascal is not less an authority in another way. I give his words. They will be found in the *Pensées*, art. xviii., seconde partie:—"Aux jours de sa chair, ayant offert avec un grand cri et larmes, ses prières et ses supplications, à celui qui pouvait le tirer de la mort, il a été exaucé selon son humble respect pour son Père; et quoiqu'il fût le fils de Dieu, il a appris l'obéissance PAR TOUT CE QU'IL A SOUFFERT. Dieu l'a ressuscité . . . le faire vivre la vie de la gloire. C'est ce que Jesus Christ a obtenu, et qui a été accompli par sa resurrection." These words need no comment. Those italicized tell plainly enough what Pascal understood by *Σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου*; and those in capitals tell with equal plainness that he understood the verses to refer, not to one circumstance in our Lord's history, but to the habit of his life. Indeed he says plainly in the immediate context, "*Ce sacrifice a duré toute sa vie.*"

The other text is "perhaps, the most perplexing in the New Testament." It occurs in chap. ix. 16, 17; "For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead; otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth."

It is scarcely possible to conceive greater confusion than that which this rendering has introduced into the whole argument of the apostle. Not the words before us only, but the statements which precede and follow them, are all rendered unintelligible. St. Paul is represented as having spoken (ix. 15) of the necessity of death "for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament." Now a *testament* knows nothing of *transgressions*. Such an idea is foreign to its nature, it is simply A WILL bequeathing property. The thought is then forsaken as abruptly as it has been introduced, and a new reason altogether is found for that death of which mention has been made. And yet we have the conjunction *for* connecting the two sentences (*for* where a testament is) to tell us that the writer is pursuing his train of thought! And what is this new reason? A will is invalid without the death of the testator! Where did St. Paul learn this? The only circumstance that gives it even the shadow of truth, is that it *usually* happens, because while a man lives he has occasion for his own property. But there is no "necessity" in the case. Let a man denude himself of his property while living by a voluntary act, and his will is perfectly valid. Besides, our testator is not dead; neither has he resigned anything. It is not as *successors to him*, but as *joint heirs with him* that we inherit the promises of God. The Mosaic enactments are next referred to in proof of the writer's position, "*whereupon* neither the first testament was dedicated without blood." In other words, Moses by appointing sacrifices to be offered for the ratification of God's testament to Israel, proved the truth of the statement just made, viz., that where a testament is, the testator must die! Was this then the meaning of these Mosaic rites? St. Paul at least did not think so. For he returns to the idea of transgressions which he has introduced in ver. 15, and forsaken in ver. 16, 17, telling us in ver. 22, that the rites in question were for the remission of sin. What can be made of an argument so thoroughly tangled? To attribute it to so close a reasoner as the apostle Paul, shews that we have read him to very little purpose. It is a striking proof of this that one of the ablest defenders of the present rendering, the late Professor Stuart was compelled to consider ver. 16, 17, as a parenthesis and unconnected with the main argument.

What then is to be done? Another rendering is proposed. *For where a covenant is there must of necessity be brought in the death of the mediating sacrifice. For a covenant is valid over dead sacrifices, since it is never of any force whilst the mediating sacrifice continues alive.*

There are two objections to this rendering:

I. It is a strain upon the original. *Διαθεμένον* the middle voice is made to take a passive signification, viz., sacrifice *placed between*, it being in this way that the sacrifice mediated. The only answer I have ever seen to this is that Christ *placed himself between* God and us: but this will not bear close examination. The apostle is not speaking of Christ.

directly, but stating a general truth as the reason for Christ's death; and that general truth is that in the case of a covenant, the victim *placed between* must die.

II. It introduces confusion into the apostle's argument. Covenants of old called for death on two occasions, and for two purposes. Death was called for when they were *made*, then a *victim* died. And death was called for when they were *violated*, then *the violator* died. God's covenant with Abraham (Gen. xv.) is an example of the former; the death of Achan before Jericho (Joshua vii.) of the latter. I fully admit that the second of these deaths was the sequel of the first, for the contracting parties swore as they slew the victim, *may we die in like manner if we prove unfaithful to our solemn vow!* But I maintain that, nevertheless, they are perfectly distinct—that death to ratify a covenant made is one thing, and death as the penalty of a covenant broken is another thing; and that no ingenuity can make these distinct ideas one, or treat them without confusion as if they were one. And this is my objection to the rendering before us. The apostle in ver. 15, is speaking of a covenant *violated*, and of that violation calling for death. And how does he prove his position? By reminding us of cases which would have suited his point exactly, that of the sabbath-breaker (Numb. xv. 32—36), of the blasphemer (Levit. xxiv. 10—14, 23), or of Achan? Or by reminding us that it had been ratified by sacrifice, to tell that death was its penalty if broken? No, but by saying that when covenants are *made*, victims die to ratify them, and that Christ died under this necessity as the ratification of the covenant of God, the victim placed between God and us. Can anything be imagined more unsatisfactory? Christ did *not* so die. He was *in no sense* the ratification victim placed between God and us. His death was to atone for a covenant broken, not to ratify a covenant made. The necessity for that death was an after and later necessity, growing out of the ratification indeed, but still distinct and to be viewed distinctly. The one was a provision that men might trust a covenant; the other, the fulfilment of that provision when a case occurred to demand it.

I beg leave, therefore, to propose a rendering which does no violence to the original, and will bear us, as I humbly think, through the whole argument. *For where a covenant is, there must also of necessity be the death of the covenant-maker. For a covenant is confirmed over the dead, otherwise it is of no strength at all while the covenant-maker liveth.*

It will not, I suppose, be disputed that *Διαθεμένον* may be rendered covenant-maker. But supposing this point settled, the question remains, What is the meaning of the sentence. Ebrard expounds it to mean, that before a man *can make* a covenant with God, he must die. But this statement, I confess, is beyond my comprehension. I can well understand that if a man makes a covenant with God, *and breaks it*, he must die. And this I believe to be the meaning of St. Paul. He has been speaking in the immediately preceding context, of a broken covenant and of death as necessary to atone for such transgression. Then anticipating the question, why should death have been necessary—where a covenant is, he continues, and that covenant is broken, there must also of necessity be the death of the unfaithful covenant-maker. Such a covenant has its due con-

firmation over his dead body, and has no respect at all paid to it whilst he continues to live. And was not this the very reason, he proceeds, why the first covenant was dedicated with the blood of victims, why the book and the people, and the vessels of the ministry and the tabernacle itself were sprinkled with it? These things were designed to shew that the sanction of that covenant was death, and that he that broke it, must either die himself or find some one to die in his stead, for "without shedding of blood was no remission."

But why, it may be asked, was not all this expressed by the apostle himself? He simply says, "Where a covenant is," without adding, *and that covenant is broken*; he also speaks of "the covenant-maker" merely, not of the *unfaithful* covenant-maker. This is only, I would answer, what frequently occurs in his extremely elliptical style. We are often obliged to turn to his contexts, to find the idea that was filling his mind, and thus to eke out the partial statements of some particular text. And both the preceding and succeeding context in this case, prove that *a covenant broken* was the idea that filled the apostle's mind.

Let me say a single word on the object of the argument. The apostle was writing to those whose early prejudices made them shrink from the doctrine of a suffering and dying Messiah; the weak among them received it with fear and trembling, and they were surrounded by brethren in the flesh who reviled it as blasphemy. But they all believed that their sainted fathers, as Samuel, David, Hezekiah, had entered into rest with God. They could not do so, says the apostle, without death to atone for their transgressions of God's covenant. You know that they were transgressors of that covenant; you know also that our law teaches that he that so transgresses, must either die himself or find a substitute to die for him. What then can you answer me? Will you cut off our sainted fathers from the hope of the eternal inheritance? In cutting them off, you cut off yourselves equally. Will you say that they can enter into it, without death? You dishonour the covenant of God in speaking thus. Will you say that the death of bulls and goats met the terrible sanction of that covenant? You cannot say so. You must acknowledge then that blessed truth which I am ever urging on you,—THE DEATH OF MESSIAH MET THE SANCTION OF THAT COVENANT, AND WHILE THE COVENANT IS HONOURED, ITS VIOLATORS LIVE.

Such, dear Sir, is my view of the meaning of these two difficult texts. I am very far from wishing to dogmatize, but having devoted five years of close and earnest study to this epistle in preparing the two editions of my commentary, I may give my judgment. If I am wrong, I shall be most thankful to have it pointed out. If on the other hand I am right, the difficulty of both texts seems removed. In either case, I shall be thankful if some biblical critic and expositor more competent than myself, shall be induced by these remarks to give the church the benefit of his thoughts on the subject.

Believe me, dear Sir, yours faithfully,
WILLIAM TAIT.

Parsonage, Rugby, Feb. 13th, 1857.

THE CODEX VATICANUS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—The accompanying letter from Dr. Tregelles is, I need not say, full of information, and very interesting. Asher, whom I met in Berlin in July, 1849, has himself gone the way of all flesh, but his representatives remain. They might yet publish what the departed has not continued amongst us to be able to do. If Cardinal Mai's autographs were given us, even scepticism itself would be laid to rest. I must profess myself meanwhile to be satisfied about what I doubted so long.

It now only remains—1. To expect the issue of C. Mai's edition; and 2, and most earnestly of all, to look for that photograph of the Vatican MS., which the recent experiments at the British Museum on the Epistles of Clemens prove to be possible.

O. T. D.

"Plymouth, Feb. 2, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It will save time if I reply to you direct on the subject of your inquiry in the last number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* about the printed edition of the Codex Vaticanus B. You can, if you like, communicate what I now send you to the Editor of that Journal. I will endeavour to give you, in a few words, all that may be needed to complete the information conveyed in my addition to Mr. Horne's Introduction, vol. iv. Almost all (or perhaps all) of what I may now state has been communicated to the public in various places. You are evidently unaware that Mr. Asher is dead; so that it is in vain to think of inquiries in that quarter. I will, however, give in detail my evidence that an edition of the Vatican MS. was printed under Cardinal Mai's care.

"My first witness is Cardinal Mai himself, who informed me in March, 1846, that this edition of the LXX. and the Greek New Testament had been completed from the Vatican MSS.; to this he added that it was not a fac-simile edition, but that it would be for general use, stating that the New Testament would be "*avec des variantes, comme l'édition Anglaise de Mill.*" (This was communicated to the public in my *Book of Revelation translated from the ancient Greek text*, 1848. Introduction, p. xxvi.)

"Second, Chevalier Bunsen has repeatedly informed me that he had seen this edition of Cardinal Mai at Rome, though no copy of it was attainable; it consisted of (I think) *four* large volumes.

"Third, Mr. Asher told me himself, in July, 1849, that when at Rome a few months previously, the edition had been offered to him; the communications were made through Don Domenico Mostacci, who remained at the Altieri Palace in charge of the books, papers, etc., of the Cardinal, who was absent from Rome. When I was in that city, Don Domenico Mostacci was in the employ of Cardinal Mai, and of him I purchased, at the Altieri Palace, the chief works which the Cardinal had edited and published. Mr. Asher informed me that Signor Mostacci shewed him the stock of which the edition consisted, and also that he laid before him Cardinal Mai's own copy with the corrections written in his own hand-

writing. Mr. Asher thought the terms too high (I *think* that he said that it would have been more than twenty thousand thalers for five hundred copies), and the negociation was broken off in consequence of the siege of Rome and its subsequent occupation by the French.

"Fourth, M. le Docteur Ch. Daremberg, who was in 1850 Bibliothécaire de l'Académie Nationale de Médecine at Paris (and who may still hold the same office as far as I know, but with the name changed to *Impériale*), informed me in May of that year that he had seen the printed edition and that MS. together in the Cardinal's hands at the Altieri Palace a few weeks previously. He then held out expectations that the edition would appear before long. But *delay* is the ruling principle at Rome as to everything of *this* kind. I mentioned the information that I had thus received from Dr. Daremberg in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July, 1850, p. 229.

"I doubt whether any information of a precise kind could be obtained from compositors or others engaged in the work. Twenty years must have passed since the edition was printed; and since that time the greater part of Cardinal Mai's *seventeen* large quartos and *twenty* thick octavos, containing classical and patristic works in Greek and Latin, have issued, some printed at the Propaganda (*alias* Collegium Urbanum), and some "Typis Vaticanis." There would be no difficulty in procuring all that was needed for printing Greek works in the Roman offices.

"The existence of such a printed edition not as yet published, and remaining so for many years, may be contrary to all our experience in this country; but irrespective of the testimony of four witnesses that I have given above, I think that you would hardly pronounce it *incredible* if you bore in mind that in Italy there have been similar instances of delay. Thus the Arabic Bible, edited by Sergius Risius, which was *published* at Rome in 1672, had been *completed* about half a century before; and to come to our own times, Bugati's Syro-Hexaplar text of Daniel appeared in 1820 after the editor's death, though it had been completed thirty years before.

I do most heartily wish that the Vatican MS. could be rescued from the unworthy obscurity to which it is now consigned.

"More information relative to the edition of the Codex Vaticanus by Cardinal Mai might probably be obtained from Signor Mostacci than from any one else. Mr. Asher, it is probable, had nothing in writing that could be published, as the negociation was carried on *personally* between him and Mostacci at Rome.

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"S. P. TREGELLES.

"The Rev. O. T. Dobbin, LL.D., Ballivor, Kells."

DARIUS THE MEDE AND DARIUS HYSTASPES.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—May I be permitted to point out some reasons for differing

from your correspondent Mr. Bosanquet on a question which has been so ably discussed by him in your Journal, as to whether "Darius the Mede," and Darius Hystaspes, can be one and the same person, and consequently the correct date of the Babylonish captivity?

I. It appears that Scripture distinguishes between the two, as may be inferred from these reasons:—(1.) On the fall of Babylon it is said, "Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about sixty-two years old" (Dan. v. 31). Again, "In the first year of the reign of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to *Jeremiah* the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem" (ix. 1, 2.) This proves that the foretold seventy years' captivity, which commenced according to Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and the first of Nebuchadrezzar (see Jer. xxv. 1), for that prophet declared that the people of Judah "should serve the King of Babylon seventy years," and that when the seventy years were accomplished, God would punish the King of Babylon and the land of the Chaldeans" (verses 11, 12); and he evidently refers to the desolation of Jerusalem as commencing at the time when he was commissioned to deliver his testimony against the cities of Judah, according to the expressive words "*as it is this day*" (ver. 18). This was eighteen or nineteen years before Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem and carried Zedekiah to Babylon (see 2 Kings xxv. 8), and it appears to explain the mistake, which I think Mr. Bosanquet has committed in arguing as he does (*J. S. L.* for 1856, p. 429), that Daniel's computation of the seventy years' captivity (ix. 2), is to be counted from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and will consequently bring us into the reign of Darius Hystaspes, whereas is it not evident from the words of Jeremiah, that the predicted desolation commenced eighteen or nineteen years earlier, viz., in the first year of Nebuchadrezzar, and therefore it will not bring us into the reign of Darius Hystaspes according to the received chronology of that period?

(2.) Some time subsequently to "the first year of Darius the Mede," we find Cyrus "in the first year of his reign making a proclamation" to restore the Jews to Jerusalem, in order that "*the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah* might be fulfilled" (Ezra i. 1). In other words, that after the seventy years of desolation had expired with the fall of Judah's enemy the King of Babylon, the Jews would be restored to their own land by him whom Isaiah had designated by name (Coresh or Cyrus) 200 years previously on his obtaining the throne of that king under whom their deportation had taken place.

We find further, that in the reign of two of Cyrus' successors, "the adversaries of Judah" succeeded in "frustrating the purpose of Cyrus King of Persia even until the reign of Darius King of Persia" (Ezra iv. 5). The names of these two kings are given by the sacred writer as Ahasuerus or Ahashverosh, and Artaxerxes, and the copy of the letter of Artaxerxes, prohibiting the building of the city, is specially recorded with this remark, "So the work of the house of God ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius King of Persia" (ver. 24). Moreover, men-

tion is made by the same writer of the three kings of Persia by whose commandment the work of building was originally commenced, carried on and completed, viz., Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes (vi. 14). Thus then we have in Scripture the names of a succession of kings who occupied the throne of Babylon, and who consequently held the Jews in subjection, viz. :—

1. "Darius the Mede," who took the kingdom of the Chaldeans (Dan. v. 31).

2. "Cyrus King of Persia," who gave the Jews permission to rebuild their temple (Ezra i. 1).

3. "Ahasuerus," in the beginning of whose reign enemies brought an accusation against the Jews (Ezra v. 6).

4. "Artaxerxes," who suspended the building of the temple (Ezra iv. 7—22).

5. "Darius King of Persia," who renewed the edict of Cyrus, and in whose reign the temple was finished (Ezra vi. 1—12).

6. "Artaxerxes King of Persia, king of kings," who gave two edicts in the seventh and twentieth years of his reign respecting the temple service and rebuilding Jerusalem (Ezra vii. 26; Neh. ii. 1—8).

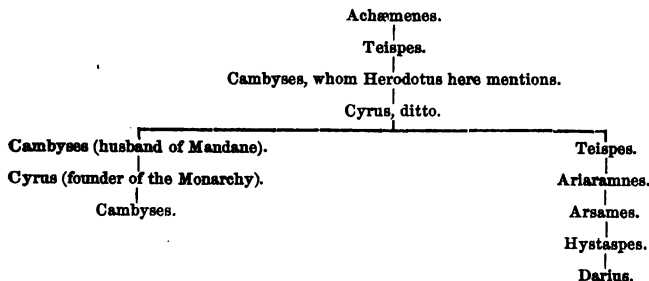
Does not this accord with the number and succession of kings mentioned by Herodotus and in Ptolemy's Canon as kings of Persia at that period (the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of Scripture standing for Cambyzes and Smerdis of profane history), with the exception of Darius the Mede? And if we accept the testimony of Xenophon's statements (which in point of value would equal the testimony of an historian of the present day recording events which occurred at the accession of the House of Brunswick), that Cyaxares was King of the Medes at the time of the fall of Babylon (*Cyropædia*, l. viii.), together with that of Josephus, who tells us that "Darius the Mede was the son of Astyages, and *had another name amongst the Greeks* (*Antiquities*, x., xi. 4), does not this accord with what is said in Scripture respecting the kings of the Medes (Jer. li. 11—28) being employed in the destruction of Babylon? when they had precedence of the Persians, as we may gather from the Book of Daniel, who always mentions them *first*, whereas in Esther, describing a later period in history, the order is reversed. And can we therefore have any difficulty in identifying "Darius the Mede" of Scripture with the Cyaxares King of the Medes of Xenophon?

Mr. Bosanquet considers that as the name of "Darius the Mede" is not to be found in any inscription, that is an argument in favour of concluding him to be one with Darius Hystaspes. If however we call to mind how common it is for various authors to speak of the same king under different names (*e. g.*, Josephus tells us that at the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to *his son Cyrus*, whom, he adds, "the Greeks call Artaxerxes" (*Antiquities*, xi. vi. 1), but had he omitted this explanation, what a controversy might not the historian have caused by his declaration that Cyrus succeeded Xerxes), there is less difficulty in considering the "Cyaxares" of Xenophon to be the "Darius the Mede" of Daniel. And the mention of that name on the Behistun Rock (to which Mr. Bosanquet refers, though he draws a different inference from what I have

always thought to be the most probable one), in connexion with the rebellion of the Median Phraortes against Darius Hystaspes, when he claimed to be "Xathrites of the race of *Cyaxares*," appears to shew that the last King of the Medes must have been Cyaxares, and not Astyages, according to Herodotus, as a claimant to the throne would naturally ground his claims upon being descended from the last king whose name was known, and whose reign was remembered. With the knowledge therefore from Scripture, that "Darius the Mede" took the throne of Babylon at the capture of the city, from Xenophon that "Cyaxares" was King of the Medes at the time, and from an inscription on the Behistun Rock that an impostor in the reign of Darius Hystaspes claimed to be of the race of Cyaxares, does it not confirm the long-entertained opinion that Darius the Mede and Cyaxares are one and the same person?

(3.) The inference from prophecy seems to forbid our considering "Darius the Mede" and Darius Hystaspes to be the same person on this ground. Daniel writes, "Also I, in the first year of *Darius the Mede*, etc.;—there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia" (xi. 1, 2). As I conclude it is admitted by all that this refers to the first year of the reign of "Darius the Mede" over the united kingdoms of Media and Chaldea, and that Cyrus was at that time King of Persia, the prophecy declares that after that time three kings should reign in Persia previous to the appearance of the great invader of Greece, which agrees with the testimony of profane history, *e. g.*, that of Herodotus, in placing three kings,—Cambyzes, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes,—between Cyrus and Xerxes, whose famous expedition against Greece is so well known, and concerning which the historian testifies to his wealth, when he declares that the attacking army consisted of 1,700,000 men (Herod., vii. 60), the largest number probably ever collected together under one leader. Is not this sufficient to prove that "Darius the Mede" must have preceded Darius Hystaspes by some years, and that as three sovereigns intervened between the time of their reigns on the throne of Chaldea, and two on that of Persia, they could not have been the same person?

II. The testimony of profane history, which has already been referred to, seems to confirm this inference from Scripture. For though Herodotus makes no mention of "Darius the Mede," and records the termination of the Median monarchy in a manner differing from that of Xenophon (M. Rollin justly remarks, that "Xenophon is infinitely more worthy of credit than Herodotus on the subject of Cyrus' life, as he served a long time under the younger Cyrus, and says in the beginning of the *Cyropædia*, 'I advance nothing but what has been told me'" (*Anc. Hist.*, vol. ii., chap. 1), yet it is clear from the genealogy which he gives of Darius Hystaspes, that no mention is made of Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares (doubtless the same according to Sir Isaac Newton), or any other name at all like it who is declared by Daniel to be the father or ancestor of "Darius the Mede." The genealogy is thus traced from Herodotus (see *Polymnia*, vii., 11), according to Larcher's note on the subject:—



This genealogy agrees with that on the Behistun Rock, excepting three descents, which appear to be omitted. It reads as follows:—"Says Darius the king—My father was Hystaspes, of Hystaspes the father was Arsames, of Arsames the father was Ariaramnes, of Ariaramnes the father was Teispes, of Teispes the father was Achæmenes." Do not these genealogical lists afford a strong confirmation that "Darius the Mede," the son or descendant of Ahasuerus according to Dan. ix. 1, must be a distinct person from Darius the Persian, amongst whose ancestors no such name appears?

Further, the account on the Behistun Rock of the succession of Persian kings, viz., Cyrus, Cambyeses, Gomatis the Magian (Smerdis), Darius Hystaspes, agrees so exactly with the history of Herodotus, that it appears impossible to make a Darius, who clearly reigned in Persia three reigns *after* Cyrus, the same as a Darius who according to the testimony of Scripture, certainly reigned in Babylon *before* Cyrus. No one, I think, can doubt that the relation by Herodotus (*Clio*, i., 188—191), of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, is the same as that foretold by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and described by Daniel, when Belshazzar was slain, and "Darius the Mede took the kingdom;" and in order to account for Herodotus' omission of the name of Darius, it should not be forgotten that the historian's chief object was to give the history of the kings of Persia and not of Media, and as he particularly notices that he gives the history of Cyrus upon "Persian authorities," while admitting there were "three other ways of relating his history" (*Clio*, i., 95), is it not likely that his informants omitted to mention the name of the last king of the Medes, whose reign over the Chaldeans after the fall of Babylon could not have extended over above one or two years, when Cyrus added the kingdoms of Media and Babylon to his hereditary kingdom of Persia? And the union of the forces of Media and Persia at the siege foretold by Isaiah xxi. 2, before the kingdom of the Medes had come to a termination, I have already noticed from Jeremiah li. 11, is confirmed by the account which Megasthenes gives of the prediction attributed to Nebuchadnezzar shortly before his death: "*A Persian mule shall come, who by the help of your own gods fighting for him, shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant or fellow-agent herein, shall be the Mede*" (Apud Euseb. *Præp. Evan.*, lib. ix.) I think, therefore, that the omission of "Darius the Mede" by Herodotus in his account of the fall of Babylon, is no proof

that we are to conclude that it refers to a Darius who succeeded to the throne nearly twenty years later.

But more than this, if Herodotus' testimony is of any value with respect to the fall of Babylon and the reign of Darius Hystaspes, it is impossible to make that king the same person as the Darius who took the kingdom when Belshazzar was overthrown. For the date of the former event may be thus calculated:—All accounts agree in placing the battle of Marathon on the 29th of September in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad B.C. 490, which occurred according to Herodotus (vii., 1, 4), four years before the death of Darius Hystaspes, who reigned altogether, he says, thirty-six years. Add to this eight months for the reign of Smerdis (Her., iii., 68), seven years and five months for that of Cambyses (iii., 66), and twenty-nine for that of Cyrus (i., 214), and we get the following date for the first of Cyrus' reign: $490 + 32 + 8 + 29 = 559$ B.C. And as according to the Canon of Ptolemy he reigned in Chaldea for only nine years, the fall of Babylon is naturally dated B.C. 538—9. Now, we have Scripture authority for asserting that "Darius the Mede" was sixty-two years old at that time, and as Darius Hystaspes was only a little more than that at the time of his death four years after the battle of Marathon, and nearly fifty years after the fall of Babylon (which may be proved from Herodotus thus:—Darius Hystaspes was scarcely twenty years of age at Cyrus' death (Clio, i. 209), and by adding the years of his own reign with those of the two intervening kings would make him about sixty-four when he died), it is impossible, if Herodotus is to be relied upon, to make "Darius the Mede" and Darius Hystaspes one and the same person.

Mr. Bosanquet concludes his letter on this subject (see *J. S. L.*, Jan., 1857, p. 460), with these four arguments:—1st. "That the seventy years' desolation in Jerusalem (Dan. ix. 2), coming towards an end in the first of Darius, and seventy years' fasts in commemoration of the desolation (Zech. vii. 5), which were completed in the fourth of Darius, must terminate in the reign of the same Darius, *i. e.*, the son of Hystaspes. In reply to this, it appears that Mr. Bosanquet considers the seventy years' desolation, according to Jeremiah, to commence and end synchronically with that of Zechariah, whereas I think I have shewn that Jeremiah's computation extends from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar to the fall of Babylon; and Zedekiah's commences with the fall of Jerusalem in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, and terminates in the fourth year of that Darius who permitted the Jews to resume the building of the temple according to the original edict of Cyrus, after the prohibition of the two intervening kings, as it is said in Ezra iv. 24; v. 1: "So the work ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius King of Persia. *Then* the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied unto the Jews," etc.

2. "That the fourth year of Darius counted from the time he took the kingdom when about sixty-two years of age, was B.C. 490, which added to seventy years' desolation, makes the date of the fall of Jerusalem B.C. 560." Is not this argued upon the assumption that "Darius the Mede" and Darius Hystaspes are one and the same person? which I venture to think has not been proved.

3. "That St. Matthew tells us that there were fourteen generations

from the captivity to Christ, *i. e.*, $14 \times 40 = 560$," which Mr. Bosanquet considers to be the date of the fall of Jerusalem, but this is too indefinite to rest an argument upon, for St. Matthew equally says, "the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations," which instead of being confined to 560 years, include a period of about 900 years.

4. "That Demetrius tells us that the last captivity of Judah was 338 years, three months before the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, *i. e.*, B.C. Nov. 222 + 338 = B.C. Aug. 560." I think this may be answered in two ways. It is either an incorrect reading of $\tau\lambda\eta$ (338) for $\tau\xi\eta$ (368); or else Demetrius may have mistakenly shortened the chronology of that time, as the Jews of more recent times have, intentionally, the chronology of the same period; the Talmudical doctors in the *Seder Olam Rabba* (their popular work on chronology), being barefaced enough to declare that there were only four kings of Persia, instead of ten, from Cyrus to Darius Codomanus, with the evident design of shewing that Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks was not fulfilled in Christ's death, for the chronology of Demetrius on this point, if correctly handed down to us, will neither agree with the inference, which I have endeavoured to shew may be drawn from Scripture on the subject, nor with that of Josephus, who says, a democratical government amongst the Jews lasted, as I understand him, to include from the time of Nebuchadnezzar's burning the temple, "until king Antiochus Eupator, 414 years" (*Antiq.*, xx., x., i.). Antiochus Eupator reigned two years from B.C. 164—162. Therefore $164 + 414$ would give 578 B.C. as the date of the burning of the temple; or if Josephus is to be understood as calculating from Cyrus' restoration of the Jews, it would give that date for the close of the seventy years' captivity, and make the chronology of that period still longer than Demetrius appears to do. There are other arguments which might be brought forward respecting the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks connected with the interesting subject which has been so largely considered in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, but I venture to think the more the matter is sifted, the more impossible it will appear to consider "Darius the Mede" and Darius Hystaspes are one and the same person.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully.

B. W. SAVILE.

Newport, Barnstaple, Feb. 14th, 1857.

P.S. I would notice one more argument which Mr. Bosanquet uses. If I do not misunderstand him, he considers that an imperfect Babylonian inscription, found at Senkereh by Mr. Loftus, and deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson to this effect, "Cyrus . . . who has taken care of the temples of Bit-Saggath and Bit-Zida, the son of Cambyzes, the powerful . . . I am he," (p. 445) proves that Cambyzes had a son called Cyrus, in contradiction to Herodotus who makes him die childless, and refers to one who had these temples in his possession before "Darius the Mede took the kingdom." But in the first place may not this Cyrus with more probability be the *father* of the one Cambyzes who conquered Egypt, and the son of the other Cambyzes, who was the husband of Mandane, according to the genealogy given above? And in the second place it appears from

another Babylonian inscription translated by Dr. Hincks (see Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 529) that the two temples "Bit-Shaggatha and Bit-Zida were built by Nabukudurruchun king of Babylon, son of Nabuluchar king of Babylon," and therefore as belonging to the all-powerful Babylonian monarchy, they could not have been possessed by any Cyrus before the destruction of Belshazzar, when "Darius the Mede" took the kingdom; and *after* whose death they naturally fell, with the whole of the spoils of Chaldea, to that Cyrus who was the conqueror of Babylon.

ON DANIEL AND EZRA, COMPARED WITH THE INSCRIPTIONS AT BEHISTUN.

SIR,—In the number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1856, I noticed a striking apparent confirmation, from the recently-discovered Babylonian inscriptions, of Daniel's narrative, in which the prophet tells us he was made, by Belshazzar, the third ruler in the kingdom. It may not be uninteresting, at a time in which there is so much discussion about points connected with Assyrian, Chaldean and Medo-Persian chronology, to call attention again, to other secular confirmations of sacred history and prophecy; and especially to those drawn from the rock-tablets of Behistun. We shall thus, perhaps, see, that while we do not deny the possibility of error of numerical regnal statements in the Scriptures, through (*not the want of the fullest opportunity of acquiring accurate information, but*) the negligence of transcribers—no merely probable inferences from the Assyrian inscriptions can claim to be admitted against the express numerical testimony of Holy Writ.

1. Herodotus and Xenophon, though differing in other points, agree in saying that Babylon was taken and its royal dynasty overthrown, by Cyrus at the head of a Medo-Persian army.

Now it will not be doubted that Isaiah (xlv. 1—3,) predicts the conquest of Babylon by an illustrious leader named Cyrus (*Coresh*). But the same prophet, when predicting the overthrow of Babylon (xxi. 9), says (xxi. 2): "Go up, *O Elam*; besiege *O Media*." Hence, Isaiah may be considered as expressly predicting that Babylon should be taken and its dynasty overthrown by Cyrus, at the head of a Medo-Persian army. And it may be fairly regarded as a necessary inference from these predictions, that Babylon was to become subject to a Medo-Persian sovereign.

Again, it will not be denied that the Cyrus (*Coresh*), who says (Isa. xlv. 28), "to Jerusalem thou shalt be built; and to the temple thy foundation shall be laid," is the same Cyrus, before whom (xlv. 1), "the God of Israel looses the loins of kings (especially of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 6), and opens the two-leaved gates (especially of Babylon)." But Ezra positively testifies (i. 1, 2; v. 13), that the Cyrus who passed a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, was King both of Persia and Babylon. We thus, through Ezra, are enabled beyond all question, to identify the Cyrus of Isaiah with the Persian Cyrus of Daniel.

An objector may doubtless say, that the prophet Daniel nowhere

asserts that Babylon was besieged and taken by a Medo-Persian army under Cyrus. True: but he tells us (v. 28, 30), that on the same night in which Belshazzar was slain, God declared that "he had *finished Belshazzar's kingdom*." And to shew that the final overthrow, not only of Belshazzar, but also of the Chaldean dynasty was implied, it is added, "*God hath given thy kingdom to the Medes and Persians*." And we cannot, without offering something like violence to the obvious tenor of the scriptural narrative, suppose that Darius^a the Mede did not at once receive the kingdom which had belonged to Belshazzar.

I may add, that Daniel's narrative certainly teaches that Cyrus the Persian succeeded Darius the Mede on the throne of Babylon, and almost certainly that Cyrus became also sovereign of *Media* as well as Babylon.

To proceed a little farther with the comparison of Isaiah with Daniel. The former prophet teaches us that at the time of the overthrow of Babylon, Cyrus was the great, preëminent military chieftain; but he throws no light upon the question, Was Cyrus, then, inferior in royal dignity and authority to a king of Media? But surely this point would seem to be settled by the language of the vision in the eighth chapter of Daniel, which was seen in the third year of Belshazzar. It is said of the Medo-Persian ram (viii. 3, 20), that "*the higher royal horn came up last*." We appear, therefore, to be here informed that, when the ram was pushing *westward*, etc., with triumphant success against Croesus and Babylon, the Persian chief was already not only a *royal* horn, but also, superior to the Median horn. If so,^b Darius the Mede could not have ascended the throne of Babylon without the consent and permission of Cyrus.

2. Herodotus informs us that two kings, Cambyzes, and Smerdis the Magian usurper, successively intervened between Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes. And what do we learn from Ezra on this point? At the close of his fourth chapter (ver. 23), we find that Artaxerxes immediately preceded Darius; and when we read verses 5, 6, 7, of the same chapter, we cannot reasonably doubt that Ahasuerus intervened between Cyrus and Artaxerxes. Ahasuerus will thus be Cambyzes, and Artaxerxes the Magian,

^a A learned writer, Dr. Hales, thinks that Belshazzar was slain by conspirators, and succeeded by Laborosoarchad, who was slain nine months afterwards in a conspiracy, when the kingdom was voluntarily offered by the Babylonians to Darius the Mede. Dr. Hales also thinks that Cyrus did not take Babylon until seventeen years afterwards.

^b Neither Herodotus, nor Ptolemy's Canon, nor the fragment of Berosus in Josephus, makes any mention of Darius the Mede, as King of Babylon. There is no reason to suppose that the 120 provinces alluded to in Dan. vi. 1, formed 120 of the 127 mentioned in Esther i. 1. The sacred historian thus writes:—"Darius the Median took the kingdom (of the Chaldeans): and it pleased Darius to set over the kingdom 120 princes, *i.e.*, over the Chaldean kingdom." Great Britain and Ireland comprise 117 counties or provinces; and the provinces of the Chaldean kingdom may not have been much larger than our counties. After Darius had established his empire from India to the extreme point of Egypt bordering on Ethiopia, he may be supposed, without any reference to the 120 provinces of the Babylonian kingdom (called by Herodotus the Assyrian empire—*Ἀσσυρία*), to have divided his whole vast realm into 127 provinces, for the purposes of taxation. The Ahasuerus of Esther was probably the grandson of Darius, Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Smerdis. I add what may be viewed as a necessary inference from Scripture, that Cyrus was certainly King of Media as well as of Persia and Babylon. For we read in Ezra vi. 2, that at the beginning of the reign of Darius he was *sovereign of "Achmetha in the province of the Medes."* It was too early in his reign to have achieved the conquest of Media, which must therefore have already formed a part of the empire which Cambyases received from his father Cyrus, who, doubtless, at the death of Darius the Mede, became sovereign of Media and Babylon, as well as of Persia.

3. The Behistun rock tablets teach us that Cambyases (Kabujiya) was the son and successor of Cyrus, and sovereign of Persia and *Media*; that he put to death his brother, and afterwards invaded Egypt. He appears to have undoubtedly received Media from his father Cyrus. The inscriptions teach us also, that the Magian usurper succeeded Cambyases, and was put to death by Darius Hystaspes, who ascended the throne which had belonged to Cambyases; and that, early in the reign of Darius, an impostor arose, who claimed the sovereignty of Babylon, but was overcome and slain by Darius. As this rebellion took place in Babylon, at the commencement of Darius' reign, we necessarily infer that Babylon formed a part of the empire which Darius acquired on the death of the Magian, Smerdis. If so, Babylon as well as Media must have belonged to Cambyases, and been inherited from his father Cyrus. Indeed, the very fact that (as the Behistun tablets declare,) Cambyases marched from Persia into Egypt, is a proof that he inherited Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, from his father. The rock-tablets, as we have already seen, agree with Herodotus in stating that two sovereigns, Cambyases and the Magian usurper, intervened between Cyrus and Darius. Ezra also, the sacred historian, inserts the names of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes between those of Cyrus and Darius.

G. B.

P.S.—Dr. Hincks and Colonel Rawlinson are of opinion that Nineveh was taken by the Medes cir. 625 B.C. It has been supposed that as Pharaoh-Necko is said (2 Kings xxiii. 29,) to have marched *against the King of Assyria*, that at that time (cir. 610 B.C.) Nineveh had not yet been finally taken. But this is not a sufficient argument, as Ezra (vi. 22) calls Darius Hystaspes "the King of Assyria;" and Herodotus calls the realm of the Babylonian Labynetus, "the Assyrian dominion."

BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—Permit me to offer a few last words in reply to Dr. Hinck's letter in your Journal of January, p. 462. It is seldom in controversy that two disputants are equally willing to rest the decision of the question between them on the settlement of a single matter of fact. Such fortunately is the case in this instance. Dr. Hincks candidly admits, that if Mr. Airy has

proved that the eclipse of the 28th May, B.C. 585, is that which terminated the Lydian war, "*it would be impossible to maintain the received chronology.*" I have already declared in your Journal of July last, p. 430, that "whenever the decision of Mr. Airy and Mr. Hind shall have been set aside, the first of whom has stated, that 'the date B.C. 585, is now established for the eclipse of Thales beyond the possibility of doubt,' I shall be the first to revise my opinion." We are both, I believe, honestly in search of the truth, and both content that the rejection or adoption of our respective schemes of chronology should rest upon the determination of this cardinal date in ancient history. So let the matter rest.

In leaving the question, however, in this position, I would not be supposed to express any doubt in my own mind that it has already been finally decided. Dr. Hincks, who has thrown around the subject a mysterious array of figures, does not profess to maintain more than a conjectural opinion "that the effect of the correction of the secular equations, such as would suit the eclipse of Agathocles, *might* bring the shadow of the moon over a possible field of battle in either 603 or 610." He states, indeed, that he "entertains no doubt that the eclipse of 18th May, 603, was that which terminated the Lydian war;" but I do not understand that he has advanced any further towards a proof of his convictions, than when in August last, at the Meeting of the Society for the promotion of Science, he observed, "I should be glad to be informed what the track of the moon's shadow was in the eclipse of May, 603." Nor do I think that the historical grounds of his present opinion can rest upon any very solid or consistent foundation, when I call to mind that in July last a decided preference was given by him to the eclipse of B.C. 621. For the satisfaction, however, of those who have done me the favor of examining my arguments, and who are disposed to enter into my view of the question, I may state that I have recently received an assurance from the very highest astronomical authority, that no competent person can entertain any doubt as to the true date of the eclipse being B.C. 585.

II. Dr. Hincks has also expressed himself ready to abandon the received chronology, if I can substantiate my opinion, that the thirty-five years' reign of Astyages, king of Media, terminated in the year B.C. 539. This again is a question which must be ultimately decided by reference to the date of the eclipse of Thales. Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, was reigning at the time of the eclipse. If therefore B.C. 585 is the true date, Cyaxares must have died after the year 585, not in the year 595, "the latest possible date" according to Dr. Hincks, and the accession and death of Astyages must be lowered in proportion. There is no question that, whether right or wrong, the ancients universally considered the year 585 to be the date of the eclipse of Thales; and if so, must have placed the reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages lower than we find them in the received chronology. There is no question also that the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus was placed by the earliest chronologists in the 55th Olympiad, B.C. 560. It is equally clear that in some of the copies of Ptolemy's Canon, viz., in the only two copies known to Syncellus, called the Astronomical Canon and the Ecclesiastical Canon, the death of Astyages is placed in the year B.C. 539. Now Herodotus tells us that

the Medes held possession of that part of Asia which is beyond the river Halys for 128 years, exclusive of the twenty-eight years of Scythian dominion; and the termination of the period is undoubtedly fixed at the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus in B.C. 560; after which Cyrus added by conquest the provinces on this side the Halys. He also as distinctly tells us that the reigns of four successive Kings of Media, viz. :—

Deioces.....	53
Phraortes	22
Cyaxares	40
Astyages	35

150

amounting together to 150 years terminated at the same point of time. How is this evident contradiction to be explained? Much has been written concerning it, and nothing satisfactory. I submit that a very ancient mode of solving the difficulty was by counting the 128 years from the year B.C. 688 and ending them in B.C. 560, and by counting the 150 years from the same date and ending them in B.C. 539; and that if both ancients and moderns are correct in placing the eclipse of Thales in B.C. 585, this is the only mode of solution consistent with what we are told in history concerning Astyages, who confessedly lived for some years after his defeat by Cyrus, and according to Ctesias on terms of alliance with his conquerors, and who was buried with kingly honours. I do not question the correctness of Dr. Hincks' translation of the word *παρὰ*, as "exclusive of." But the question still remains, whether Herodotus intended to express that the Medes reigned 128 years, from which the years of Scythian domination were to be excluded, or 128 years after having excluded the years of Scythian domination from the computation.

The chronological question as regards an important period in Bible history of nearly 200 years, from the invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib in the 14th year of Hezekiah to the rebuilding of the temple in the reign of Darius, stands thus; the commonly received dates are,

14th Hezekiah.....	B.C. 713
Fall of Jerusalem.....	" 588
Rebuilding of the temple	" 520

The correctness of the intervals between these several dates is so clearly established, that neither of them can be raised or lowered without affecting the other two to the same extent.

I. Now Sir Gardner Wilkinson has undertaken to shew from the tombs of the sacred bulls at Memphis, that the invasion of Sennacherib in the time of Tirhakah and Hezekiah must be lowered many years.

II. If astronomers, ancient and modern, are correct as regards the eclipse of B.C. 585, the last year of Pharaoh-Necho, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, the fall of Jerusalem, and all the events connected with those kings must be lowered to the extent of about 26 years.

III. Daniel, Demetrius, and St. Matthew, as shewn in my last letter, bring down the date of the fall of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple about the same number of years.

I am, etc.,

J. W. BOSANQUET.

Claymore, Feb. 8th, 1857.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD SABBATH.

THE usual statement on this subject is, that the word sabbath is derived from the Hebrew *sabat* שבת, to rest, keep holiday, or keep the sabbath : itself a verb of uncertain origin.

I have long been of opinion that the reverse of this is really the case, and that far from being derived from the verb שבת, that verb was itself derived from the sabbath, in the sense of "holy rest," Some other etymology has therefore to be sought for, and such a one may easily be pointed out.

The real meaning of the sabbath I believe to be *the seventh day*, and that it is derived from the Hebrew term for *seven*, namely, *sabah* שבע and שבעה (or שבתה *sabath*). Nothing can be more simple and direct than this origin of the word, but it is of course open to the question which attends most Hebrew etymologies ; namely, what was the true pronunciation of the Hebrew word שבת? Numerous Hebrew words are found in the Assyrian inscriptions ; and the Assyrian always, as far as I have observed, renders the Hebrew letter ש *ain* by a vowel. Thus, for instance, ארבי *arabia* is rendered *aribi* ; ארבע *four*, is rendered *arba* ; דני *dominus*, is rendered *bel* or *bil* (as the Greeks rendered it βελος). Consequently I should naturally read שבתה as *sabat*. But I have recently fortunately discovered what was the Assyrian term for *seven* (which has been hitherto a desideratum). It was *sabata*. This establishes the ancient pronunciation of the word so clearly, that I feel more confirmed in my opinion that we have here the true origin of the sabbath-day. This word *sabata* occurs in the British Museum series, plate 25, line 28, and is followed in the same page, line 34 by the term for *eight*, *asumun* or *ashmun*, which also agrees closely with the Hebrew שמנה *shmunah*. So also do the other numerals as far as yet ascertained.

H. F. TALBOT.

Lacock Abbey.

SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

DEAR SIR,—Your correspondent CLERICUS puts two questions in your last number, to which I am sorry my time will not permit me now to furnish a fuller reply.

1. He asks respecting Mr. Isaac Salkinson's Hebrew translation of the Epistle to the Romans. Will you allow me to refer him to the *Clerical Journal* for 1855, p. 286 (No. 50), for an estimate of that work from one who has carefully examined it?

2. He refers to Mr. Cureton's article in the *Quarterly* for October 1845, in which reference is made to the importance of some collections of canons which are to be found among the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. I beg to inform Clericus that I have examined most, if not all

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aforesaid excavations in explanation of the biblical books. It is therefore that Teyler's Theological Society, considering the interest of science in general, and wishing especially to promote the sciences of biblical history and exegesis, asks :—A complete critical system of all particulars brought to light by the discoveries of Flanden, Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, etc., and by the disquisitions of Grotefend, Lassen, and others, concerning the ruins of the ancient Syrian, Babylonian and Persian cities, inasmuch as they may serve to explain the holy writ of the Old Testament, and to corroborate its history. If necessary, a few delineations may be added."

The answers must be sent before the 1st of January, 1859.

To be answered before the 1st of January, 1858, the following subject is proposed. I do almost despair of giving a tolerable translation; the difference of our language and the English tongue is so great, that I could not give a literal translation; I will be contented, if the "*cardo questionis*" is evident enough :—

"Twenty years ago Dr. D. F. Strauss published his well-known work tending to prove the mythical nature of the evangelical accounts, and to deny, on that ground, the historical truth of the facts of our Saviour's life. The work boasted of being the result of impartial critical examination of the history of Christ, as communicated to us in the gospel. It aroused the fear of many, that such a proceeding should endanger the Christian faith. Since that time, however, such a critical examination has been continued in various manners, and with different theological views. Teyler's Theological Society is of opinion that the time has come to investigate how far this fear has proved to be founded on fact. The aforesaid Society wishes to elicit a treatise containing :—1. An analysis of the proceedings of the historico-critical examination of the evangelical history during the last twenty or twenty-five years. 2. An account of the result of that examination with respect to the appreciation and dijudication of the history of Jesus' life. And 3. Lastly an exposition of whatever the course and the result of the aforesaid historico-critical examination have taught as to the real worth and the true application of that criticism."

The answers may be in English, French, German, Dutch, or Latin. They must be signed with a motto, and the name of the author communicated in a sealed letter with the same motto on the envelope. The prize is a golden medal of four hundred guilders, about 33*l.* intrinsic value, or the same sum of money. The Society alone has the right of publishing the crowned essays.

Answers to be sent with the address: To the Foundation of Teyler, van der Hulst, Haarlem (Holland).

I shall feel very grateful if you will make use of this communication for your learned Journal. Once more I beseech you to make such alterations as you may deem necessary and consistent with the meaning of the proposed questions.

I am, reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

Dr. K. SYBRANDI, V.D.M.,

Secretary of Teyler's Theological Society.

To the Rev. Dr. Burgess, Ed. of the *Jour. of Sac. Lit.*

ON THE USE OF "SHEOL."

(See *Journal of Sacred Literature* for October 1856.)

SIR,—If those who write on *Sheol* would examine all the texts, they would find that it does sometimes signify the sepulchre. Vide Psalm cxli. 7: "Our bones lie scattered at the grave's mouth," *Sheol*. See Ezek. xxxii. 27. There are no swords under the heads of those in the invisible world. The assertion that *sheol* always signifies the invisible world, and never the sepulchre, is not correct.

Yours truly,

R. A. H.

JEWISH IDEAS OF INSPIRATION.

(In reply to an enquiry by the Editor.)

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—As to the Jewish notions regarding inspiration, they are in the clearest manner expressed by Maimonides in his celebrated preface to the tenth section of the Talmudical treatise *Sanhedrin*, which work contains the thirteen articles of the Jewish faith, and has been edited, in Arabic and Latin, by Pococke in the *Porta Mosii*, pp. 133—179. In the comments on the sixth and seventh articles, the nature of the inspiration of Moses and that of the other prophets is discussed and compared, whilst the remarks on the eighth article treat of the holiness of the Pentateuch. We there read:—

"Fundamentum octavum est, Lex e coelo [demissa] est ut credatur, universam Legem istam quæ apud nos hodie reperitur esse ad Mosen [cœlitus] demissam, totamque ex ore Dei profectam . . . fuisse autem ipsum instar scribæ qui ipsam sibi dictatam describeret, . . . nec ulla est differentia inter verba: 'Et filii Chami, Cush, et Mitzraim, et Put, et Canaan' . . . et ista: 'Ego sum Dominus,' etc., vel 'Audi Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus.' Omnia enim ex ore Omnipotentis profecta sunt. . . . Ideoque ipsorum sententiâ omnes infideles, infidelitate et hypocrisi superabat Manasses, quod putaret esse in lege medullam et corticem, atque genealogias istas et historias nulli rei utiles esse, ac ab ipso Mose fuisse."—(pp. 173, 174).

I need scarcely to add, that this rigorous view is at present far from being adopted by all Jews, and that among them the same differences of opinion prevail as in the Christian community.

Wishing you every success and satisfaction in your zealous labours,

I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

Yours ever truly,

M. KALISCH.

RESURRECTION OF THE SAINTS.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Will you forgive my pointing out an error into which a writer has fallen in the last number of the *Journal of Sacred*

Literature, p. 479, where he is commenting on Bossuet's arguments (if such they can be called,) to prove the resurrection and assumption of the Blessed Virgin, one of which was, that "Christ when he arose, raised many saints," etc. In answer to this it is said, "Where do we read, that when Christ arose, others rose with him? We do read of others rising when Jesus *died*, but of none who rose when he arose."

The only mention made of this remarkable event is in Matt. xxvii. 52, 53, where it is said: "And the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept, arose, and came out of the graves *after his resurrection*, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many."

The error is an important one, for it impugns the fact of Christ's precedence in the resurrection—his being "the first-fruits of them that slept."

I am, yours very faithfully,

WEEVER WALTER.

Bonby, Feb 15th, 1857.

SOLLY ON THE WILL.

SIR,—Allow me to call your attention to an important error in one of the quotations which you have given in the last number of your Journal, from my work on *The Will Divine and Human*.

The passage, as it stands in the original, is as follows:—"The only answer then to be given to the above question is, that the whole soul is not an object for us, as it contains a principle which we can never objectivize, and which therefore is *not* entirely subject to the law of causality." By a printer's error the word 'not' has been omitted, and thus the passage rendered quite unintelligible.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS SOLLY.

Leipziger Strasse 108, Berlin, March 14, 1857.

The reader is also requested to correct the following errata in the same number:—

At p. 423, fourth line from bottom, for *הוא נמצא* read *הוא*.

Ibid. at the end omit "full and" before "complete."

Line six from bottom, for xi. 11, read ii. 11.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Course of developed Criticism on passages of the New Testament materially affected by various readings. By the Rev. THOMAS SHELDON GREEN, M.A., late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Head Master of the Grammar School, Ashby de la Zouch. London: Bagsters. 1857. 8vo, pp. xii., 192.

No one who feels a right sort and degree of regard to the Scriptures can be indifferent about the state of the text, or can quietly adhere to the use of a particular text which on any account has been rendered suspicious. That inconveniences and evils have arisen from doing so there is no doubt. Mr. Green remarks on some of these; that "there have been laboured expositions of passages undoubtedly spurious, encounters with difficulties which exist only in corruptions, and controversial citations where the reading is so questionable as to leave only the alternative of ignorance or disingenuousness." Though cases of this sort may have been fewer than Mr. Green supposes, no passage should be allowed to remain doubtful which can be satisfactorily corrected. And with a view to a revision of our present Version, the first step, of course, must be some convention of those concerned in it, about as many as possible of the variations, whether less or more important, which are found in the different texts of Scripture.

Mr. Green considers that a certain want of interest has been felt in the consultation of critical discussions, arising from the form in which these are commonly presented. He says:—

"A critical edition of the New Testament offers on its pages two distinct things, the text itself as determined by the judgment of the critic, or, at least, furnished with indications of the form which he thinks it ought to take, and a register of the authorities on which, in each several case, his decision has been made to rest, as well as of variations in general. The latter is presented in a shape necessarily compressed, and apt to offer to an untrained eye an appearance of intricacy and confusion. Of the steps of reasoning connecting the resulting text with the cited authorities there are no intimations, except such as may be gathered from a few prefatory statements of general principles which the critic has thought proper to adopt; with which, too, an occasional decision may have, at least, the appearance of inconsistency—the tendency of these circumstances is unfavourable to an interest in the important subject, and they may often have issued in an entire disregard to it. The present attempt has been made in the hope of meeting, in some degree, this difficulty, by offering complete discussions of places affected by such variations as are material to the careful reader, and the interpreter to the New Testament."—p. iv.

We would only remark with regard to this, that in every good exegetical work, there is commonly found a developed criticism of any particular text which occurs in the course of exposition, and under

circumstances, perhaps, more favourable to adjustment, than when the object is merely a critical one. In stating the different sources of variations, Mr. Green mentions, errors of transcription, the sources of which may be sometimes detected; the encroachment on the text of marginal or interlineary matter, which is of various kinds; corruption arising from wilful tampering, though charges of this kind are to be received with caution, while that of wilful suppression is still less to be admitted. But a form of corruption to which the New Testament has been particularly exposed, and more especially the Gospels, is that of assimilation, by which passages which were partly similar have been brought to a more perfect agreement. This latter corruption would be the work of time, and hence it would be likely to accumulate in the later MSS. It is this gradual accretion of foreign matter, which would more and more adhere to MSS. in process of time, which, in the judgment of those who lay great stress upon this hypothesis, makes the testimony of the mass of later MSS. of small value when in opposition to the older. We think it likely that these critics, and Mr. Green among them, have carried this supposition too far. That an older MS., with such interpolation, would be copied without correction on many succeeding MSS. is most likely; but when such alleged interpolations are found in the entire mass of later MSS., the older copies from which they were taken must all have been thus corrupted, or in the whole course of ages no critical copier had ever corrected his text by a reference to a better model.

Mr. Green has subjected about two hundred passages of more or less importance to this process of developed criticism, of which about one-third are found in the Gospels. The development consists chiefly in the application of one or other of the principles named for correction. The variations are all departures from the received text, in which that text has been ruled by Lachmann and Tischendorf, or one of them, to be erroneous. In many cases Mr. Green has, we believe, well sustained his conclusion. In some, the MS. authority cited by him is so very small, that the other considerations resorted to are not sufficient to sustain it. And in some passages of considerable importance, Mr. Green appears to us to have taken a side with something like special pleading, as in the celebrated passage, 1 Tim. iii. 16. One thing appears certain, that in proportion as these general considerations are made the basis of criticism—hypotheses, in fact, which are not applicable by certain rules, and which may strike different minds differently, in reference to particular cases—the science of criticism will be felt to be too uncertain to establish a general confidence in its results.

The Greek Testament, with Notes Grammatical and Exegetical. By WILLIAM WEBSTER, M.A., Assistant Master in King's College School, late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge; and WILLIAM FRANCIS WILKINSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Werburgh's, Derby, late

Theological Tutor of Cheltenham College. Vol. I. containing the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. London: Parker and Son. pp. xlvii., 714. 8vo. 1855.

SUCH a volume as that before us demands the notice of the biblical student; for it has been but rarely in this country, at least in modern times, that such a labour has been taken up by any scholar or scholars, as that of writing and publishing grammatical and exegetical notes on the whole of the Greek text of the New Testament: and when such works have appeared, it has been at times too manifest that the editor has been more diligent in gathering up the thoughts of others than in thinking for himself, and then carefully weighing with the sacred text itself all that is professedly based upon it or else used in its illustration.

It is also found at times, that those who are not content with being compilers, have sought for *originality* through assuming a peculiar tone; and thus they have constantly attained the object which they had in view, though perhaps in a manner that is really neither useful nor edifying to any one.

The editors of the present volume appear to have been anxious to do justice to the claims of their predecessors and contemporaries: they speak in high terms of the labours of Mr. Alford, although proposing to themselves a very different plan and object. As to themselves they state:—

“We have endeavoured to keep in view the wants and necessities of the pupils who have been under our own tuition. . . . From the results of a lengthened experience in tuition at the University, at four large and distinguished schools, and in private, we trust that our labours will in some degree contribute to the promotion of sound learning and religious education.

“We wish it then to be distinctly understood, that our object has been to write for learners, rather than the learned. . . .

“This limitation of our aim has led us to deviate, to a considerable extent, from the path of our predecessors: I. To omit altogether the department of Textual Criticism; II. To modify, or decline as superfluous to our purpose, much that is common to preceding annotators; and in lieu thereof, III. To dwell upon points which have hitherto received but partial attention” (pp. ii. iii.)

We may at once remark, that the determination to abstain from embracing textual criticism within the limits of the plan, need not have caused an absolute silence to be maintained with respect to readings such as would change the whole character of the exposition of a passage. They have not, however, *uniformly* excluded all mention of such points; at times, *e. g.*, as to the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Matt. vi., they have stated the fact of the variation, and with it they have briefly but decidedly expressed their own judgment: they might with advantage have acted similarly pretty often.

The editors have avowedly abstained from mentioning the views and opinions of previous writers: they have preferred to give their own conclusions without detailing the processes of thought on which they have been based. This mode of editing has in many cases advantages for a *learner*: for such, a record of conflicting opinions is often confusing, and rarely beneficial in any way: the difficulty probably is,

where to draw the line of demarcation, and how to define what may be left entirely to the more advanced student to gather for himself from other sources.

In the Introduction, they make good and clear remarks on the style of the writers of the New Testament, and on other points on which they deem it to be of importance to express definitely their own views on Christian doctrine and other subjects. The views thus enunciated they appear to have carried out in the notes throughout the volume; though they do not seem to have considered it desirable to make any doctrinal questions *especially* or *unduly* prominent. They have often sought tacitly to combat some error, or to meet some objection, by the presentation of that definite truth which, if received, will be the safeguard of the student.

We cannot now discuss several of the opinions advanced by the editors, nor yet define what limitations they would *practically* combine with some of the principles stated: for such particulars we must refer to the book itself.

Throughout the volume the notes appear to be clearly and succinctly expressed: the views of the editors are stated in language such as will be clear to the learner, who will not be bewildered by the recital of a multiplicity of opinions, by lists of mere names, or by explanations based on some principle which is only enunciated in mysterious language. As to many points, few writers regard Holy Scripture and its teaching from precisely the same point of view, and thus variations of opinion are almost inevitable. We may hope that such differences will lessen amongst spiritually-minded students of the Word of God, the more they take the place of learners who inquire, What has been revealed? and How are these things to be received?

Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus übersetzt und erklärt. Von HEINRICH EWALD. ("The Epistles of the Apostle Paul translated and explained. By HENRY EWALD.") pp. xii., 496. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1857. London: Nutt.

PROFESSOR EWALD refers in very strong language to the effect of false philosophy on the one hand, and of disingenuous theology on the other, in throwing doubt and uncertainty upon the Scripture in general, and on the Pauline writings in particular; his conviction is, that we have abundant means of approaching to certainty with regard to the latter especially, and he says:—

"I have long been under the influence of a fervent desire to demonstrate the solid basis which is to be found for these important portions of Scripture, as well as for the others; and I here publish only what has been for twenty or thirty years as firmly established in my convictions as it is this day."

And he expresses an earnest wish that the false philosophers on the one hand, and dishonest theologians on the other, would only begin to do what they cannot long avoid, viz., to recognize the well-established

lished truth on this subject. Next to Christ himself, St. Paul, in the Professor's view, is a character who demands in a high degree the exercise of Christian earnestness, truthfulness, and love, in all enquiries respecting him. His Epistles are marked by a character so peculiar that one cannot fail of recognizing his genuine productions, or of distinguishing from them epistles or even shorter passages which could not have proceeded from his peculiar spirit. If only one of his epistles has been thoroughly entered into so as to mark in it his inimitable character as a writer, one may easily select, out of a thousand others, what are really his, and avoid ascribing to him what he cannot in accordance with historic truth have written.

There is doubtless much truth in these remarks of the Professor, but according to the tendency of most of his countrymen he has built a great deal too much upon his theory. The periods in which St. Paul wrote were wide apart, the circumstances in which he wrote and of those to whom he wrote were widely different, and though the Pauline characteristics would be more or less apparent in all his writings, we can easily believe that in some of his epistles there would be wide departures from the type, both of thought and language, which was presented in any single epistle. The Professor has certainly included among the Pauline Epistles a larger number than has been allowed by the Tübingen critics, but his catalogue falls considerably short of what the Church has always received, and in this volume he has not given the critical process by which he has excluded the rejected epistles. This process we believe is given in his *Jahrbücher*.

The list and arrangement of St. Paul's Epistles according to Ewald are as follows:—the Second Epistle to Thessalonians is first in point of time, then the first Epistle; these were written during the second great journey of the apostle. Those which were written during the third great journey are,—first, the Epistle to the Galatians; there were then four Epistles to the Corinthians, two of which are lost, but are referred to in the first and second extant Epistles; then the Epistle to the Romans. The Epistles which were written during the imprisonment at Rome were, first, an Epistle to the Ephesians, which was not identical with that which we have, this latter being a later imitation of the Epistle to the Colossians; the only fragment extant of the genuine Epistle is the series of greetings contained in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which is foreign to that Epistle; then comes the Epistle to the Philippians; then the letter to Philemon, and the Epistle to the Colossians. An Epistle to the Laodiceans was written at this time, mentioning among other things the coming of Mark the nephew of Barnabas, and referring to the collection for the saints at Jerusalem; the Epistle to the Colossians is Pauline in its spirit, but not so in its style. It was probably composed by Timothy after he had received the instructions of the apostle.

With regard to the remaining epistles in our collection, the Professor remarks. "The explanation and further consideration of the four

or five epistles which are not here included, but which, according to tradition, are ascribed to St. Paul, belong to another series of writings, and it is possible that I may hereafter bring them into this. But I here intentionally leave them out, as I have always regarded them as not the direct productions of Paul."

In the translation of the Epistles the Professor has given the results of his grammatical views in terse and effective language, and in the exposition he traces the course of the apostle's thought, which he illustrates often in a very striking manner. He mentions no names, and refers to no controversies, and thus is able in a short compass, and with undisturbed progress, to set before the reader the gist of each Epistle. On the whole it is a work which will be consulted with considerable profit, apart, of course, from its heterodoxy in some places.

Christ and other Masters: an Historical Inquiry into some of the chief parallelisms and contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World; with special reference to prevailing difficulties and objections. By CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. Part II. *Religions of India.* Cambridge: Macmillan. 1857. 8vo. pp. 219.

WE have read this work with satisfaction and profit. With full confidence in the principles and other high qualifications of the author, our previous impressions of this kind have been fully sustained by this production. It is a matter of congratulation that Englishmen, to whom by the wonderful arrangements of Providence the Indian empire has been committed, have taken the lead in the study of Indian literature. The tendency to wild speculation on the part of most foreign scholars, which in other departments has often kept the minds of men floating at a distance from settled principles, has less affected the science of Indian literature, because British scholars have pursued their own methods of using their own materials. Mr. Hardwick has, indeed, made good use of the labours of foreign scholars in this department, but he has taken his own view of the facts of the case, and has enabled his reader to do the same.

The first part of this volume gives a luminous historical account of the "Varieties of Religious Thought among the Hindus." These are traced in the earliest records of them, the most ancient Vedas, in the writings of the Brahmanical period, and in the later forms of them as they appear in Buddhist and other systems. After the wide extremes to which speculation had gone on the first acquaintance of Europeans with the languages of India, by which, on the one hand, Indian civilization was made coeval with the origin of the human race and endowed with divine perfection, while, on the other, its chief writings were ascribed to the middle ages; it is satisfactory to find a general agreement on the part of Indian scholars to place the earliest writings, the Vedas, about midway between these extremes. The Indian mind, it seems, is destitute of the spirit of history, and by confounding periods separated by

vast distances, it has made it impossible to fix the date of their writings except from internal evidence. This evidence, however, has become more and more definite as the language of the Hindu writings has been investigated. The reader will find in the first historical part of Mr. Hardwick's work all the information he needs as to the periods to which the varieties of religious thought among the Hindus are to be referred, and as to the nature of those varieties.

In the second part of his work, Mr. Hardwick discusses "the apparent correspondence between Hinduism and Revealed Religion." It had been confidently said that such correspondence existed in the Hindu monotheism, in the Hindu Triads, and in the Hindu *Avataras*, or incarnations. With regard to the first, Mr. Hardwick shews that monotheism properly so called, is rarely if ever traceable in the Vedas; on the contrary, the great mass of the Vedaic hymns are decidedly polytheistic where not pantheistic. As to the second, the Hindu Triads have no relation whatever to the Trinity of the Catholic faith; and, thirdly, the theory of incarnations has no existence either in the Vedas or the Laws of Manu. "It is, therefore," says Mr. Hardwick, "a development, or rather, I should say, an aftergrowth, of which no trace appears until we reach a later stage in the religious history of Hinduism." The *Avataras* are, chiefly, certain manifestations of Vishnu in animal and other forms. The only one of these which constitutes a true incarnation is that in the person of Chrishnu, and this presents many points of similarity to incidents recorded in our gospels. But the documents in which this is fully presented belong to a period between the eighth and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. The piece to which men like Voltaire had appealed as exhibiting Christian ideas long before the Christian era, was, in fact, the production of a Jesuit missionary. And the intercourse between the East and the West, which undoubtedly took place, is quite sufficient to account for the appearance among Indian ideas of portions of Christian doctrine.

In speaking in the third chapter of the "Contrasts in the general development of Hinduism and Revealed Religion," Mr. Hardwick first compares the best forms of Hindu heathenism with the faith of the patriarchal religion. The God of Abraham was a living personal God; a friend, a guardian on whom he could repose with loving confidence; supreme in his natural attributes, and perfect in his moral nature. The object and the effect of this faith was the moral conformity of the human with the divine nature. The Hindu deity was a cold abstraction, without personal interest in the worshipper, without active control over the events of life and human destiny, without moral qualities, and without any good influence on the human character. This applies, in general, to the best forms of Hindu theology; the later forms were still darker, and of more evil influence.

In coming to the Christian system, Mr. Hardwick shews, in the spirit of true philosophy, and yet with a deep sense of the inestimable blessings of our holy religion, how it solves all the problems which reason had sought to investigate; and how, in comparison with the

dark and dismal wanderings of human speculations, Christianity presents results divinely bright and beautiful. At the risk of doing injustice to Mr. Hardwick's eloquent argument by taking remarks out of their connexion, we will give our readers one specimen :—

“While heathen systems are unequal to the work of rectifying the infatuations of the human spirit, and of cancelling human guilt . . . the gospel has at length successfully encountered the great problem ; it has furnished what must ever be regarded even in a ‘rational’ point of view, the only fitting and profound solution. . . . Compared with all the previous legacies of God, the gospel is a boon immeasurably vast, incalculably precious. On the one side, it has clearly taken into its account of man, not some, but *all* the factors of his complex being, and, in harmony with this conception, it asserts, as no anterior system had been able to assert, the primal dignity of human nature, and, still more, the permanence of human personality. On the other side, the gospel harmonizes and collects together in one focus the scattered and enfeebled rays of truth concerning God and his relation to the creature. It produces them in their original unity and fulness, not as fragments isolated from the other truths which are essential to their rightful action and their just interpretation, but as one coherent, living, and organic whole. . . . There is, in other words, a marvellous and majestic balance in the doctrines which the gospel has been authorized to bring before us ; and the point round which that balance is effected, or as seen from which all other elements in the Christian system derived their mutual fitness, is the glorious truth, announcing how the Word, who is with God and is God, has verily assumed our human nature, and how God in him is ‘reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing unto them their trespasses.’”

We heartily thank the Christian Advocate for this striking and effective exhibition of revealed religion in fair comparison with heathen philosophy.

The Books of Exodus and Leviticus, according to the Version of the LXX., translated into English, with notices of its omissions and insertions, and with notes of the passages in which it differs from our Authorized Translation. By the Hon. and Very Rev. HENRY E. J. HOWARD, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. Cambridge : Macmillan and Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 416.

WE noticed, in a former number, the first portion of the Dean of Lichfield's undertaking, which embraces the book of Genesis. Apart from the *general* interest of the subject, Dr. Howard was stimulated to his arduous labours by the fact that the Septuagint has become a Text-book at Cambridge ; the book of Exodus being appointed as a subject of examination to the Candidates for theological honours at that university in the present spring. The two volumes which have hitherto appeared have thus, no doubt, been already of great use to students of the Sacred Text, and we feel sure they will long continue to assist those who apply themselves to this most important branch of Sacred Literature. Thus, with every successive generation, the labour of acquiring information is lightened, and with increased facilities greater obligations and responsibilities are incurred by those whose duty it is to be “well instructed in the Kingdom of God.”

In the present day, when so much is written on the correct translation of Holy Scripture, it will become more and more important to

settle the original texts, as far as a proper use of criticism can accomplish that object. Although the Hebrew Scriptures are properly appealed to as *authority*, all scholars must feel that there are difficulties in them, as compared with the Septuagint, which a discreet use of the latter might help to remove; whilst the great differences between the two must suggest many interesting trains of thought to those who remember the use made of the Greek Version in the New Testament. As bearing on Biblical revision, which may be called the question of the day, Dr. Howard's work may be profitably consulted by the mere English reader, shewing him, as it does, in what form Holy Writ presented itself to the vast multitudes of men to whom the Septuagint was the Bible, the Book of God. To stimulate the curiosity of this class of readers, we will quote a short chapter:—the extract will also enable scholars to form their own opinion of the way in which the translation is executed.

"Chapter XI.—1. Moreover, the Lord said unto Moses, Yet one plague will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt: and after that he will send you away from hence: but when he shall send you away with everything, he will expel you with expulsion. 2. Speak, therefore, privately in the ears of the people, and let each (of them) borrow of (his) neighbour ornaments of silver, and of gold, and raiment. 3. Moreover, the Lord gave his people the favour (of which he had spoken, ch. iii. 21) in the sight of the Egyptians, and they lent to them: and the man Moses became very great in the sight of the Egyptians, and in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants. 4. And Moses said, Thus saith the Lord: About midnight I enter into the midst of Egypt. 5. And every firstborn in (the) land of Egypt shall die, from (the) firstborn of Pharaoh who sitteth upon the throne, even unto (the) firstborn of the female servant who (is) at the millstone, and unto (the) firstborn of every beast. 6. And there shall be a great cry throughout all (the) land of Egypt, which hath not been such before, and will not be such ever again. 7. And against all the sons of Israel a dog shall not snarl with his tongue, from man unto beast; that thou mayest know what wondrous things the Lord will do between the Egyptians and Israel. 8. And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and shall worship me, saying, Go forth, then, and all this people whom thou leadest, and after that I will go forth. Then Moses went forth from Pharaoh with anger. 9. Moreover, the Lord said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not hearken unto you, that multiplying I may multiply my signs and wonders in (the) land of Egypt. 10. So Moses and Aaron did all these signs and wonders in (the) land of Egypt before Pharaoh; but the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he hearkened not (so as) to send away the sons of Israel out of (the) land of Egypt."

We should state that the text used is the Roman, as given in the Antwerp Polyglott, 1572. We are glad to find that Dr. Howard refers to Dr. Kalisch's *Historical and Critical Commentary*, as having been of considerable service to him, and he says that "it would have been more so, had it come into my hands before my Notes were commenced, instead of at a time when they were very nearly completed." We hope our readers who have not yet seen that valuable work will make themselves acquainted with it. The Dean of Lichfield's Comment consists of three parts, the Omissions of the Septuagint Text, as compared with the Hebrew, the Insertions, and Notes of a miscellaneous kind, intended to throw light on the whole subject. The following are the notes to the eleventh chapter; brief, indeed, yet

containing much that is important, if the numerous references are worked out.

"Verse 1. *With everything*, *ὅν παντί*, כֻּלּוֹ, 'altogether,' E. T.; in your entirety—without reserve of any thing. Comp. ch. x. 24. And this may be the meaning of Jonathan, *כֻּלּוֹ יָד יָדוֹ*. Complut. has *ὅν πᾶσιν ἐκβολῇ*; Onkelos, *כֻּלּוֹ וְכֻלּוֹ*. See Kalisch.

"Verse 5. *At the millstone*, *πᾶρα* (Luke x. 39) *τὸν μύλον*, *עַחְדֵּי מִלּוֹן*, 'behind the mill,' E. T. 'Ad molam,' Vulg. See Deut. xxiv. 8; Aug., *Qu.* 42; Aul. Gell., iii. 3; and comp. Numb. xi. 8; Isa. xlvii. 2; Hom., *Od.*, τ, 105.

"Verse 7. *Snarl*, *γρόξει* γῆρ, 'move,' E. T., *mutiet*, Vulg., Comp., Joshua x. 21, Judith xi. 29. *Against*, *ἐν*, *בְּ*. So E. T. Comp. 1 Macc. ix. 29, *ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς*, 'against our adversaries,' and Judith vi. 2, *ap.* Schleusner. It may however be rendered 'among.' The Vulg. has 'apud.' See August., *Locut. ad loc.*, and ch. xii. 12.

"Verse 8. *Whom thou leadest*, *כִּי יֵלֵךְ אַחֲרָי*, 'that follow thee,' E. T. Comp. Judg. ix. 10; viii. 5; 1 Kings xx. 10; 2 Kings iii. 9. 'Qui subjectus est tibi,' Vulg. Comp. 2 Macc. xiv. 6, and see Clemens Alex., p. 367."

All the above references are distinct enough except the last, the edition employed being needed. We hope soon to receive further instalments of Dr. Howard's useful and well-executed undertaking.

Notæ Criticæ in Versionem Septuagintaviralem. Exodus Cap. I.—XXIV. Curante GULIELMO SELWYN, S.T.B., Dominæ Margaretæ in Sacra Theologia Lectore, olim Coll. Div. Johann. Socio. Cantabrigiæ: typis academicis excudit C. F. Clay. Veneunt apud Deighton, Bell et Soc. Londini: Bell et Daldy. 1856. 8vo. pp. xxviii., 52.

MR. SELWYN informs us, that when he began to lecture on the Pentateuch, in the Version of the LXX., he was pressed by the difficulty regarding the true Text, and the rival claims of the Vatican and Alexandrian Codices. He therefore determined, before commencing another year, to place before his pupils, or audience, the means of judging for themselves as to the state of the Vatican Text, and to make them acquainted with the character of the principal MSS. He has, therefore, compared Holmes's edition of the Vatican with the Hebrew, and marked the differences, and whatever else he thought worthy of notice, such as the various readings of the Codex Alex., as presented in Baber's facsimile. A specimen is thus furnished of a critical comment of a very valuable kind, if pursued through the whole of the books of the Old Testament, and which, as far as it extends, will be found of great utility to those who attend the Professor's lectures. Prefixed, is a catena of authorities as to the value of the LXX., supplied by the Greek and Latin fathers, etc.

We are very thankful that Cambridge enjoys the services of one so zealous and faithful in his work, as well as so competent, as Professor Selwyn.

The Book of Jonah, in Four Semitic Versions, viz., Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic, with corresponding Glossaries. By W. WRIGHT. London: Williams and Norgate. 1857. 8vo. pp. 156.

THIS is an exquisite piece of typography, produced by the press of Nies, of Leipzig. The English letters, especially the *italics*, are of great beauty, and the Oriental types form worthy companions of them. Mr. Wright is Professor of Oriental Languages at Trinity College, Dublin, and has given, in this work, proofs of his fitness for the important office, both in the knowledge of his theme, and his skill in making its acquisition easy to others. Our commendation of the volume must not be measured by the length of this notice, as it is evident such a work will only be purchased by those who can use it, and those of our readers who are so situated will find it a valuable auxiliary.

An Examination of the Ancient Orthography of the Jews, and of the original state of the Text of the Hebrew Bible. Part III. :—The Sacred Text, originally written without Vowel-letters, or any other signs whatever of the *vocal*, considered apart from the *articulate* ingredients of syllabic sounds. By CHARLES WILLIAM WALL, D.D., Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Vol. I. London: Whitaker and Co. 1856. Large 8vo. pp. 384.

ALTHOUGH this volume is only fragmentary, we should like to give more attention to its contents than we are now able to do. The completion of the subject may, we hope, give us another opportunity, for the learned author informs us in an advertisement, that

“The first chapter alone of this volume (108 pages) has an immediate reference to the Bible. The discussions which come after, about various kinds of ancient writing, more especially about the cuneiform kinds, have extended to such a length as to leave no room here for the continuation of my principal subject. I shall, therefore, confine myself solely to proofs of the reality and value of my discovery, respecting the original state of the Hebrew Text, in another treatise which I hope to have very soon ready for publication.”

In the meantime, the following contents of the volume will shew what is to be found in it, and expected from it.

CHAPTER I.—*Retrospective Observations.*

Alphabetical writing not the offspring of human ingenuity.—Miraculous origin of alphabetical writing.—The second set of tables of stone not miraculously written upon.—Traces of a sudden transition from hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing to be detected, in the elliptic style of Moses.—In the phraseology of Moses.—In the grammatical irregularities of Moses.—In the nomenclature of Moses.—The birth of Benjamin hitherto erroneously dated.—Several marginal dates of Genesis in our English Bible require correction.—The Book of Genesis partly compiled from older records.—Cause of similarity of style between the Pentateuch and the Book of Job.

CHAPTER II.—*Notice of Views put forward in recent Publications, which tend to support or oppose some of those developed in preceding parts of this Work.*

1. Answer to objections against date assigned to origin of letters.—2. Sample of

fallacious reasoning employed in Egyptian researches.—3. Barefaced imposition of Arabs on credulity of European savans.—4. Architectural specimen of Chinese boasting and imposture.—5. Brief account of two Chinese fabricated books of travels.—6. Mode recently discovered of exposing Chinese fabrications.—7. Ineffectual attack upon the justness of foregoing discovery.—8. Some notable changes of opinion respecting the Lét inscriptions.—9. Attention recalled to limits of the age of Sanscrit alphabet.—10. Failure of received theory about Arian or Indo-European tongues.

CHAPTER III.—*On Cuneiform Writing.*

Cause of this digression from my principal subject.—On two kinds of Persian writing that belong to the Syriac class.—Persians used no other letters concurrently with cuneiform set.—Failure of Gesenius's attempt to prove that they did.—Unfairness of his attack on the antiquity of the Hebrew alphabet.—Introductory remarks on the Persian cuneiform systems.—A short account of Grotefend's discovery.—Comparison of various readings and renderings of this writing.—A sketch of the progress gradually made in this discovery.

CHAPTER IV.—*Continuation of the same Subject.*

On recovered language of Darius and its relation to other tongues.—On the mixed Grecian and Shemitic origin of the cuneiform alphabet.—On mode of supplying omissions in cuneiform vocalization.—Brief review of the contents of the Behistun record.—Analysis of hieroglyphic title given to two of the Persian kings.—The older kinds of cuneiform writing are not alphabetic.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

The Phonetic theory in question further refuted by its fruits.

The Gospel According to St. John, after the Authorized Version.
Newly compared with the original Greek, and revised by five Clergymen :—JOHN BARROW, D.D. ; GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L. ; HENRY ALFORD, B.D. ; WILLIAM G. HUMPHREY, B.D. ; CHARLES J. ELLICOTT, M.A. London : John W. Parker and Son. 1857. Royal 8vo., pp. 80.

AFTER the wild noise of a storm a calm succeeds, produced by the very conflict of the elements which preceded it. Bible revision has raised a tempest ; two extreme parties contending, the one that our Bible is too perfect to need amendment, the other that it is too full of errors to be any longer tolerated ; and from their jarring and sparring has come forth the valuable monograph now before us. "Refraining altogether," says the Preface, "from any expression of opinion respecting the desirableness of an authorized revision of the existing versions, we have thought that the best method of allaying agitation and enabling those who cannot examine the question for themselves to form a correct view of the real state of the case, would be to offer as faithful and complete a Version of a portion of the New Testament as it was in our power to construct." Two objects, the revisers say, have been kept distinctly in view in their undertaking ; *first*, to exhibit the Word of God without any subjective preferences ; *secondly*, to "shew, as far as is compatible with this first and chiefest object, that the Authorized Version is indeed a precious and holy possession, and that the errors of it are very slight and few compared with its great and

many excellencies." The latter task is, in our opinion, easily performed, indeed it is done whenever revisers apply themselves to the amendment of the English Bible; but the former object is far more easily mentioned and contemplated than secured. However, the plan adopted by the divines whose names are given above, is the best that could be thought of to that end: for the combined efforts of five men, "strangers in several instances to one another, from different universities, of different habits of thought, and, perhaps, of different theological bias," must necessarily eliminate the subjective element to a great extent. The result, now in our hands, is highly gratifying, and we look upon it as the most serviceable production which the revision question has yet produced.

But it tends to prove the entire impossibility of satisfying all minds by any translation of a book like the Bible, to find that in the first nine verses of this Gospel there are two alterations which do not appear to us to be desirable, or satisfactory. The first is in verse 3, where γέγονεν is rendered "hath been made," instead of the authorized translation "was made." Now while this alteration may be defended by the tense employed in the Greek, and the rendering might be quite correct in a translation made *de novo*, we do not think it worth while to introduce it in place of that which has become so thoroughly naturalized in our English Bible. This reason would, we confess, have no force if the Greek γέγονα demanded to have the English *perfect* as its representative; but it does not. For instance: the formula of St. Matthew, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, could not well be rendered "all this hath been done;" nor St. Paul's expression, ὅτε δὲ γέγονα ἄνθρωπος, "when I have become a man." Yet the revisers have paid great attention to the Greek tenses, and their opinion is deserving of much deference. We will give their remarks on the subject, only observing that they allow, themselves, that the strict rendering of tenses will not always satisfy an idiom.

"In respect to the tenses of Greek verbs, we have not always maintained that strict accuracy of literal rendering which rigid scholarship would seem to require. We have remembered that Holy Scriptures are translated not for the use of scholars but of English people, and that an exactness which would be perfectly suitable and necessary in the lecture room, where the tense could be fixed to its precise meaning, might often have the effect to an ordinary English reader, not only of causing him to miss the true sense, but even of suggesting a mistaken one. [But surely ordinary English readers understand their own language; and that could not be correct in any circumstances which would mislead them]. Thus we have not unfrequently rendered an aorist with the sign of the English perfect; as, for instance, when it stands in immediate connection with a present, or where the act in question is so directly connected with the mention of it as to leave no room for misapprehension. In this course we believe we have followed the genius of the English, without departing from the correctness of the Greek. Such cases are difficult to settle or decide in the abstract; we have endeavoured to determine them as they arose, from the context; never forgetting the true classical meaning of the tense, but considering chiefly the facility with which the required meaning seemed to issue in the English."

The other alteration to which we take exception is in verse 9, which is thus translated: "That was the true light which lighteneth

every man coming into the world." We think *lighteneth* is inferior to *lighteth*, being capable of two meanings in common parlance; at all events the latter is good English and quite explicit, and therefore there is no room for disturbance of that to which we are accustomed. But the principal objection to this verse is the alteration of *that cometh*, into *coming*; by which indeed more obscurity is introduced, and the English reader is put perhaps in possession of the difficulty of the Greek text; but the serious responsibility is incurred of disturbing the positive teaching of our English Bible, as this text now stands. We do not think this a desirable course, especially as the common rendering has so much of catholic consent and exegetical argument in its favour. But we will not speak positively, but may be allowed to quote what we have written on the subject on another occasion, in a review of a sermon by the Rev. G. Huntingdon, M.A., on this text—

"The preacher takes a broad and liberal view of the doctrine stated, that Christ is a light to every man, whether he hears the Gospel or not. To meet the apparent difficulty of the text, when the word 'lighteth' is presumed to mean the actual illumination of Gospel truth and Christian ordinances, it has been proposed to read it, 'That was the true light which, coming into the world, lighteth every man (that comes within its reach)'—a rendering which the mere Greek words will admit. But it is well said by Starckius, τὸ φῶς is not here spoken of as having now appeared for the first time, but is referred to by St. John, 'ut jam φαῖνον ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ lucens in tenebras, licet ab iisdem non καταληφθὲν receptum; et ver. 5, quod jam ἦν fuerit in mundo, et mundus δι' αὐτοῦ per ipsum factum sit,' etc. He thus concludes a learned argument on the subject: 'Ergo nostra phrasis ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον non potest accipi de eodem lumen venturo.' Mr. Alford, on the contrary, points the Greek so as to connect ἐρχόμενον with τὸ φῶς, and says: 'We are driven to the only legitimate rendering, which is, to take ἦν ἐρχόμενον as equivalent to an imperfect came; i. e., at the time when John bore this witness, the true light which lighteth every man, came—was in process of manifesting himself—into the world.' Without any formal exegesis, Mr. Huntingdon takes the common translation—that of the authorized version—and says:—

"My purpose is to prove that Christ through the Spirit is "the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." I shall endeavour to shew that these influences are not limited to the favoured few to whom an express revelation has been vouchsafed; but that they are to be understood as embracing, to some extent, the whole of our race; that it would be as reasonable to conceive of any spot in this earth as entirely destitute of the light of the sun, as to suppose that any child of God ("for we are 'all' His offspring") can be beyond the sphere of the Sun of Righteousness."

Thus, then, in one verse alone, it would seem impossible to secure anything like consent in rendering it into English, although the present revisers certainly have strictly followed the Greek in their translation. We have only noticed this valuable work *in transitu*, and hope to make it the subject of fuller investigation at some future time.

The Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians : translated from the Greek on the basis of the common English Version, with Notes by the Translators of II. Peter—Revelations. New York : American Bible Union. London : Trübner and Co. 1856. 4to. pp. 80.

WE are sorry to find that the labours of the American Bible Union are not likely to be of much use in this country, except to guard us against the errors into which its members fall in their treatment of our English Bible. So far from touching it with a reverential hand, they seem to have quite a *mania* for alterations, so that we should not know our venerable version again if it were to be subjected to their trimming and dressing. However, we will give our readers a fair opportunity of judging for themselves, both as to the text and the notes. We select the fourth chapter of the first Epistle.

1. Finally therefore, brethren, we beseech you, and exhort in the Lord Jesus, that, according as ye received from us how ye ought to walk and please God, ye would abound yet more.

2. For ye know what commands we gave you by the Lord Jesus.

3. For this is God's will, your sanctification ; that ye abstain from fornication :

4. That every one of you know how to possess himself of his own vessel in sanctification and honour,

5. Not in passion of lust, even as the Gentiles, who know not God ;

6. That no one transgress and defraud in the matter his brother ; because the Lord is an avenger for all these things, as we also foretold you and fully testified.

7. For God did not call us for uncleanness, but unto sanctification.

8. Therefore he that rejecteth, rejecteth not man, but God, who also gave his Holy Spirit unto us.

9. But concerning brotherly love ye have no need that one write unto you : for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another ;

10. For ye also do it toward all the brethren that are in the whole of Macedonia : but we exhort you, brethren, to abound yet more.

11. And to study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you ;

12. That ye may walk becomingly toward those without, and may have need of nothing.

13. But I would not that ye should be ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that ye may not sorrow, even as the others who have no hope.

14. For if we believe that Jesus died and arose, so also, those who fell asleep, will God through Jesus bring with him.

15. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are living, who are left over unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede those who fell asleep.

16. For the Lord himself with a shout, with voice of archangel, and with trumpet of God, shall descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ shall rise first.

17. Then we who are living, who are left over, shall together with them be caught away in clouds, to meet the Lord, into the air ; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

18. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

We can only make room for the note on the fourteenth verse of this chapter.

“ ‘ The quickening of the dead being one of those great works of God (ch. i. 10 ; Deut. xxxii. 39 ; 1. Sam. ii. 6 ; Acts xxvi. 8 ; Rom. viii. 11 ; &c.), which the Father sheweth the son.’ Comp. John v. 20, 21, 28 ; vi. 39 ; &c.—especially 2 Cor. iv. 14. 1. According to E. V. and others, τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ=οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν

Χριστῷ, v. 16; or οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ, 1. Cor. xv. 18; or οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκορες, Rev. xiv. 13. But this explanation is scarcely justified by Grot.'s reference to Rom. iv. 11, and Knapps's (*ad. loc. cit.* ch. ii. 3, N. k) to 2 Cor. iii. 11. In the latter place the *did* is not strictly synonymous with the *ἐν*; and in both places it is construed, as often elsewhere, with the *circumstances in, through, and out of which*, a thing is done. 2. Others, retaining this connection of διὰ τ. 'I. with κοιμηθέντας, translate *did* according to its common force, when followed by a genitive. Thus; W., T., C., B., (*by*);—Vulg. (*per*). In *Am.*, however, which has no comma after *Jesum*, the connection is doubtful;—and so with R.'s *by*, and Von der H.'s *durch*.), Germ. (*durch*), Fr. S. *marg.* (*par le moyen de*);—Tertull., Ambrosiast., Erasm., Calv., Castal., Musc., Vat., Mont., Cocc., Schmidt, Gösch., (*as Vulg.*; but with various explanations, *e.g.* Ambrosiast.; 'per Jesum, id est, sub spe fidei hujus;' 'by Jesus; that is, in the hope of this faith.' Calv.: '*Dormire per Christum* est retinere in morte conjunctionem quam habemus cum Christo: nam qui fide in Christum inserti sunt, mortem cum eo communem habent, ut sint, vitæ socii.' '*To sleep by Christ* is to retain in death the union which we have with Christ: for they who by faith are engrafted into Christ have their death in common with him, that they may be partners in his life.' Musc.: 'Fideles per Christum moriuntur, dum propter illum ab impiis hujus seculi tyrannis occiduntur.' 'The faithful die through Christ, when on his account they are slain by the impious tyrants of this world.' [The same view is given by Aret. *propter*; Hamm. *through*, which he paraphrases by 'for the testimony, or by occasion of the faith of Christ;' Tillotson *for Jesus' sake*. Lünem. cites also Salmeron and Jos. Mede, but justly objects, that such a special reference to martyrs is unsuitable to the apostle's immediate object, and is not sustained by anything in these two Epistles]. Cocc. combines Calv. and Musc.: '*Per Jesum*, h. e. qui in communione Jesu mortui sunt, et quibus causa moriendi fuit gratia Christi et ipsius communio.' '*Through Jesus*; that is, those who have died in the fellowship of Jesus, and the cause of whose death was the grace of Christ and communion with him.'), Baumg. (*as Germ.*; but hesitates between the sense of Calv. and that of Musc.), Scott, Barn., Kenr., (*as Hamm.*; but with various explanations. Thus, Scott: 'Death was become only a sleep *through Jesus*'—an unsatisfactory suggestion of Mich., but adopted also by Barn.: '*In Jesus*—or *through* [διὰ] him; that is, his death and resurrection are the cause of their quiet and calm repose.' Kenr.'s note is: 'in faith and grace.'). 3. The connection of διὰ τ. 'I. with ἕξει (*constructio prægnans*—'God will raise from the dead by Jesus, and then bring, &c.') is allowed by Œcum., Musc., Turret., Dodd., &c., and adopted by Dt. *marg.* (*door*), Fr. S. (*par le moyen de*);—Fab., Storr, Ros., Pelt, Schott, (*per*) B. and L. (*par*), Bens., Guyse ('through the power of the death, and the virtue of the resurrection of Jesus'), Moldenh., Flatt, Gerl., Olsh., De W., Lünem., Koch, (*durch*), Wakef., Newc., Conyb., (*as above*), Thom. (*by the agency of*), Bloomf., Murd. and Turb. (*by*);—Wahl, Rob. E. V. and G. follow Bez. and Pagn.

Is there not more of the shew than of the reality of learning in this intricate web of references?

The Guide of the Perplexed (Moré Nebuchim), a Theological and Philosophical Treatise. By MOSES BEN MAIMON (MAIMONIDES). Published for the first time in the original Arabian, accompanied by a French Translation, and by Critical, Literary, and Explanatory Notes, by S. MUNK. Vol. I. Paris. 1856. Frank.^a

WE announced some time ago the publication of a French translation of this important work of Maimonides by M. Munk. Mr. H. Guedalla,

^a For this valuable review we are indebted to the *Jewish Chronicle*.—Ed. J. S. L.

now at Paris, has favoured us with a notice of this version, which we insert :—

This translation, which is dedicated to Baron and Baroness James de Rothschild, has excited a good deal of attention in the theological world of France. I shall now proceed to translate copiously from the notes and preface, previously to giving your readers some extracts from this valuable work.

The translation of the Arabian title presents some difficulties; it signifies: Indication, or Guide, to those who are in perplexity, in trouble, or in indecision, and the author himself explains in the introduction why he has chosen this title. It will be perceived that it would be difficult to give a translation of it which fulfilled at once the condition of being perfectly exact and that of the clearness and concision which a title requires. The translation which would come nearest to the literal meaning would be that of guide to the perplexed, or guide of the wavering, but that would appear pretentious, and would not present at first sight a clear idea. The Hebrew translation is entitled *Moré Neboukhim*, and this title, perfectly conformable to the Arabian title, presents the same difficulties. The biblical word, *Neboukhim* (*Exod. xiv. 3*), has been translated sometimes by embarrassed or entangled, sometimes by perplexed (*Vulg., Coarctati*). Owing to this double sense the title has been translated in different ways. Buxtorf has rendered it as *Doctor Perplexorum*, which, as far as regards the first word, is not correct; *Moré* signifies here Ductor or Indicator. The ancient Latin version, published at Paris in 1520, has for its title, *Dux seu Director Dubitantium aut Perplexorum*. Raymond Martin, in the *Pugio Fidei*, quotes the work of Maimonides under the title of *Director Neutrorum*. Paul de Burgos, in the *Scrutinum Scripturarum*, gives the title of *Directio Perplexorum*, which is the most exact; and Alphonse De Spina, in the *Fortalitium Fidei*, calls the work *Demonstrator Errantium* (*Cf. Wolf, Biblioth. Hebræ, t. iii., p. 779*). Lastly, Ladvocal, in his *Historical Dictionary*, under the article "*Maimonides*," translates, "The Doctor of those who Waver."

These various translations, to which might be added several others, prove the difficulty which exists in reproducing the original title, by translation, in a manner at once concise and entirely correct. The title which is above adopted has been for a long time accepted and generally used amongst the European Jews, particularly in Germany, and could not be thrown off without exposing the translator to a charge of pedantry. The German translation of the third part, by M. Scheyer, bears the title of *Zurechtweisung der Verirrten*, and in France, also, the title of *Guide of the Perplexed* has been adopted already in several works, and expressly in the excellent article which M. Frank has consecrated to Maimonides (see *Dictionary of Philosophical Sciences, t. iv., p. 81*). This title has likewise the advantage of concision, and that of presenting to the reader a precise idea, and of words which blend together in a natural manner. It is only necessary to warn that by perplexed must be understood, those who do not know how to find the

true path in the interpretation of Holy Writ,—hesitate between the literal meaning, which wars sometimes with reason, and the allegorical sense which religious faith appears to censure. The author aims to indicate to those the path, and to relieve them from their perplexity. In conclusion, the word perplexed does not vary too much from that which is employed in the original; which signifies also sometimes to wander, to perplex oneself; and, as an example, the planets, in Arabic, wandering stars. Herbelot (*Biblioth. Orient.*, p. 538), has translated the Arabian title of Maimonides' work by, *Guide of those who are taken from the right line*, which is conformable to the title of *Guide to the Perplexed*.

The *Moré Neboukhim* is sufficiently known and appreciated. Its importance to biblical theology is generally recognized, and likewise its richness in facts connected with the history of the philosophy of the middle ages, particularly as relates to the Arabians. None of the questions which interest the theologian are passed over silently; and although the solution of them is based generally upon metaphysics, which have had their day, yet they frequently offer us features of light which can still, at the present time, guide our researches and serve us as a torch to penetrate into obscure regions, which, for the human mind, are enveloped in mystery. As the original founder of a rational theology, in which philosophical thought maintains all its privileges, Maimonides exercised over his co-religionists a decisive influence, the effects of which are still felt at the present time; and the principles which he has laid down, eagerly embraced on one side and passionately resisted by the other, have given rise to a contest in which human reason has come off victorious, after having effected between faith and thought that reconciliation which the great genius of Maimonides, outstripping ages, had intended as the most noble aim of all his efforts. But the high reputation of this illustrious man was not limited to the synagogue, but his incontestably superior mind found appreciation amongst the learned men of all faiths. Learned Musselmans did not disdain a perusal of the *Guide*, and one of them has even written a commentary of certain parts, in which he eulogizes the author most highly. In Egypt, where Maimonides resided, the Coptic theologians studied his work, and rendered it accessible to their community by copies which they made of it in Arabian characters. The Hebrew version of Samuel Ibn Tibbon has gone through many editions, most of which are very faulty, and can, in truth, only be called a faint outline of the original Arabian. The first part of the *Guide* is consecrated entirely to preliminary questions, and serves to prepare the reader for a solution of the great theological and philosophical questions treated in the two other parts. - The author explains at first a certain number of homonymy words which are found in Holy Writ, shews the different meanings, and forcibly insists on the figurative sense which must be attributed to them when they are applied to God; he adds also general observations on theological studies, and on the manner in which one ought to prepare oneself for them. Arriving, then, at the

question of divine attributes, he shews that all attributes of God must be removed [remote] from the mind, and he shews in what sense the different terms employed as attributes must be understood.

Munk's translation into French is an extraordinary production. One cannot but be lost in admiration of his patience and perseverance, as shortly after the commencement of his labour he became entirely blind.

The following is a summary of the first part:—It contains seventy-six chapters; introduction; letter of the author to his disciple. Aim of the work: 1st. Explanation of the metaphysical words which are found in the prophets. 2nd. Explanation of the allegories which are made use of by the prophets; some men are more fit than others to understand divine mysteries; why these mysteries have been presented under the form of allegories; different kinds of allegories. Recommendation to the reader of this work: It is not sufficient to take the ensemble of each chapter, but one must seek to be master of all the details, so that, by combining together the different chapters, the connection may be understood. Preliminary observation: The contradictions which are met with in several works proceed from seven different causes.

1. Explanation of the Hebrew word *celem* (image) and *demouth* (resemblance); what signify these words in Holy Writ, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.

2. Primitive state of man; in what consisted his fall.

3. Meaning of the words *tabnith* (structure) and *temouna* (figure); this last is only applied allegorically to God.

4. Meaning of the three verbs *raa*, *hibbit*, and *'haza* (which signify to see) applied allegorically to intellectual perception and to God.

5. End of this explanation. One must be prepared by preliminary studies for the perception of intelligible things, and particularly of God. Defective perception of the nobles of the children of Israel (Ex. xxiv. 11), who were not sufficiently prepared.

6. Homonymy of the words *Isch* and *Ischa*, which signify man and woman, and which point out also things destined to be joined together (allusion to the form and to the matter).

7. Explanation of the word *yalad* (to bring forth); which is employed metaphorically in the sense of instructing.

8. Of the word *makom*, which signifies place, and which is also taken in the meaning of rank or degree. Sense of this word when it is applied to God.

9. Of the word *kisse* (throne); what is to be understood by the throne of God.

10. Of the verbs *yarad* (descend) and *'ala* (ascend), applied metaphysically to God and to human intelligence.

11. Of the word *yaschab* (to be seated, reside), applied to God.

12. Of the verb *koum* (to be standing up, to arise).

13. Of the verb *'amad* (to be standing up, to be upright).

14. Homonymy of the word *adam* (man).

15. Of the word *naçab* or *yaçob* (to be stable).

16. Of the word *sur* (rock); employed in the sense of the origin of things.

17. The physical subjects, and the science of fundamental truths, have been, as well as those of metaphysics, presented by metaphors.

18. Of the verbs *karab*, *naga*, and *nagash* (to come near, to touch), expressing figuratively a union by means of science and of perception.

19. Of the verb *malé* (to fill) applied to divine glory.

20. Of the verbs *ram* et *nissa* (to be raised), applied to God.

21. Of the verb *abar* (to pass). Explanation of the words, And the Eternal passed before him.
22. Of the verb *ba* (to come, to enter), applied to the manifestation of majesty, or of the Divine Word.
23. Of the verbs *yaça* (to come forth) and *schoub* (to return), applied to God.
24. Of the verb *halakh* (to march, to depart) applied to the diffusion of the Divine Word, or to the retreat of Providence.
25. Of the word *schackhan* (to live, to reside), applied to majesty, or to Divine Providence.
26. In what sense movement has been attributed to God.
27. Of the circumlocutions employed by Onkelos to avoid the anthropomorphisms relative to movement.
28. Homonymy of the word *reghel* (foot). Explanation of the words, And under his feet there was like a work of the lustre of the sapphire.
29. Of the verb *açab* (to be angry). Explanation of the words, And the Eternal was angry in his heart.
30. Of the verb *akhal* (to eat), applied to intellectual nourishment, or to science, and to the perception of intelligible things.
31. On the faculty which man possesses of perceiving intelligible things, and on the limits of this faculty.
32. Comparison between the faculty of intelligence and that of the senses; intelligence, as well as the senses, grows dull by too great efforts.
33. Studies must not be commenced by the highest mysteries of theology. One must always speak to the mass by images, and even the superior intellects should only enter into metaphysics after preparatory studies.
34. Of the five causes which prevent men entering straightly into metaphysical studies.
35. Even the mass should not be kept ignorant of the fact that God is incorporeal and exempt from passions.
36. What must be understood by "pleasing God," irritating his anger, etc. The expressions of anger, passion, jealousy and enemy of God, are only employed when speaking of idolatry.
37. Homonymy of the word *panim* (face); what must be understood by face of God, and particularly by these words, And the Eternal spoke to Moses face to face.
38. Homonymy of the word *a'hor* (back); what must be understood by the words:
39. Homonymy of the word *leb* (heart).
40. Homonymy of the word *roua'h* (spirit).
41. Homonymy of the word *néphech* (the vital and rational soul).
42. Of the word *'hay* (living, life). Figuratively this word expresses science.
43. Of the word *canaph* (wing). This word also expresses that which is hidden.
44. Homonymy of the word *'ain* (eye). Applied to God, it expresses Divine Providence.
45. Of the word *schama'* (hear, listen, understand). Applied to God, it signifies to hear favourably, to gather.
46. End of the explanation of the words *'ain* and *schama'*, and general observations on the organs of the human body metaphorically attributed to God to indicate his perfection.
47. Why hearing, sight and smell have been attributed to God, and not taste or touch, why thought and not imagination.
48. On the manner in which Onkelos renders the word to hear and to see applied to God.
49. The angels are of pure spirits; their perceptions and their faculties.
50. Belief ought to be based upon conception, it ought not only to be a simple profession of faith, but a hearty opinion. One must imagine God stripped of all kinds of positive attributes.
51. Necessity of discarding from God attributes in order not to fall into manifest contradictions.

52. Affirmative attributes are of five kinds; definition, part of definition, quality, relation, action.

53. The figurative expressions of the prophets have given rise to the belief in attributes; there are no essential attributes of God, one must only give him the attributes of action.

54. Explanation of some passages of the Pentateuch, where the perception of Divine essence and the attributes of God are spoken of in an allegorical manner. It is by allegory that certain attributes are given to him, borrowed from actions which amongst mortals proceed from affections of the soul.

55. All that which tends to corporality, passion, change, privation, or to assimilate to creatures must be removed from God.

56. Of the non-admissibility of assimilation, and of the essential attributes.

57. Even existence, unity, and eternity must not be admitted as attributes of God.

58. Only negative attributes must be given to God.

59. The more negative attributes are admitted, the nearer a knowledge of God is approached. Affirmative attributes border on attributing imperfections to God.

60. Examples to shew clearer the necessity of giving to God negative attributes. Danger of affirmative attributes, which border on making God a being of pure imagination or a non-being.

61. Considerations on the names of God which are found in Holy Writ. They are generally derived from divine actions, with the exception of the name Tetragrammata.

62. Of this name in particular, and of two others mentioned in the Talmud, and which are composed, the one of twelve letters, and the other of forty-two letters.

63. Of the name of Ehye (I am who I am), and of some other names, such as Yah, Schaddai, 'Hasin, Sur.

64. Of the meaning of the words schem (name) and cabod (glory).

65. What must be understood by "the word," attributed to God.

66. What must be understood by "writing," attributed to God.

67. What must be understood by "rest," attributed to God.

68. Explanation of the proposition of philosophers who say that God is the intellect, intelligence, and the intelligible.

69. In what sense the philosophers call God the primary cause.

70. Explanation of the verb rakhab (to ride) applied to God as the first author, or as the moving and essential cause of the universe.

71. On the origin of the calam, or of rational theology, amongst the Mussulmen, and what the Jews have borrowed from it. Defect of this system, which denies the laws of nature, and which is powerless in demonstrating the four fundamental dogmas of religion, to wit, the existence, the unity, and the incorporeality of God, and the creation ex nihilo.

72. Glance at being, or nature in general. Comparison between the ensemble of the universe and the human individual.

73. The twelve fundamental propositions of the system of the Motecallemin, or partizans of the calam.

74. The seven methods employed by the Motecallemin to shew the creation of the world, and subsequently the existence of God.

75. The five methods by which they shew the unity of God.

76. The three methods by which they shew the incorporeality of God.

I shall now proceed to translate one of the chapters, and hope that we shall soon see the work translated by abler hands.

CHAP. I.

"Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in."—Isaiah xxvi. 27.

Célem and Demouth. There are some who believe that Célem, in the Hebrew language, designates the figure of a thing and its lineaments, and this has led to the pure corporality (of God), for it is said

(in Writ), "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" (Gen. i. 26). They believed then that God had the form of a man, that is to say, his figure and his lineaments, and the result to them was the pure corporality which they admitted as belief, thinking that if they discarded this belief they would deny the text (of Writ), or even that they would deny the existence of God if he was not (for them) a body having a face and hands similar to theirs in form and in lineaments; only they admitted that he was grander and more resplendent than they, and that his matter was not blood and flesh, and this is all that they could conceive of the most sublime as related to God.

Note of Munk's.—"It will scarcely be credited that the Jewish doctors could have fallen into such an extravagance, had we not the positive assurance of Maimonides, as well as that of his son Abraham and of several of his contemporaries, who were obliged to take up the defence of Maimonides against the attacks of several Talmudists, and particularly against some of the French rabbins, who considered it a duty to take to the very letter the anthropomorphisms of the Bible. We content ourselves by quoting on this head the assertion, beyond suspicion of a rude adversary of Maimonides, Rabbi Abraham ben David de Posquieres, in his critical notes on the *Mischne Torah*, or Abridgment of the Talmud (Book 1, Treatise 'Teshubah,' or Penitence, chap. iii., s. 7). Maimonides having reckoned amongst the number of heretics (סורס) him who admits the corporality of God, Rabbi Abraham asks, 'Why does he call him an heretic, since greater and better men than himself (Maimonides) have followed this opinion according to what they had seen in the texts of Writ, and still more in the Haggadoth which troubled the thought?' As to what ought to be said to remove corporality and establish true unity, which has only reality by the exclusion of corporality, you will learn the demonstration of all that by the present treatise. Here, in this chapter, it is desired only to draw attention to the explanation of the meaning of Célem and of Demouth. I say that the form such as it is generally known in the vulgar sense (I wish to express the form of the thing and its lineaments) bears in the Hebrew language the particular name of צֶלֶם. It is said for instance, Gen. xxxix., goodly person and well favoured: 1 Sam. xxviii. 14, What form is he of? Judges xiii. 18, As the form of the sons of the king. It has been said, in speaking of the artificial form, 'He stretches out his rule, he marketh out with a line' (Isaiah xlv. 13). Here is a denomination which is never applied to the Most High—far from us be such a thought."

As to Célem, it is applied to the natural form, I mean that which constitutes the substance of the thing, by which it becomes what it is, and which forms its reality, in as far as it is such being. In man this something is that from which proceeds human comprehension, and it is on account of this intellectual comprehension that it has been said of him: He created him after the image of God (Gen. i. 26). It is for that it has also been said (in speaking of the impious): Thou shalt despise their image (Psalm lxxiii. 20); for the contempt reaches the soul, which is the specific form of a human being, and not the forms of the members and their lineaments. I say also that the reason why the idols were called Celamin was, that which was looked for in them was something which was falsely imputed to them; but it was not for their form and their lineaments. I will say, also, the same thing on the subject of the words, The images of your Téhorim (emerods) (1 Sam. vi. 5); for what was sought for there was the way of removing the evil of the Téhorim, and that was not the form of the Téhorim. If, however, we must absolutely admit that the name of Célem, applied to

the images of the Téhorim and to idols, related to the form and to the lineaments, this name would be either homonymous or amphibological, and would be applied not only to the specific form, but also to the artificial form, as well as to analogous forms of the physical bodies, and to their lineaments. By the words, Let us make man in our image, it, was intended to convey the specific form, that is to say, of the intellectual comprehension, and not of the form and of the lineament. Therefore we have explained the difference there is between Célem (form) and Toar (figure), and we have also explained the meaning of Célem.

Demouth is a name derived from Demah (to resemble) and which indicates likewise a resemblance in regard to some idea; for the words of the Psalmist, I am like a pelican of the wilderness (Psalm cii. 6), do not signify that he resembled it as regarded wing and plumage, but that the sadness of the one resembled the sadness of the other. Likewise in this passage, Any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty (Ezek. xxxi. 8), it relates to a resemblance in regard to the idea of beauty; likewise in these passages, Their poison is like the poison of a serpent (Psalm lviii. 4); Like as a lion that is greedy of his prey (Psalm xvii. 12). All these passages indicate a resemblance in regard to a certain idea, and not in regard to the figure and to the lineaments. Also, the likeness of the throne (Ezek. i. 26) is a likeness in regard to the idea of elevation and of majesty, and not in regard to the square form, the thickness or the length of the feet, as weak minds believe it, and it is the same with the "likeness" of the animals mentioned in Ezek. i. 13. As man is distinguished by something very remarkable which is in him, and which is not in any of the beings below the sphere of the moon, that is to say, by intellectual comprehension, for which neither sense, hands, or arms are employed, it has been compared to divine comprehension, which does not become so by means of an instrument, since the resemblance does not exist in reality, but only at the first brunt. And for this thing I wish to say, on account of the divine intellect which is joined to man,^b it has been said of the latter, that he was made after the image of God and his likeness, and that does not mean that the Most High is a body having any form.

CHAP. III.

It is believed that the meaning of temouna and of tabnith in the Hebrew language is the same, but it is not so. Tabnith is a name derived from *בנין* (to build) and signifies the building of a thing and its structure. I mean its form, as for example, the square form, circular, triangular, etc. It is said, for example (Exod. xxv. 9), The pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof; and it is said further (Exod. xxv. 40), After their pattern which was shewn

^b The author here makes allusion to what the Arabian philosophers call "conjunction," or the union of active intellect with passive intellect. This subject is explained in several parts of this work, (See chapter 58, part II., chapter 4, part III., chapter 51, and other places.)

in the mount; The likeness of any winged fowl (Deut. iv. 17); The form of a hand (Ezek. viii. 3); The pattern of a porch. All this is a visible form; therefore the Hebrew language does not employ in any way these modes of expression in the descriptions which relate to God.

As to *temouna* it is a name which is used by amphibology in three different senses. Firstly, of the form of an object perceived by the senses independently of the mind, I mean of its figure and its lineaments, and in this sense are the words (Deut. iv. 25), And make a graven image, or the likeness of anything (Deut. v. 15). Secondly, it is said of the imaginary form which an object, after disappearing from the senses, leaves in the imagination, as in this passage, In thoughts from the visions of the night (Job iv. 13, and following verses), which end by these words, He stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof; an image was before mine eyes; that is to say, there was a phantom before my eyes whilst I was sleeping. Thirdly, it is said of the true idea of a thing perceived by intelligence, and it is in this third sense that *temouna* is used in speaking of God; for example, the similitude (*temouna*) of the Eternal (Num. xii. 8), which must be explained in this sense, And he understands God in his reality.

CHAP. IV.

Learn that the three verbs, *raa* (ראה), *hibbet* (היבית), and *'haza* (הזה), are applied to the sight of the eye; but they are applied, metaphorically, all the three, for the perception of intelligence. For *raa*, that is known to everybody. It is said, for example, And he looked, and beheld a well in the field (Gen. xxix. 2); there it relates to the sight of the eye, but in these words, My heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge (Eccles. i. 16), it relates to an intellectual perception. It is in this metaphorical sense that the verb *raa* must be taken every time it is applied to God, as for example, in these passages: I saw the Lord (1 Kings xxii. 19); And the Lord appeared unto him (Gen. xviii. 1); And God saw it was good (Gen. i., *passim*); Shew me thy glory (Exod. xxxiii. 18); and they saw the God of Israel (Exod. xxiv. 10); all these relate to an intellectual perception, and not to the sight of the eye; for the eyes only perceive what is body, and only from a certain side, and with that some of the components of the body, as its colour, its geometrical figure, etc., etc. God, on his part, does not perceive by means of an instrument, as will be explained in a future chapter. *Hibbet* is likewise employed in the sense of, to regard a thing with the eye; for example, Look not behind thee (Gen. xix. 17); But his wife looked back from behind him (Gen. xix. 26); And if one look unto the land (Isa. v. 30). But it is applied metaphorically for the regard of the mind, attacking the consideration of a thing to understand it, as in this passage, He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob (Num. xxiii. 21), as iniquity is not seen with the eye. It is also the same with these words, And they looked after Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 8), for, according to what the rabbins say, they would express the same idea, and they would declare that they (the Israelites) spied

his acts and his words, and they examined them.* The words, Look now towards heaven (Gen. xv. 5), have also the same meaning, for all that is passed in a prophetic vision. And in general the verb Hibbit (to regard) has this metaphorical sense when it is applied to God; for example, To look upon God (Exod. iii. 6); And the similitude of the Lord shall he behold (Num. xii. 8); And canst not look on iniquity (Hab. i. 13). 'Haza is applied also to the sight of the eye; for example, And let our eye look upon Zion (Micah iv. 11); and it is employed metaphorically for the perception of the heart; for example, Which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem (Isa. i. 1); The word of the Lord came to Abraham in a vision (Gen. xv. 1); and according to this metaphor it has been said, They saw God (Exod. xxiv. 11). Ponder well on all that.

The Glory of the Only-Begotten of the Father seen in the Manhood of Christ. Being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1856. By the Rev. HARVEY GOODWIN, M.A., late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, and Minister of St. Edward's, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856. 8vo. pp. xi., 218.

MR. GOODWIN has proposed in these Lectures to call attention to the study of our Saviour's human life considered in its bearing on Christian evidences. In the opening of the last lecture he makes some remarks intended to shew what this bearing is. He says:—

“In carrying out this design, it has been necessary to lay stress upon the true humanity, as much as on the true divinity of our Lord; and because it may possibly appear to some, that the assertion of our Lord's humanity is in these days unnecessary, therefore I will here remark by the way, that although the Docetic view of our Lord's being is now probably held by none, that is although none could be found who would accept the gospels as historical documents, and then endeavour to explain away such portions of them as the death of Christ by the supposition of the death being in appearance only, thus saving, as they would imagine, the honour of Christ at the expense of the verity of his manhood; still the greater part of the modern opposition to the truth of the gospel does resolve itself into something of a similar kind. It may be said that in ancient times the historical Christ was granted, and the task was to explain the history so as to make it suit the character of the Christ whom the Gnostics had imagined for themselves; in our own times the task has been

* That is to say, they criticised them, and judged them with malevolence. The author alludes to several passages of the Talmud and Medraschim. Thus, for example, the Talmud of Jerusalem (Biccourim, chap. iii., and Schekalim, chap. v.) speaks of two rabbins, one of whom had explained the passage in question in a sense of eulogium and the other in a sense of censure; according to the latter the Israelites said, in speaking of the embonpoint of Moses, Look at his thighs, look at his legs; he eats of that which belongs to the Jews, he drinks of that which belongs to the Jews; all that which he has comes from the Jews. See also Midrasch Tan 'houma, section Ki tesah (edition of Verona, fol. 40d); Schemoth Rabba, sect. li.; Talmud of Babylon, Kiddouschin, fol. 33b. There were some of them, says the Talmud elsewhere, who went so far as to suspect him of adultery. See Senhedrin, fol. 110a.

equally that of explaining alleged phenomena so as to make them suit the character of an imaginary Christ. In either case a phantom has been substituted for the reality; and in both, the historical Christ of the gospel has been set aside instead of being dutifully and reverentially contemplated as the *image of the invisible God*, and the *mediator between God and man*. This is the reason why so great stress has been laid in these lectures on the indications of genuine human nature which the history of our Lord Jesus Christ affords."

And Mr. Goodwin hopes that "this line of argument may be useful . . . as leading to a point of view for the contemplation of the gospels which may be useful to those whose minds may unhappily have been disturbed by the current scepticism of the day."

Mr. Goodwin has not however put his discussion in the form of an argument, and we confess it is not clear to us what his line of argument is as against those who reject the gospels as historical documents, nor what new point of view he has indicated for the contemplation of the gospels. In the illustration of his subject, Mr. Goodwin has selected some particular points in our Lord's history for the sake of shewing that they exhibit the features of true humanity, while they also enable us to detect the inherent divinity of our Lord; and on these subjects he has often spoken in a manner which was likely to interest and edify a popular audience. He considers "Christ as a child and as a boy;" "Christ praying;" "In his human sympathy;" with his human friends in "his teaching;" "Christ dying and preparing for his death;" and lastly, "Christ's eternal manhood and our completeness in him."

On the first of these subjects Mr. Goodwin says very truly, that "the predominating character of the history is purely human, the instinct of our own human heart tells us as we read, that we are perusing the tale of the childhood of one who was of the same nature and blood with ourselves;" yet he says, "Is there not at the same time a constant semblance of a divine element, so mingled with the human that it cannot be separated, manifestly not a mere addition, but a part of the original picture?" In proof of the latter, he instances the adoration of the shepherds; the prophetic inspirations which attended his presentation in the temple; the reference to his Father when in the presence of the doctors; and hence concludes that St. Luke's portrait preserves the perfect lines of a human countenance, and at the same time the indications of a divine glory: it thoroughly realizes the idea of the stooping to human infirmity of One who thought it no robbery to be equal with God." This language is surely too strong. St. Luke states the divine origin of the Saviour, and the high honours paid him at his entrance on human life are indications *ab extra* that he was a most important personage, but they were not glories exhibited in his own person. As far as his natural powers are concerned, they are represented as those of a human child and youth; and this, as Mr. Goodwin has intimated, constitutes a marked distinction between the records of our Saviour and the legends connected with all mythic heroes. The child Jesus did not strangle a dragon in his cradle. He did not, like Krishna, "evince his divine character by unruly pranks

of surprising strength," as Mr. Hardwick relates of that hero. The glimpse we have of his youth in the temple, and his answer to his parents, shew that his thoughts and heart were set upon divine things, but surely St. Luke did not intend to exhibit these as marks of deity.

On the subject of "Christ praying," Mr. Goodwin has made some very forcible remarks on the nature of prayer, and on the fact that the prayers of Christ were the genuine utterances of a human heart. We do not feel the difficulty however to which Mr. Goodwin refers, of reconciling the idea of Christ praying with our knowledge of his divine nature. As the Son of Man, Christ was subjected to human wants, and, indeed, identified himself as to these with the whole race of men. And, since prayer is the chief means of communion with God, the chief source of spiritual strength and the key of God's treasury, it was essential to the moral nature of Christ that he should be as eminent in this as in other attributes of a good man. It was our Saviour's *godliness* which shone forth in his constant and fervent prayers. In that remarkable effusion contained in John xvii., we allow with Mr. Goodwin that there is something much more than ordinary prayer. In fact, it is a part of a discourse in which the Saviour anticipated the new phase in his being which was shortly to be developed,—where instead of continuing to address his disciples personally, he turns by an *apostrophe* to his Father, but still virtually setting before their minds the same class of ideas which the former part of his discourse had expressed. And there, as Bengel has remarked, the Saviour no longer speaks of himself as the Son of Man.

We are convinced, however, that throughout these discourses Mr. Goodwin's idea is not sufficiently definite as to what is meant in his first text, and should have been meant in his motto, by the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father which his disciples beheld on earth. The glory which the Son of Man exhibited to them was not the *majesty* of deity, it was the moral beauty, the brightness of the divine nature, and this shone forth in the Son of Man in all its fulness. It is the harmonious union of these two things in the history of Christ; his absolute manhood, and the perfect manifestation of the divine moral nature in that manhood, which makes the great contrast with everything legendary which the world has ever known, and with all the moral teaching which is alleged to have been concealed under mythic forms. We have no doubt that these discourses, as a whole, were very effective on the minds of Mr. Goodwin's hearers, if not for their argument, yet for the energetic enforcement of Christian doctrine, and for the practical bearing on the hearts and lives of the interesting congregation to which they were addressed. The last discourse especially is very solemn and powerful in this way.

An Essay on the Existence and Attributes of God. By EDWARD STEERE, LL.D. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856. 8vo. pp. 352.

THE numerous treatises which profess to answer the objections against

the divine government, and against the proofs derived from nature and revelation of God's existence and attributes, prove how numerous and how difficult of particular answer, in some cases, these objections are. But this is not a peculiarity of this question only; since it is a trite observation, that on many subjects, a fool may start a difficulty in a few minutes, which it may take a wise man many hours to explain; and, how extremely difficult is it often to satisfy the cravings of the youthful intellect, in its enquiry for the causes of some very simple phenomena? How puzzling to give solutions of children's questions as to the reasons of many mere human proceedings? The reason is very evident; the difficulty is near and obvious; its explanation is distant and recondite;—the question is simple and particular, its solution is involved in the most complicated considerations.

But whatever objections may be urged against the proofs of natural and revealed religion, the advocates and defenders of the belief of God's existence and attributes have two pleas to urge, which seem infinitely to counterbalance all. If the proofs should be ever so feeble, and the objections ever so strong, yet the alternative of incurring the displeasure, or of securing the favour of a being of almighty power, and of perfect wisdom and goodness, is so tremendous, as to convict of the greatest folly the man who is not willing to apprehend with the greatest eagerness the faintest traces of his existence, and to govern his conduct so as to please him. The other plea is the appeal to our ignorance. How difficult is it for a child to understand and to look favourably upon all the acts of even the best parent. How difficult for those ignorant of the variety of interests, and the other jarring elements in a body politic, and of their reciprocal relations and influences, to judge wisely of the acts of their rulers. And can it, then, be a wonder, if, in a universe so vast as we have reason to believe exists, many things should appear contradictory to beings like men, ignorant, in a large measure, of their own relation to the rest of the intelligent universe, and precluded, by the brevity of their existence, from observing and noting the larger cycles of God's government in time and space. Of these two pleas, Dr. Steere avails himself largely and judiciously; and the numerous references and notes prove that he has exercised a great deal of research in preparing his work. He has, however, fallen into the common fault of pleading, on one hand, that many things inexplicable in our present state are to be expected in the course of nature, and in God's dealings; and of attempting, on the other, to explain what are confessed to be the greatest of these difficulties. This is inconsistent.

The work is written in a spirit which tries to conciliate, and to persuade objectors to weigh well the alternative of belief and unbelief, and to make a due allowance for their limited opportunities of judging of the whole of God's government; and this feature, as well as its unpretending tone, recommend it to notice.

A Plea for an Edition of the Authorized Version of Holy Scripture: with Explanatory and Emendatory Marginal Readings, being the substance of a Speech, addressed, on the 6th of January, 1857, in support of a Resolution on the above subject, to the General Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Right Rev. and Right Hon. the Bishop of London in the Chair. By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D., Perpetual Curate of Roehampton. Published by request. London: Rivingtons. 1857. 8vo. pp. 24.

THIS pamphlet is well worth reading, as exhibiting the view taken of biblical revision by the more intelligent clergy of the Church of England. Although it does not appear likely that Dr. Biber will accomplish his object as a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, there can be no doubt that the discussion of the question in that quarter, and the publication of this plea, will do good. Dr. Biber's resolutions will be found among our *Intelligence*, and we shall now only give an extract or two from the pamphlet:—

“ On such occasions as the present, when we are called upon to deliberate upon the course of action to be adopted by us with regard to great movements which are in progress, the tide of which we cannot arrest, though we may be successful, by the divine blessing upon our efforts, in so directing their current, that their effect may be not to devastate, but to fertilize,—on such occasions, I say, it becomes us, not to rest content with viewing things around us as they appear within the narrow horizon of our own day and generation, with its every-day life, and its present and temporary interests. It behoves us to ascend to some more elevated point, to survey a more extensive portion of the history of the Church and of the world; to ask ourselves what will be, upon whichever decision we may arrive at, the verdict of posterity. Let us for a moment transfer ourselves in imagination to the year 1957, or the year 2057,—if, indeed, which many signs of the present time seem to render doubtful, the world shall last long enough to write either of those dates:—what account will the future Church historian give of the present movement for increased means of access to that improved knowledge of the sense of Holy Scripture, which the labours and the researches of biblical scholars during a century and a half have brought to light, and of the conduct of the Church of England, and of this Society as her organ for the promotion of Christian knowledge, in regard to that movement? Will the future Church historian be enabled approvingly to record the fact that this Society, discerning the signs of the times, alive to the requirements made upon the Church by an active spirit of enquiry awakened in men's minds, stepped forward to supply the want of the age; that by doing so, it averted the danger which at one time was imminent, of men's faith being unsettled by doubts thrown upon the text-book to which alone they could have recourse to ascertain the foundations of that faith,—that by giving additional facilities for the study of the sacred volume, it gave a fresh impulse and a powerful encouragement to that study, and thus most effectually promoted the knowledge of God's Word, and the cause of true religion? Or, will he have to record with sorrowful pen, that although called upon by the requirements, unmistakably manifested, of the age, and expressly invited to do so, this Society refused to take the necessary steps for meeting those requirements, left the unlearned members of the Church at the mercy of an endless diversity of private interpretations of the original text of Holy Writ, and so contributed largely to that confusion and uncertainty of religious belief, to that increase of scepticism and infidelity, the natural result of which was the decline of true religion,—possibly the removal from its place of the candlestick of a Church which, when her children cried to her for bread, stopped her ears against their cry, refusing to them that guidance which they had a right to look for at her hands, amidst the doubts and difficulties arising from the incessant conflict of unauthoritative teaching? ”

The Bible Student's Guide to the more correct understanding of the English Translation of the Old Testament, by reference to the Original Hebrew: By an alphabetical arrangement of every English word used in the Authorized Version, the corresponding Hebrew may at once be ascertained, with its peculiar signification and construction. By the Rev. W. WILSON, D.D., Canon of Winchester. London: Wertheim and Co. 1850. 4to. pp. 616.

ALTHOUGH this work was noticed in a former series of this Journal, we think it will be of service to introduce it afresh to our readers at the present time, when so much attention is given to the literary qualities of the English Bible. The learned author says of the design:—

“ It was commenced for the purpose of carrying out the benefit of Taylor's *Concordance*, in illustrating the precise meaning of Hebrew words; to be a kind of manual of consultation when longer time could not be spared for further investigation. The force of an English word could not be depended on for giving a correct and precise meaning to it in any explanation of Scripture. It was felt also, that many Hebrew words are rendered by the same English word; which, being in a certain degree synonymous, yet require a distinction of meaning according to their use in the original, and sometimes a fair and suitable meaning may be assigned to an expression viewed only in the English translation, as Cruden has done in his *Concordance*, which is not borne out by the original, or may even be found contrary to it: so that deductions drawn from that meaning must be altogether unwarranted, or absolutely erroneous. Taylor's illustrations of the meaning of the original are frequently very striking, and the explication of certain phrases very happy. The author had collected these under the corresponding English words, when it occurred to him that the undertaking might be made useful to others, and improved by consulting other works, especially philological, such as the late editions of Gesenius's *Lexicon*, etc.”

The English student, then, will be able to find in every case what Hebrew word corresponds with the English ones in the Hebrew Bible, and to ascertain the uniformity, or the contrary, with which the translators rendered such word into our tongue. But the volume does far more than this: it presents a very excellent lexicon, with a great deal of philological and exegetical matter. A short extract may be given as a specimen of this portion of the work.

“ *Die, dead.* 1. נָפַח to breathe out one's life, to expire, to die, to perish; Gr., ἐκλείπειν , *Comp.* fail, Luke xvi. 9; of men and of brutes; it is used also of a violent death, Num xvii. 12; xx. 3. The LXX. have rendered this word twice by τελευτᾶν , twice by ἀποθνήσκειν , six times by ἀπολείπειν ; it would seem therefore to apply more generally to a gentle death.—2. נָסַח , to die, to be slain, to make to die.—3. נָפַח , *f.* see carcase.—4. נָפַח , to fall.—5. נָפַח , *com.*, the animal life: it is used in a singular manner to signify a dead animal body; but as in some places where this word is translated body the adjective is joined, it may in other instances be understood.—6. נָפַח , *m.*, carcase, dead body.—7. נָפַח , *m. p.*, giants; the illustrious dead of past times in Hades, supposed to be within the earth.—8. נָפַח , to lay waste, to destroy.”

We feel this is a very bald exhibition of Dr. Wilson's elaborate performance, for by a simple mode of reference it is shewn in what texts of the English Bible the above eight words are used for the

verb to *die*, or the adjective *dead*. Other important critical helps are afforded, and the whole is exhibited with the clearness which perspicuous arrangement and exquisite typography can give to it.

YAHVEH CHRIST, or the *Memorial Name*. By Alex. Mac Whorter, Yale University. With Introductory Letter, by Nathaniel W. Tayler, D.D., Dwight Professor of Theology, Yale Theological Seminary. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. London: Lowe and Co. 1857. 12mo. pp. 190.

THE mysterious name by which God was pleased to make himself known to his ancient people, has always excited the researches of Christians, both as to its pronunciation and its meaning. Although we cannot say we expect anything novel can be discovered in theology, we yet confess that this little volume is well worthy the notice of all students of the Holy Scriptures. It will amply repay a careful reading, and will confer benefit even if its theory is not acquiesced in. What the theory is, will appear from a short paragraph from the Preface.

"The name Jehovah is the grand central fact upon which the discussion turns. It will be shewn that this Name, having been deprived of its true vowels through a superstition of the Jews, is not 'Jehovah,' but Yahveh; that it is not properly rendered 'I am,' but *HE WHO WILL BE*; that it is the great Messianic name of the Old Testament, and there represents the same Divine Person who afterwards appeared in the world's history under the name of Christ."

We ought to state that in this volume the theory is stated popularly, but that it is discussed in a more learned manner in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January last.

History of the Christian Church, from the election of Pope Gregory the Great to the Concordat of Worms (A.D. 590—1122). By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Vicar of Bekebourne, in the Diocese of Canterbury. London: Murray. 1856. 8vo. pp. 744.

WE mentioned with distinct approval the first volume of Mr. Robertson's Church History, which appeared a short time ago, and are glad to be able to welcome the second; including as it does those mysterious years of the life of Christianity, when the heaven seemed to move the "lump" with but lethargic influence. But just in proportion as the Church was enveloped in mists, does it become a matter of duty to search for it more earnestly, and to exhibit its features apart from the prejudices which lurk in the expression "the dark ages." Mr. Robertson has discharged this duty with commendable fidelity, and produced a volume which may be at once referred to as an authority, and read as an intensely interesting narrative. More than this general description we cannot now enter upon, but will introduce to our readers two extracts, which will give a fair example of the author's mode of

treating his subjects. The first relates to Charlemagne, and his unwearyed efforts to benefit the people :—

“Charlemagne was bent on improving the education of every class among his subjects. He urged his nobles to study, and loudly reproved those who considered their position as an excuse for negligence. The laity were required to learn the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer—in Latin if possible—with a view to bringing them within the Roman influence. Fasting and blows were sometimes denounced against those who should disobey. But it was found that the hardness of the task was regarded by many persons as even more formidable than such penalties ; and it also appeared that many of the clergy were themselves unable to teach the forms in Latin. The re-enactments and the mitigations of such rules sufficiently prove how difficult it was to carry them into execution. The clergy were charged to explain the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer to their people, and sponsors at baptism were required to prove their acquaintance with both.

“Charlemagne took great pains to improve the education of the clergy. In 769 he ordered that any clergyman who should disregard his bishop’s admonitions to learn, should be suspended or deprived. In 787 he issued a circular to all metropolitans, bishops, and abbots, complaining of the incorrect style which appeared in many letters addressed to him from monasteries. This want of skill in writing, he says, leads him to apprehend that there may be also inability to understand the language of Scripture rightly ; he therefore orders that competent masters should be established, and that study should be diligently urged on. Two years later he ordered that there should be a school in every cathedral and monastery, open not only to the servile class (from which the clergy were usually taken) but to the freeborn ; that instruction should be given in psalmody, music, *compotum*, and grammar ; and that care should be taken for the correct writing of the service-books. He employed Paul Warnefrid to compile a book of homilies from the fathers, and published it with a preface in his own name. These homilies were arranged according to the ecclesiastical seasons. It seems to have been at first intended that they should be read in Latin, the language of the Church and of the State ; and that it was a concession to national feeling, when councils of the emperor’s last year directed the clergy, in using them, to render them into a tongue intelligible to the people—“the rustic Roman” of Gaul, or the Teutonic, as might be. As the manuscripts of the Scriptures had been generally much corrupted by careless transcription, Charlemagne, with Alcuin’s assistance, provided for the multiplication of correct copies. While the pupils of the schools were employed in transcribing the less important books for churches ; none but persons of mature age were allowed to copy the gospels, the psalter, or the missal. Manuscripts were acquired for libraries from England, Italy, and Greece. Presbyters were, before ordination, to be examined as to their faith, as to their knowledge of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, of the canons, the penitential, the gospels, the homilies of the fathers, the public services, the rites of baptism and the eucharist, and their power of instructing their flocks.”

The following is an account of the way in which the sect of Paulicians was helped on by combined masculine energy and female cunning :—

“Sergius was converted to Paulicianism by a female theologian. The historians of the sect relate that this woman, having fixed on him as one whom it was desirable to gain, entered into conversation with him, and, after some compliments on his learning and character, asked him why he did not read the Scriptures. He answered that such studies were not lawful for Christians in general, but only for the clergy—an idea which Chrysostom had strongly opposed, but which since his time had become fixed in the popular belief, although without any formal authority from the Church. ‘It is not as you think,’ she rejoined, ‘for there is no acceptance of persons with God, since he will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.’ And she went on to tell him that the clergy mutilated and corrupted the Word of God, and that such of them as did miracles would be found among those

to whom Christ will say in the judgment-day, 'I never knew you.' Sergius began to read the Scriptures, and, under the tuition of his instructress, he learnt to apply to the Catholics all that is there said against the fleshly Israel, and to regard the Paulicians as the true spiritual church of Christ. He assumed the name of Tychicus, and became a new founder of the sect, which is said to have held his writings in equal veneration with the Scriptures themselves. His own morals would seem to have been unimpeachable, since Photius and Peter of Sicily can only charge him with hypocrisy: and he reformed the morality of the Paulicians, in opposition to the principles of Baanes. This led to a separation of the sect into two hostile branches; and, after the death of Sergius, his followers, wishing to clear themselves from obloquy attaching to the Baanites, fell on them, and carried on a bloody contest with them. For thirty-four years, from the reign of Irene to that of Theophilus, Sergius laboured indefatigably in the cause of Paulicianism. He is said to have indulged in unseemly boasting of his success; to have preferred himself to the earlier teachers of the party; to have styled himself the *resplendent lamp*, the *shining light*, the *life-giving star*, and even the *Paraclete*."

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia: being a Condensed Translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopædia, with additions from other sources. By the Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D.D., assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations. Part III. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 8vo. pp. 128.

THIS work proceeds steadily, and a renewed acquaintance with it makes us the more anxious for its completion. The "old lore" which it furnishes on matters of Church History, critical, biographical, and historical, makes its pages very attractive to us, and as it is in this respect quite *sui generis* in this country, we cannot doubt it will be very successful. A quotation on the subject of Monachism, from the Article, 'Benedict,' will illustrate what we have said:—

"Monachism, from its rise, stood side by side with the clerical estate in the estimation of the people, and by degrees gradually (*sic*) supplanted it. Entrance into the cloister was alone regarded as *conversio*, monastic life as *religio*, and the brethren of the cowl as *conversi* and *religiosi*. The clergy sought piety and knowledge in the secluded cell, and the episcopal chairs were principally filled by monks. The manifest hatred of the clergy toward the Benedictine Order in later times was shadowed forth by the conduct of the priest Florentius towards its founder, who at that time fixed the relation of the monks to the clerical estate. Whilst he placed the monasteries under the bishop of the diocese, their own priests rendered them independent of all the lower clergy. The latter, by reason of their secular character, fell below the Benedictines in influence, power, and inward worth. They were chosen from among bondmen, and suffered to remain in extreme poverty and ignorance. And so they became the magical possessors and mechanical dispensers of the gifts of divine grace in the Church, without respect and efficiency. Soon they could scarcely use a ritual which they could not understand, and in point of morals sank as low, yea lower, than the laity around them. In view of such a result, perhaps, or because they read the signs of the times better than others, Eusebius of Vercelli and Augustine attempted to introduce monastic discipline and conventual life into the clerical estate. But the mighty revival of monachism in its separate form frustrated their efforts, and the attempt was renewed, only when the latter had achieved a complete victory. The degradation of the secular clergy had become so extreme that something must be done for their elevation, and monachism, which had wrought the injury, furnished the means and way. In the eighth century appeared the *Vita canonica clericorum*, and immediately found general favour and acceptance. Wealthy

chapters and excellent cathedral schools arose beside the monasteries, and were the rather frequented and endowed by the nobles, because in them the line between the clergy and the laity was strictly drawn. The inhabitants of many monasteries now transformed themselves into canons, and in others the monks, to the total neglect of their rule, soon adopted a similar mode of living together as prebendaries. The abbeys were either used by the princes for their own advantage, or conferred as fiefs on laymen (*abbacomites*), or at best made over to the bishops. And thus, in a short time after its victory, the whole benedictine order was in danger of subversion. But it had not yet run its course."

Prelacy, not Presbytery, the divinely instituted Polity of the Christian Church, and Medium of conveying the Ministerial Commission; comprising a New Edition of "Presbyterianism Indefensible," and a Refutation of the Rev. Dr. Crawford's Reply to that Publication, entitled "Presbytery or Prelacy." By the Rev. WM. FARQUHAR, A.M., Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of St. Andrew's, etc. Edinburgh: Lendrum and Co. Oxford and London: Parkers. 1856. 8vo. pp. 316.

It does not fall in with the plan of this Journal to discuss the questions which so unhappily divide the visible Church of Christ; but we may indicate to our readers where they may find materials to assist their investigation of disputed subjects. Mr. Farquhar has, in our opinion, exhausted the topic he has treated of in this volume, and thoroughly examined the question of Prelacy, both on scriptural and historical grounds. The great amount of information he has adduced makes the work valuable, quite apart from any predilections the reader may have as to the main argument, and we are happy to be able to add that the author has endeavoured to establish his point with gentlemanly manners as well as with scholar-like abilities.

Cathedra Petri. A Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate. Books I. and II., from the first to the close of the fifth century. By THOMAS GREENWOOD, M.A., Cambridge and Durham, F.R.S.L., Barrister-at-Law. London: C. J. Stewart. 1856. 8vo. pp. 510.

WE have been so much interested in this first instalment of an original and learned work, that we feel anxious for its progress and completion. Mr. Greenwood says that his MS. is complete down to the close of the great contest of investitures in the thirteenth century, and that if printed in the form now before us, it will fill five volumes of equal bulk. We have then only one-fifth of the whole work now published, and as it will probably depend on the success of the present portion of it whether the author will proceed with it, we gladly bring its claims before our readers. The peculiar design of the work will best be presented in the words of the writer himself:—

"About twenty years ago the author of this volume published a work on the early history of the Germans; and in the course of his inquiries was much struck with certain characteristics in the history of the Roman Pontificate, which seemed to

him to supply the key to the mystery of the papal power; or, at least, to point out the principal sources from which papal Rome drew the elements of that singular vitality which has sustained it to the present time.

"As his researches proceeded, and his collections increased in volume, he found it necessary to fix upon some plan by which needless prolixity might be avoided, and the vast mass of matter which came under his observation, might be reduced to its natural order. He was anxious not to involve himself in the multifarious dogmatic or religious considerations, by which theologians of opposite persuasions have obscured or disguised the history of the papacy. A little reflection convinced him that such a course was altogether unnecessary. Admitting that papal history must be in a great degree the history of *religious opinion*, it struck him that all active living opinion is matter of historical fact; and that it might be treated like all other fact, without enquiring into the dogmatic propriety of the theological grounds upon which it was based. With those grounds he was no further concerned than as they involved other matter of fact, triable by the ordinary methods of historical investigation. Viewing the subject in this light, he felt himself under no obligation to enquire how the result of the trial might affect the religious basis of the pontifical claims. Neither can it greatly concern the devouter adherents of the Church of Rome, to ascertain how any merely human or rationalistic investigation may affect an authority, which they are bound to regard as the subject of original and continuous revelation. To others of that communion it may appear that the presumed revelation does in truth stand in some kind of relation to the facts which have accompanied, or which are alleged in support of it. This class may perhaps derive some information from the present volume; but it forms no part of the author's design to induce them either to modify their opinions, or even to look for other—perhaps more tenable—grounds for their actual convictions than those that have been hitherto presented to them by their instructors.

"And, in fact, a distinction may be very properly taken between the history, properly so-called, and the dogmatic theory of the papacy. The latter will, no doubt, be treated by its advocates as the subject of a revelation transmitted through the Church-catholic to all ages, consequently in that view independent of all other attestation than that of the Church herself: the former of necessity involves a notion and discussion of every material matter accompanying its development; it not only permits but enjoins us to apply to such matter the ordinary tests of historical truth, without troubling ourselves how the theory may be thereby affected. The theological supporters of the theory do not in fact encourage the idea that the chair of Peter can in any wise be made to rest purely, or even principally, upon the historical truth of the testimony alleged in support of it; they therefore regard the concomitant facts, not as substantive proof, but as collateral and confirmatory testimony to a prior revelation, adduced only to shew that what has been (as they allege) recognized and adopted from the beginning, and by all Christians, as a matter of divine appointment, could be rejected by none but a factious, heretical, or infidel minority. With this mode of treating the subject the writer of these pages has no concern. He proposes to deal with the facts only; he desires to investigate them by the rules applicable to all matter of fact; to assign to them their true historical character; to consider them in their relation to the social and moral state of the world, and especially to submit the *political* element in the papal scheme to more particular consideration; to bring that element into its natural connexion with the religious scheme; and, in the end, to leave it to the reader to form his own conclusions as to the validity of the papal claims, as he may deem them maintainable upon purely historical testimony."

Worthy design! to rise above the motives which are found in practice to rule men more powerfully than any other, and to lose the subjective in the objective. Perhaps this can never be *fully* done, yet it ought to be aimed at by the historian, and in proportion as it is thought to be important it will have a chance of being accomplished. But it is a mistake to suppose that *indifference* to the religious and

dogmatic elements of history will make a writer impartial ; on the contrary, that very feeling will lay him open to the strongest prejudices. We see no traces in this volume of any indifference on the part of Mr. Greenwood, but we everywhere discover that he aims at keeping dogmatic views in abeyance. We think he has succeeded to a degree which makes him an instructive historian, and we hope our readers will make themselves intimately acquainted with the volume.

A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages. By the Rev. R. CALDWELL, B.A., Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at Edeyenkoody, Tinnevely, Southern India. London: Harrison. 1856. 8vo. pp. 536.

MR. CALDWELL has afforded another illustration of the fact that efforts to spread the gospel are often associated with discoveries and improvements in art and science. Called to labour in Southern India, he has not only acquired the language of the people to whom he preached the gospel, but has also engaged in very minute researches in the department of philology, so as to notice and record the affinities of dialects spoken by hundreds of millions of people, and, on his return to this country, has given the results of his studies to the world. There is something very pleasing in the following account of the way in which fragments of time were used up, and of the slow accretions which gradually amounted to this compact volume :—

“ During the period of my residence in India, the work in which I was engaged as a missionary was of too important a nature to allow me to spend much of my time in book-making. It was necessary for me to be content with jotting down occasionally a few notes and illustrations, and making out conclusions in my mind. Since my return to this country for a season, I have taken the opportunity of putting together the notes which I had collected, and moulding them into a systematic shape ; and the result is now published in the hope that this work will help to supply a want which I had long felt myself, and which must, I conceived, have been felt by many others. I trust it will be found to contribute to a more enlarged and scientific study of each of the Dravidian languages, to a more accurate knowledge of their structure and vital spirit, and to a higher estimate of their phonic beauty, their philosophical organization, and their unequalled regularity.”

But what are the Dravidian languages of which these excellencies are predicated ? We will let Mr. Caldwell reply :—

“ The idioms which are included in this work under the general term ‘ Dravidian,’ constitute the vernacular speech of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India. With the exception of Orissa and those districts of Western India and the Dekhan in which the Gujarathi and the Marathi are spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India, from the Vindhya mountains and the river Nerbudda (Narmadâ) to Cape Comorin, is peopled, and from the earliest period appears to have been peopled by different branches of one and the same race, speaking different dialects of one and the same language—the language to which the term Dravidian is here applied ; and scattered offshoots from the same stem may be traced still farther north, as far as the Rajmahal hills, and even as far as the mountain fastnesses of Beluchistan.”

The idioms of this family are nine in number, of which the Tamil is the principal one, and that spoken by Mr. Caldwell in his missionary duties. Not only does the author point out the likenesses between the members of this important group of tongues, but he also investigates their connexion with the great genera into which the languages of mankind have been divided in modern times.

"Before I was aware," he says, "of the opinion which Professor Rask of Copenhagen was the first to express, and which has generally been adopted, I arrived by a somewhat similar process at the same conclusion, viz., that the Dravidian languages are to be affiliated not with the Indo-European, but with the Scythian group of tongues, and that the Scythian family to which they appear to be most closely allied is the Finnish or Ugrian."

To those, therefore, who make language a scientific study, Mr. Caldwell's volume will prove highly interesting; but its great utility appears from the fact that Christianity has a great work to do in Southern India, and that it must be done by men acquiring thoroughly the language and dialects of the people. When we speak of "our Indian empire," the idea is probably conveyed to most minds of its natives gradually learning to speak English, and adopting our institutions; but Mr. Caldwell says, "Neither the English, nor any other foreign tongue, has the slightest chance of becoming the vernacular speech of any portion of the inhabitants of Southern India." As an illustration of this he tells us that in two provinces, Tinnevely and Madura, whose population amounts to three millions, there are at present only about three hundred English, including women and children!

Subsidiary to the main design of this work there is a large amount of historical, theological, and other information of the most intense interest to those whose study is man.

A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, arranged with reference to the Classical Languages of Europe, for the use of English Students. By MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit at the East India College, Haileybury; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Oriental Society of Germany; formerly Boden Scholar in the University of Oxford. Second edition. Oxford: at the University Press. 1857. Large 8vo. pp. 394.

THAT a work like this should have reached a second edition proves that the Sanskrit language has many students in this country; and, that being the case, we are not surprized that this grammar should be preferred to others, since Mr. Williams has aimed at doing away with the cumbrous method of the grammarians of India, which was too often followed by his predecessors. He says:—

"It is to be regretted that the Pandits of India should have overlaid their system, possessing, as it does, undeniable excellencies, with a network of mysticism. Had they designed to keep the key of the knowledge of their language, and to shut the door against the vulgar, they could hardly have invented a method more perplexing and discouraging to beginners. Having required, as a preliminary step, that the stu-

dent shall pass a novitiate of ten years in the grammar alone, they have constructed a complicated machinery of signs, symbols, and indicator letters, which may be well calculated to aid the memory of the initiated natives, but only serves to bewilder the English tyro. He has enough to do in conquering the difficulties of a strange character, without puzzling himself at the very threshold in a labyrinth of symbols and abbreviations, and perplexing himself in his endeavours to understand a complicated cipher, with an equally complicated key to its interpretation. . . . My aim has been, in the present work, to avoid the mysticism of the Indian grammarians, without ignoring the best parts of their system, and without rejecting such of their technical symbols as I have found by experience to be really useful in assisting the memory."

The volume is very admirably got up in every way, and it bears altogether the marks of being the production of one not only skilled in his subject, but also competent to teach it—two things not always combined. A short extract on the grammatical peculiarity of the Sanskrit may be generally interesting :—

"The student will doubtless be impatient of the space devoted to the explanation of the alphabet. Let him understand at the outset that a minute and accurate adjustment of the mutual relations of letters is the very hinge of the whole subject of Sanskrit grammar. It is the point which distinguishes the grammar of this language from that of every other. In fact, Sanskrit in its whole structure is an elaborate process of combining letters according to prescribed rules. Its entire grammatical system, the regular formation of its nouns and verbs from crude roots, its theory of declension and conjugation, and the arrangement of its sentences, all turn on the reciprocal relationship and interchangeableness of letters, and the laws which regulate their euphonic combination. These laws, moreover, are the key to the influence which this language has exercised in the study of comparative philology. Such being the case, it is scarcely possible for a Sanskrit grammar to be too full, luminous, and explicit in treating of the letters, their pronunciation, classification, and mutual affinities."

An English and Turkish Dictionary. In two parts, Part I. English and Turkish. Part II. Turkish-English; in which the Turkish words are represented in the Oriental character, as well as their correct pronunciation and accentuation shewn in English letters. By J. W. REDHOUSE, F.R.S.A., Member of the Imperial Academy of Science of Constantinople, etc., etc. London: Quaritch. 1857. Small square 8vo. pp. xxvi. and 1150.

WE may hope that the intercourse with Turkey, produced by the late war, will lead to the improvement of the sensual and bloodthirsty Mohammedans; whose characteristics, although varnished over lately for political purposes, continue to be most alien from all that is civilized and Christian. Mr. Redhouse has done a good work in providing this excellent introduction to the language of Turkey, and as Englishmen become more naturalized in the country, may God grant that their intercourse may not be confined to purposes of pleasure and gain, but result in the extension of humane and holy principles.

The Desert of Sinai: Notes of a Spring Journey from Cairo to Beer-sheba. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. London: Nisbet. 12mo. pp. 408.

THIS is a tolerably good book of travels,—the gossiping reminiscences of a man with considerable power of discernment, but without strong prejudices. If read *cum grano* it will instruct while it interests, and help to enlarge and confirm that floating knowledge of the East which is now so general among us. In looking over the volume for an extract appropriate to our pages, we have found none more so than the following on the Sinaitic inscriptions, which Dr. Bonar thinks may be of Phœnician origin. The observations on the climate of the East, as helping to perpetuate monumental inscriptions, are very good :—

“These inscriptions are undoubtedly of a great age. The fact of the characters being unknown of itself proves this; for there is no instance of a language or an alphabet being totally lost during the last eighteen hundred years. This is a serious difficulty in the way of those who ascribe them to the pilgrims of the early centuries. For, as these pilgrims were, with few exceptions, *Greek*, or *Egyptians* speaking *Greek*, it seems incredible that they should have left inscriptions in a language not their own—a language whose every trace has perished, save what is to be gleaned from these old rocks. Any one looking at them would at once pronounce them very old. They are not merely rudely graven, but they give strong indication of their being the letters of a rude alphabet. Such is decidedly the impression which remains upon my own mind, after examining them with care, and setting them side by side with all the various alphabets that I could lay hold of. On looking at them, one is no doubt led to ask how it is possible that such shallow cuttings—such mere scratches as some of them are—could endure the tear and wear of centuries? There is no one that I saw cut to half the depth of the letters on our poorest tomb-stone; how then could they keep their edges, or, indeed, be preserved from total erasure, say for a thousand years, seeing three centuries suffice to obliterate the records of our churchyards? This is, however, no difficulty at all, when the state of the case is looked into. Some of these inscriptions, for instance, are on *granite*, though most are on *sandstone*, yet the latter are in as good a state of preservation as the former, so that the hardness of the stone does not seem to be an element in the question of the antiquity of the graving; and as the granite inscriptions of Egypt, even in their minutest and most casual scratches, have stood perhaps four thousand years, no argument against the antiquity of such oriental carvings can be founded on their liability to erasure. Indeed, nothing of this kind, either in Egypt or the desert, can be erased, save by violence. It is the united action of frost and damp that crumbles our northern rocks and effaces our inscriptions. These influences do not exist in the desert, or at least to so small an extent as to be imperceptible in their results. No doubt there is occasionally, though rarely, frost during the night; but it is slight, and then it is in an atmosphere thoroughly dry, and among rocks not saturated with perpetual moisture. The winter torrents, it is true, run down with wasting fury; but they pass off speedily, and leave the air as dry as before. Scratch your name with your penknife upon the sandstone of Wady Mukatteb, and it will remain for centuries as perfect as on the day you carved it. We know, from the testimony of Cosmas in the sixth century, that these inscriptions have already lasted twelve centuries, which is quite a sufficient time to test their durability. We know, moreover, that in the adjoining wady there are Egyptian inscriptions in hieroglyphics on similar sandstone, which are, beyond doubt, of the age of the Pharaohs: so that, if a hieroglyphical inscription in Wady Magharah has stood the waste of four thousand years, there is no physical reason why an alphabetical one in Wady Mukatteb should not be equally enduring.”

Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana. By W. K. LOFTUS, F.G.S. London: Nisbet. 1857. 8vo. pp. .

WE are glad to see Mr. Loftus in print, and in a volume so handsome as the one before us. The discoveries of Layard and Rawlinson were so astounding that there has been danger of their names overshadowing those of their colleagues and successors; an event which could not have happened without great injustice to Mr. Loftus. That gentleman was appointed geologist to the expedition sent out to survey the Turco-Persian frontier under Colonel Williams, now so celebrated in connexion with Kars. Four years were spent in that connexion, and in that period Mr. Loftus visited the ruins of Susa, the "Shushan the palace" of Daniel; and also those of Warka, in Southern Babylonia. Two years afterwards he was employed in the East by the Assyrian Excavation Society, and while thus engaged he made some of the discoveries which are treated of in this volume. We cordially recommend it to all our readers, and wish we had a better opportunity of describing its contents. Our extracts, however, will sufficiently prove that the interest of the book cannot well be overrated. Mr. Loftus thus describes the emotions produced by the first sight of the ruins of Chaldæa:—

"I know nothing more exciting or impressive than the first sight of one of those great Chaldean piles looming in solitary grandeur from the surrounding plains or marshes. A thousand thoughts and surmises concerning its past eventful history and origin, its gradual rise and rapid fall, naturally present themselves to the mind of the spectator. The hazy atmosphere of early morning is peculiarly favourable to considerations and impressions of this character, and the grey mist intervening between the gazer and the object of his reflections imparts to it a dreamy existence. This fairy-like effect is far heightened by mirage, which strangely and fancifully alters its form, elevating it from the ground, and causing it to dance and quiver in the rarified air. No wonder, therefore, that the beholder is lost in pleasing doubt as to the actual reality of the apparition before him."

The ruins of Warka are described at great length: the following is a general account of them:—

"The desolation and solitude of Warka are even more striking than the scene which is presented at Babylon itself. There is no life for miles round. No river glides in grandeur at the base of its mounds; no green date groves flourish near its ruins. The jackal and the hyena appear to shun the dull aspect of its tombs. The king of birds never hovers over the deserted waste. A blade of grass or an insect finds no existence there. The shrivelled lichen alone, clinging to the weathered surface of the broken brick, seems to glory in its universal dominion upon those barren walls. Of all the desolate pictures which I ever beheld, that of Warka incomparably surpasses all. There are, it is true, lofty and imposing structures towering from the surrounding piles of earth, sand, and broken pottery; but all form or plan is lost in masses of fallen brickwork and rubbish. These only serve to impress the mind more fully with the complete ruin and desertion which have overtaken the city. Its ancient name even is lost to the modern tribes, and little is known with certainty of its past history. Nineveh, Babylon and Susa have their peculiar traditions, but ancient Warka and its sanctity are forgotten as though they had possessed no previous existence.

"Standing upon the summit of the principal edifice, called the Buwáriyya, in the centre of the ruins, the beholder is struck with astonishment at the enormous accumulation of mounds and ancient relics at his feet. An irregular circle, nearly six miles in circumference, is defined by the traces of an earthen rampart; in some

places forty feet high. An extensive platform of undulating mounds, brown and scorched by the burning sun, and cut up by innumerable channels and ravines, extends, in a general direction north and south, almost up to the wall, and occupies the greatest part of the enclosed area. As at Niffar, a wide channel divides the platform into two unequal parts, which vary in height from twenty to fifty feet; upon it are situated the principal edifices of Warka. On the western edge of the northern portion rise, in solemn grandeur, masses of bricks, which have accumulated around the lower stones of two rectangular buildings and their various offices, supposed to be temples, or perhaps royal tombs. The bleached and lichen-covered aspect of the surface attests the long lapse of ages which has passed since the enterprising hand of man reared them from above the surrounding level desert. Detached from the principal mass of platform are several irregularly-shaped low mounds, between it and the walls, some of which are thickly strewn with lumps of black scoria, as though buildings on their summits had been destroyed by fire. At the extreme north of the platform, close to the wall, a conical mound rears its head from the surrounding waste of ruins—the barrow probably of some ancient Scyth. Warka, in the days of her greatness, was not, however, confined within the limit of her walls; her suburbs may be traced by ruined buildings, mounds, and pottery, fully three miles beyond the ramparts, into the eastern desert. Due north, at the distance of two miles from the Buwáriyya, is the dome-shaped pile of Nuffayji, which rivals the central ruin itself in height, and stands the advanced guard of the city. Near it several smaller barrows are strewn around without apparent order or design. On the north-east is another large mound, resembling, but smaller than Nuffayji.

“Forlorn splendour and unbroken solitude reign undisturbed on the ruins. With the exception of the Tuweyba tribe, the Arabs shun a site which is held to be the abode of evil spirits, and none will dare to pass a night upon the doleful spot.”

It would profitably occupy a long paper to enter fully into the bearing of these discoveries on ancient history, especially in relation to the Holy Scriptures, and we hope this task may soon be performed in our pages.

Commentary on the Book of Joshua. By KARL FRIEDRICH KEIL, D.D., Ph. D., Professor of Exegetical Theology and the Oriental Languages in the University of Dorpat. Translated by JAMES MARTIN, B.A., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1857. 8vo. pp. 510.

WE are very glad that the Foreign Theological Library has made another incursion into the field of Old Testament interpretations, and that it is proposed next year to publish Keil's *Commentary on Kings and Chronicles*. We have, in English, far too few works on the Hebrew part of the Holy Scriptures, and an amount of obscurity rests upon many portions of them which a careful criticism and exegesis will be able to remove. Dr. Keil enjoys an honourable reputation as a learned, judicious, and conservative theologian, and valuable as the former volumes of this library have been, his commentaries will well sustain the interest taken in it by biblical students. The author thus alludes to his design in the preface to the present volume:—

“Within a very short space of time works have been published upon the Book of Joshua by both Rosenmüller and Maurer. But every one who looks upon the historical writings of the Old Testament as the original fountain of sacred history, containing the records of the mighty works which God performed for his chosen people,

knows well how unsatisfactory both of these expositions are in a theological point of view, whilst even the more material department of criticism has received but little benefit from their publication. Moreover, the researches of Robinson which have since been made public, are in themselves sufficiently important to render another work upon Joshua necessary. And, therefore, no preface is required to defend the issue of a commentary, which is based upon the acknowledgment of a revelation from God, and aims at a careful examination of every work of merit produced by earlier theologians, or resulting from modern philological and archæological research. The historical books of the Old Testament have unfortunately been hitherto too much neglected; hence every one who endeavours to cultivate this department of labour, must devote the greater portion of his attention to the overthrow of current opinions, which are not only false and whimsical, but diametrically opposed to the spirit of biblical revelation, and must seek to refute the many prevalent errors concerning Old Testament history that have arisen from the spiritless manner in which it has been handled. At the same time he can only expect to pave the way for a complete theological and ecclesiastical exposition, rather than to bring one to perfection."

Some time last year we inserted a paper in this Journal on the punishment of Hiel, the rebuilder of Jerico, and we turned with some curiosity to see how Keil views the subject. We find he adopts the common view, which we think cannot be sustained by a close and thoughtful investigation of the Hebrew text. We will give part of his remarks, and commend the whole work to the deserved patronage of our readers:—

"*In his firstborn*, that is, at the cost of his life. \mathfrak{z} denotes the price at which anything is procured (see Ewald *Lehrb.*, p. 413). Most commentators suppose the adjuration to mean that the builder of the city would suffer the loss of all his children, from the oldest to the youngest, in connexion with its restoration. *Seb. Schmidt, Clericus*, and the author of the *Exegetical Handbook*, stand alone in their opinion that only the eldest and youngest are intended as being the most valued and dear. But the former explanation is evidently more in harmony with the poetico-rhythmical style of the adjuration, as it is characteristic of this style to select certain parts, in order by the parallelism of the different members to express the whole. The adjuration is rendered very insipid by the paraphrase of *Clericus*,—'Let the commencement and termination of the whole affair be associated with the greatest misfortunes.' The rationalists go still further, and either deny altogether that Joshua uttered such an adjuration (*Hasse*), or question its having been uttered in the form given here (*Paulus, Maurer*, and others)."

A Commentary, expository and practical, of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

By ALEXANDER S. PATTERSON, Minister of Hutchesontown Free Church, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1856. 8vo. pp. 572.

WHILE so many works relating to the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament are published for scholars, it is to be regretted that so few have appeared adapted to plain, sensible Christians. Of books professing to be comments there are far too many, since they reiterate old truisms, leave difficulties in greater gloom than they found them, and use Holy Writ to bolster up the varying schools of religious dogmatism to which their writers belong. No department of our labours is so painful to us as the attention we are compelled to give to such works, in which what is good is old, and what is new is nothing

worth. The English mind would take in a theology pure and reasonable if presented to it; and it is to be lamented that so much calls for its attention in the way of biblical comment, which is calculated to foster prejudice, and to retail to the unsuspecting the ignorant assumption of its authors.

Mr. Patterson's handsome volume consists of matter which has, for the greater part, been presented to a congregation from the pulpit, and it therefore aims at a certain popular style adapted to such a purpose. He says:—

"It is in accordance with the suggestion of friends, and at the solicitation of an intelligent and esteemed member of my congregation, that I have consented to publish on this noble book of the New Testament. I recently lectured on it in the course of my ordinary ministrations, and the commentary which I now permit to see the light is, to a great extent, the substance of what was addressed from week to week to my own flock. Into the printed work, however, I have considered it reasonable and right to introduce a few short critical discussions, which would have been out of place in the pulpit."

In this manner the author has produced a very sound and interesting exposition, which may be profitably read by plain Christians. At the same time, without loading the pages with learned matter, it is introduced where needed, and often with excellent effect. We probably cannot do better than quote a passage of this kind, as conveying to others what may be looked for in Mr. Patterson's volume:—

"In the expression rendered, 'Lest at any time we should let them slip' (*μή ποτε παραβῶμεν*), there seems to be an allusion to water. The Greek verb employed unquestionably means, in its strict and proper sense, *to flow past*, or *to flow away*. A few interpreters, however, retaining the reference to a flowing liquid, have forced upon the word, in the present case, the meaning *to suffer to flow away*, or *to flow past*; understanding by the object in motion, not the hearer, but 'the things which he has heard.' Now it is very true that truth or sacred doctrine is occasionally compared in Scripture to water; as, for example, in Deut. xxxii. 2:—'My doctrine shall drop as the rain, and my speech shall distil as the dew.' Moreover, there are instances in Greek writers—for example, Lucian, *Diss. cum Hesiod.*; Origen, *Contra Celsum*—of the verb here used being employed to denote the passing away of objects from the mind; and Quintilian, xi. 2, makes the same application of the corresponding Latin word *præterfuit*, and Cicero, *De Orat.*, ii. 25, of the similar word *præterlabitur*. But still, it is neither necessary nor reasonable, when the nominative to the verb is the persons here addressed, and not 'the things which they had heard,' to suppose it is to the latter and not to the former that the figurative idea of *flowing past*, or *flowing away*, is attached. It remains, however, to be determined what is meant by a person or persons flowing away or flowing past. *Destruction* is the idea which some suppose to be expressed—*forgetfulness*, or *neglect*, is that which others associate with the word. In ver. 2—4, which are so intimately connected with the present, both ideas are set forth, and thus, in these verses there is nothing which absolutely determines the question. But surely, considering that to flow past or away does not, in the thing itself, and as a matter of course, involve destruction, and may be even identified with good, it is better to understand the idea of neglect or disregard as here associated with the 'things which had been heard,' and the import of the whole expression to be what is so forcibly expressed in the English version—'Lest at any time we should let them slip.' Such too is probably the meaning of the word in the Septuagint translation of Prov. iii. 21 (*ὅτι, μή παραβῶνς, τήρῃσιν δὲ ἐμὴν βούλην καὶ ἐννοίαν*), a text which it is not improbable that the sacred writer had, on the present occasion, in his eye."

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By RUDOLF STIER, Doctor of Theology, Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkeuditz. Vol. VI. Translated from the second revised and enlarged German edition, by the Rev. W. B. POPE, Hull. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1857. 8vo. pp. 526.

THIS volume embraces the greater part of the Gospel of St. John, including our Lord's Prayer in the seventeenth chapter, and conveys, we think, a finer idea of Stier's manner than any former part of the work. This was probably to be expected, as the speeches of our Lord recorded by the beloved disciple alone, are of such great beauty and interest, and have less to interrupt the calmer and spiritual consideration of them than is the case with the varying accounts of the synoptical Gospels. Two more volumes will complete the work, and English students will then have a comment which is unique in its fine and devout appreciation of the finer relations of our Lord's discourses, and which, while open to much criticism, will remain as an enduring monument of the sacred skill of the author.

The Typology of Scripture, viewed in connection with the entire scheme of the Divine Dispensations. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. Third edition, 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1857. 8vo. pp. 978.

THIS work has been noticed twice before in our pages, and we need only intimate that a third edition of it is now in our hands—a sufficient intimation that the religious public has appreciated Dr. Fairbairn's labours. He will have done great good if he has only superseded the cumbrous and unscientific works on the types, in which some of our forefathers delighted.

David, King of Israel: the Divine Plan and Lessons of his Life. By the Rev. WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, A.M. London: Hamilton and Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 448.

MR. BLAIKIE has done more for the life of David than has been effected in modern times, to place his character in its right position with respect to the divinity of the Old Testament dispensation. He is somewhat fettered by a school of theology, but this is far preferable to a latitudinarian licence. His aim, he tells us, is threefold: 1. To give an aspect of unity to David's life, considering him as an instrument in the hand of God for high and holy purposes. 2. To present the various aspects of his character, as the ruler, the psalmist, and the type of Christ. 3. To vivify the scenes of his life, partly by descriptions of the scenery and manners of his country, and partly by making his outer life delineated in the history, and his inner life delineated in some of his psalms, throw light upon each other.

The History and Sacred Obligation of the Sabbath, and the close Connexion of its due Observance with our Social and National Well-being. By S. N. KINGDON, B.D., Vicar of Bridgerule, and late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. London: Seeleys. 1856. 18mo, pp. 131.

WHILE so much is being done in various ways to weaken religious principles in the people at large, it is a pleasing and hopeful fact that the clergy of Great Britain have both the opportunity and the inclination to check the torrent, and to arouse the public mind to the value of sacred ordinances. Mr. Kingdon has done his part well, by the publication of this little volume, which we hope will gain a wide circulation. His object is well stated in a short preface to be

"To give a brief summary of the history of Sabbath observance, both in the Jewish and Christian churches—to present arguments from Scripture in favour of its sacred and universal obligation—to shew that the change of observance from the seventh day of the week to the first was an obvious and incumbent duty—to make a few practical remarks on the present observance of the Sabbath and its contrast with the past—and generally to point out the vast importance of duly honouring the fourth commandment, to our national and social well-being. In sending his little work to the press, the Author fervently hopes that it may tend to the better fulfilment of the precept, 'Fear God, and keep his commandments.'"

The historical particulars given by Mr. Kingdon are lucidly arranged, and will be found of great interest by young persons. Probably they will do more good than the abstract arguments so often brought forward on the subject. A devout spirit runs all through the work, and an earnest sense of the importance of Sunday observance to the happiness of the people.

"There is only one way for Christian legislators to do well, and that is, to be faithful to their God. If they will not honour God, their wisdom will be turned into folly, their strength into weakness. The wrong, too, to their fellow men, by their encouragement of Sunday license, is only less than the affront offered to the Throne of Heaven. It has been powerfully shewn that every grant of facilities for Sunday pleasure and amusement entails a corresponding amount of Sunday hardship and confinement; that if gratification be put within reach of some, others must be the victims of that gratification. Nor let statesmen prove the fallacy of doing good to the poor man. Let them be assured that there is One above who cares for the poor man even more than they, and knows even more than they, what is for his welfare. And he says, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.' It will be a safer and holier effort of their legislation to endeavour to bring the British code into harmony with the immutable laws of Him who ruleth over all. The good of all lands will applaud this effort, and will assist it by their sympathies and their prayers. And thus England shall take, even yet, a higher position than she has done heretofore, in blessing and being blessed among the kingdoms of the earth; for the Eternal himself will accord that favour which ever attaches to those who 'fear God and keep his commandments.'"

Helps to Truth-seekers; or, Christianity and Scepticism. An Exposition and a Defence. By the Rev. JOSEPH PARKER, Banbury. London: Judd and Glass. 1857. 12mo, pp. 260.

WHILE it is to be lamented that so many persons seem either indifferent to the objective truth of Divine revelation, or to be zealous in quibbling

with or denying it, it is a source of gratification that so many efforts are made to counteract such a spirit, both by arousing the negligent and confounding the sceptic. Mr. Parker seems to have had much experience of the "ways" of theoretical and practical infidelity, and grapples with them in an earnest and thoughtful manner. His work is also well adapted to confirm in the faith those who, by intercourse with sceptical books and men, are troubled with doubts they would gladly dispel, and difficulties they wish to solve. The following questions especially are discussed in a learned and impressive manner:—Is the Bible divine? Is Christianity from God? and, The nature of divine mysteries. We recommend the volume to all who are called upon to combat infidel objections either in themselves or others.

Precursors of Knox: Patrick Hamilton, the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation. An Historical Biography, collected from original sources; including a view of Hamilton's influence upon the Reformation down to the time of George Wishart. With an Appendix of original Letters and other papers. By the Rev. PETER LORIMER. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvi., 268.

THERE is something extremely interesting in bringing to light the characters and deeds of men who have taken a really useful part in the contests of their age, and yet have been overshadowed by the influence of greater names. Professor Lorimer has done this service for some who preceded Knox in efforts to combat the Papacy, and has expended a great deal of research in order to clear up obscurities, and to present the character of his hero in a fair light. He proposes to treat in the same manner Alexander Alain, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and when his task is done he will have contributed some important materials to Scottish Church History.

The Large-Print Paragraph Bible, in separate Books. Isaiah. London: Bagsters. 1857. 12mo, pp. 132.

THIS useful edition of the Holy Scriptures is fast advancing to completion, fourteen separate volumes or books having already appeared. As the work has proceeded we have been much impressed with its value in many ways which did not at first appear; such as the great convenience of the type to persons of weak sight, and of the lightness of the parts to persons confined to their bed by sickness. We think that Messrs. Bagster are the only persons who have turned the controversy respecting the English Bible to practical purposes, and we tender them our thanks, and warmly recommend these elegant volumes to our readers.

The subsidiary matter given in each part is unpretending, yet very useful. This edition of Isaiah has four beautiful though diminutive maps, viz., of Nineveh, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes. A short Pre-

face gives some important particulars respecting the prophet and his writings, and an Index of subjects directs to every topic which is likely to be sought for. The other portions are illustrated in a similar manner.

The Commentary wholly Biblical; an Exposition of the Old and New Testaments in the very words of Scripture. In Monthly Parts at 2s. 6d. Part V. London: Bagsters. 1857. 4to, pp. 80.

THIS Part contains parts of Exodus, the Psalms, and the Gospels, as the work gives the Old and New Testaments simultaneously. As far as we have yet seen, the Biblical Comment is judiciously constructed: presenting a fair and unbiassed relation of the illustrative passages to the text. The page is very clearly arranged; and as a work of reference it will be very acceptable to students of the Bible.

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1. *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living.* 2. *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying.* By JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D. Oxford and London: Parkers. 1857. 18mo.

THESE are very beautiful reprints of Bishop Taylor's devotional works, printed with the paper ruled with red, and with many elegant ornaments at the beginning and close of the chapters. The works are unabridged, with the exception of some of the classical quotations.

Passion Week. With Illustrations by ALBERT DURER. London: Bell and Daldy. 1857. Small 4to, pp. 186.

THE great attraction of this volume will be the Engravings from Albert Durer, which are here faithfully reproduced, with all the expressive and homely roughness of the originals. The literary part is a compilation, in prose and verse, of striking passages relating to our Lord's sufferings. It is a very attractive book of devotional literature.

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1. *The Beauty of Holiness, illustrated by Two Thousand Reflective Passages selected for Meditation from the Sacred Writings.* By the Editors of a new Anthology of Sacred Verse, entitled "Songs of the Soul." Second Edition. London: William White, North Audley Street. 1857. 18mo, pp. 550.
 2. *Songs of the Soul, derived from the Writings of British, Continental, and Transatlantic Authors, Ancient and Modern.* Collected and Arranged by the Compilers of "Truths Illustrated by Great Authors," etc. London: W. White. 1856. 18mo, pp. 638.
 3. *Truths Illustrated by Great Authors: a Dictionary of nearly Four Thousand Aids to Reflection, Quotations of Maxims, Metaphors, Counsels, Cautions, Aphorisms, Proverbs, etc., etc., in Prose and Verse.* Compiled from Shakespeare and other great writers, from

the earliest ages to the present time. Seventh Edition. London : W. White. 1855. 18mo, pp. 568.

WE like, if possible, to present to our readers in every number some works of a religious and moral kind which may be found useful in families, or as presents to young persons. The three volumes we have arranged above are published uniformly, printed with great taste and beauty, and bound in an antique and handsome manner. The titles are expressive, but they give a very inadequate idea of the value of the contents, and we shall therefore briefly describe them.

The *Beauty of Holiness* arranges impressive passages of Holy Scripture under fifty-six heads, such as Affliction, Call to Heaven, Conscience, Government of the Tongue, Reputation, Wisdom. It might be thought at first sight that those who possess a Bible do not need to have its contents selected and arranged; but it will appear on a little thought that Scripture beauties are very likely to be neglected when they are only brought before us in the form to which we have been accustomed in infancy. The starry heavens are beautiful as a whole; but to be impressed with the individual loveliness of Jupiter or Venus, for instance, we must separate them and view them alone.

Songs of the Soul contains an immense number of pieces, English and Foreign, Ancient and Modern. Of the utility of such compilations the Editors say: "Such collections, from time to time, of the wide-spread thoughts emanating from those stars that have lit the earth for the short period allowed to human existence, have an unquestionably good tendency, as shewing that the aspirations of the best of our fellow-sojourners here are one and the same. The unity displayed in the Thought of the present volume will strike the reader as illustrating this simple yet great and sublime fact."

We confess that *Truths Illustrated by Great Authors* strikes us as being the most useful production of the three, because it is calculated to assist a literary man in those toils of which the *improbis labor* of mere research for materials is not the least. What is more telling than an apt quotation from some recognized master-piece? Yet how difficult is it to cudgel the memory to give up what we want. In this work some thousands of topics alphabetically arranged, are illustrated by the sentiments of renowned writers, our own Shakespeare having the chief place. We need say no more to convince the readers of this *Journal* of the value of these interesting books.

Flowers of Friendship: Original and selected Poems on the subject of Christian Friendship; from its Springtide to its Consummation.

By J. FREDERIC THORPE, Theological Associate of King's College, London, and Chaplain to the Coxheath Union, Maidstone. London: Judd and Glass. 1857. Small 4to, pp. 288.

THE editor of this volume says: "Whether in this matter-of-fact age these poems will be thought romantic, I cannot tell. To me they ex-

press genuine feelings of the heart, couched it may be in unequal stanzas, but yet able perhaps to awaken some response in the hearts of others. It will be perceived that the scheme is to trace friendship from its rise and springtide through its various phases, aspects, and bearings, to its consummation in his presence who calls us 'not servants, but friends.' I commend the book to kindred spirits, in the hope that they will derive some of that pleasure from its perusal which I have myself derived from its compilation." No apologies are needed for the incurring of a task the completion of which must confer so much pleasure and afford so much profit. The gems of poetry are of the first water, and the setting, in the typographical arrangements of the book, is worthy of them.

Our Christian Classics : readings from the best Divines. Nos. 1, 2, 3.
London : Nisbet. Published monthly. 12mo., pp. 72.

If well carried out, this publication will be of great utility, taking our young people, as it is able to do, to the gentle streams of our first religious literature, which probably have never been exceeded in the depth of their waters. Theologians and poets, historians and philosophers, here combine to form a *fasciculus* of pleasant readings.

INTELLIGENCE,

BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

BIBLICAL REVISION.—This subject still continues to excite much attention, and to call forth many publications, from letters in newspapers, to pamphlets and volumes. From the mass of materials brought before us we select the following, in addition to the reviews of books on the subject, before given.

Jewish Notions on Biblical Revision.—"The agitation for the revision of the common version of the Bible is daily gaining more and more consistency, and assuming proportions which bid fair to give it the character of a national movement. Its very defenders cease to found their opposition on principle, but, plead the inexpediency of an alteration as the reason of their antagonism. It is not maintained that the version is free from glaring defects, and not susceptible of material improvements, but it is urged that any alteration might unsettle the national mind as well as the arrangements of the Bible Societies, and the parties now enjoying the monopoly of publishing the Scriptures such as produced by the translators of King James. The duty of presenting the Word of God to the people in the most acceptable garb, of giving the nation the advantage of the lucubrations of scholars within the last two hundred and ninety years not less distinguished for the progress made in biblical than in secular knowledge, the duty of exhibiting truth to the masses in as far as its lineaments have as yet been discerned, is as nothing in the balance of these objects if weighed against interested motives, narrow-minded bigotry, and prejudice. To whatever length of time the contest may be protracted, there can yet be no doubt of the issue. The very fact, that the *Times* found it necessary *openly* to wage war against the movement, whilst, some time ago, it only betrayed its bias by refusing insertion to articles of very eminent Hebrew scholars arguing for the necessity of a revision, at the time that it opened its columns to effusions of an opposite tendency, emanating from a popular preacher notoriously unacquainted with Eastern languages, shews that the agitation is gaining ground, and that so soon as it shall be on the point of being successful, the thunderer, as is his wont, will join the victorious, and turn his formidable missiles against the retreating foe. It cannot but be expedient that the community should endeavour to render clear to itself the position which it occupies in reference to the question amidst the contending parties, and it is the elucidation of this subject to which we shall devote a few lines.

"The interest of our co-religionists in the question can only be of an abstract character. Never has Israel received, and never can it admit any standard save the original text. No translation of the Bible, whatever its merits, can supersede the public readings of the Hebrew in the synagogues; nor could the decision of any religious question be based upon any other text save that of the original. The preacher, and religious teacher too, must at all times be at liberty to give their version of any portion of the Bible, without being bound by any translation; nor can a Jew admit any theological argument unless founded upon the original, although it may be useful to the community, for the sake of reference and the purposes of instruction, to possess a version conceived and executed in a Jewish spirit. This view is one which has been held by the Israelites from the most ancient times—constituting one of the sheet-anchors of Judaism. Had not Israel at all times so steadfastly adhered to this principle, had it ever admitted any of the authorized versions, be they of ancient or modern times, the errors of Christianity would have tainted Judaism. Were it our province to do so, we should find little difficulty in tracing the origin of many of the erroneous doctrines taught by Christianity to the substitution of authorized versions—principally the Septuagint and the Vulgate—for the original. Most quotations in the Gospels which have given rise to many

regrettable Christian doctrines are cited from the Greek, not the Hebrew text; and many of the subsequent errors originated in the readings of the Latin versions. What, under special Providence, has protected Judaism from the intrusion of many of the pagan elements of Christianity is Israel's firm adherence to the Word of God in its purity, as it emanated from the prophets, and not as it was represented by those who either would or could not have recourse to the original. Least of all could Israel receive any version executed for a Christian people. To whatever results philological and critical studies may lead a Hebrew scholar, however convinced he may be of certain mistranslations, if the version in which he may be engaged be destined for a Christian community, he dare not follow his own convictions; he is obliged to discard them, and to adopt instead those of the writers of the Gospels, who, mostly unlettered, either did not understand the Hebrew, or gave, for some reason or other, the preference to the erroneous renderings of the Septuagint. What Christian divine, for instance, would dare translate Isaiah vii. 14, or xl. 3, as Dr. Benisch has done in his version, although, on philological and critical grounds, no one would undertake to impugn the correctness of that rendering. We think we have said enough to shew why the interest of the community in the movement can only be of an abstract character. And yet the agitation will not fail in producing results which cannot but exercise an important and beneficial influence on the community [Jewish].

"Although, for the reasons stated, an impartial translation of the Hebrew Scriptures from Christian scholars is not to be expected, yet there can be no doubt that a new version would correct many errors disfiguring the present translation which do not affect any dogma. Now the removal of an error, however insignificant apparently, is a great gain. In fact, no new truth can be discovered until the old error occupying its place be demolished, even as a new building cannot be erected until the rubbish which may encumber the site be cleared away; and although we ourselves cannot be affected by the errors in the Authorized Version, yet we could not but rejoice to see our fellow citizens, whom we are bound to love like ourselves, freed in the matter of their belief from as many shackles as their erroneous doctrines would permit. Many and many a time has a discovery apparently insignificant led to extraordinary results. The man who first observed that a piece of amber rubbed against cloth would alternately attract and repel other materials, little dreamed of the marvellous performances which electricity would achieve. Every discovery, therefore, is important. It is in the moral as in the physical world; and who can say what ultimate result the correction of one single mistranslation of the Bible may lead. Proceeding from inquiry to inquiry, our Christian friends might discover that they had no right whatever to abolish the seventh day as Sabbath, and arbitrarily to substitute for it the first; that they have no right whatever to absolve a Jewish convert from the observance of the ceremonial law prescribed for the Israelite, and the Israelite only; and might even find a solution for many social and religious questions which often agitate the country, and which not rarely arise from erroneous renderings in the received version.

"Moreover, the agitation called forth by the question will oblige those interested in it to recur to first principles. No second-hand learning will answer the purpose. Scholars will have to go back to the fountain-head. Those will have to be consulted who were at all times the only true depositories of Hebrew knowledge. The venerable *tomes* of those ancient slighted rabbis will have to be opened who knew the original text of their Scriptures by heart, when no Christian divine in the West was even acquainted with the characters of the language in which his sacred books were written. '*Græcum est, scire non potest,*'^a was the remark of the monk in the middle ages whenever he met with a Greek word. '*Hebraice est, ergo scio,*'^b might have been the reply of every rabbi, and perhaps every Jew, during the middle ages. The commentaries

^a It is Greek, it cannot be understood.

^b It is Hebrew, therefore I understand it.

of the Jews, among whom Hebrew, to some extent, was never a dead language, will have to be consulted. Rabbinical studies will meet with proper attention, and the mental productions of men will have to be examined, which have only to be known in order to be appreciated, to be respected, to be admired. In itself it is a matter of perfect indifference what opinion our neighbours entertain of our rabbis of old. Praise from such as hardly know more of them than their names will not raise them, nor censure lower them in the estimation of those whom an intimate acquaintance with the variety, extensiveness, ingenuity and depth of Hebrew literature have qualified to form thereof a correct opinion. But the beneficial influence which the better appreciation of that literature on the part of our Christian neighbours would exercise on a numerous class of our co-religionists, cannot be a matter of indifference. Alas! it has come so far that a large number of brethren in faith, especially among the opulent, have lost all esteem for the literature of their own people. Not able to understand it themselves, and not finding it fashionable in those circles in which they move, they not only have no sympathy for it, but not rarely reserve their sneers for those who differ with them in opinion. Let the Archbishop of Canterbury state that a valuable manuscript of some commentary of Kimchi lies at Pekin which it was desirable to publish, and our rich will open wide their purses, although, without meaning any disrespect to the primate, his Grace is probably not even acquainted with the rabbinical character. But let their reverend chief declare that the Bodleian harbours some Hebrew literary treasure, the publication of which would be useful to the community, and an idle shrugging of the shoulders will be the response. Let the *Times* pronounce Rashi to be a valuable commentator, and the sons of our rich will have to study his works, although the thunderer is no more competent to form an estimate of their value, than the *Bokhara Gazette* of the merits of Milton. But let the *Jewish Chronicle* descant on the desirability of our possessing a translation of the *Cusari*, and the answer will be, 'We do not want to read stuff; we read the journals and magazines.' Alas! we have in the matter of self-respect sunk deep, very deep. We are indifferent to the honest expression of opinion from within; we only yield to the pressure from without; we cannot be persuaded to what is Jewish, we have to be shamed into it; and it is for this reason that we expect beneficial effects from the national movement alluded to, and the consequent better appreciation of our own literature on the part of the Gentile world.

"Again, the very fact that a revision of the Bible must bring the work nearer the Jewish standard, cannot but be a powerful incentive to the further spread of toleration. The mass of the people, perceiving this approach, could not but admit the possibility that, since the Jewish view was correct in some points conceded and translated accordingly, it might also be correct on some others still contested. Learning to judge more charitably the hostility with which the Jewish body opposes all attempts made to seduce it from the allegiance to its God, conversion schemes will meet with less favour, and England may be saved one of the national crimes of which she is guilty, by endeavouring to merge those among the mass of the Gentiles who have been destined to be God's witnesses on earth for ever, and of whom it has been said, 'Behold a people, it shall dwell solitarily, and not reckon itself among the nations.' The movement, therefore, for the revision of the Anglican version is one which the Jewish body may watch with the deepest interest, and from which it may anticipate the most beneficial results to the nation and to itself, although it may not feel particularly called upon to participate in any way in the agitation."—*The Jewish Chronicle*, edited by Dr. Benisch.

MOVEMENT ON REVISION, IN THE "SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE."

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

"SIR,—I trust that the importance of the question to which the accompanying paper relates, may induce you to give it a space in your columns. I should have preferred to circulate it,—in the first instance, at all events,—through the

official *Monthly Paper* of the Society; but an objection was taken to this course, on the ground that a longer notice than that required by the rules,—one month, which, for the practical purpose of publicity, amounts in fact to no more than a week,—was 'without precedent.' As I do not think that three months is too long a time for the consideration of so weighty a subject, I venture to hope that the public press will assist me in giving cognizance of the proposed measure to the members of the Society, and to the public at large.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,
Rochampton, March 5, 1857, "G. E. BIBER."

RESOLUTIONS AND SCHEME HANDED IN AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, ON TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1857:—

Resolutions to be moved by the Rev. Dr. Biber, at the meeting of the Board on Tuesday, June 2, 1857.

1. That a correct knowledge of the contents of the Holy Scriptures is a fundamental part of Christian knowledge.
2. That since the publication of the English Authorized Version, in 1611, additional light has been thrown both upon the Original Text of the Holy Scriptures by collations of manuscripts, and upon the sense of particular passages, by the researches of Biblical Scholars.
3. That it is desirable that so much of the additional information thus obtained, as is not of a conjectural or doubtful character, but authenticated by evidence, and sanctioned by the authority of competent Biblical Scholars, should be made available to English readers and students of Holy Scriptures not skilled in the original languages.
4. That to effect this desirable object falls eminently within the province of this Society, as a Society expressly founded and constituted for the purpose of promoting Christian Knowledge.
5. That a Committee of Inquiry, consisting of—Members of the Standing Committee, and an equal number of Members of this Board not being Members of the Standing Committee, be appointed to consider the scheme for carrying out the above object, appended to the present resolution, and to report thereon to this Board.

SCHEME FOR THE PROMOTION OF BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE, to be considered and reported on by the Committee of Inquiry, proposed to be appointed by Resolution 5.

- I. A distinct Committee of this Society to be constituted, to be called "The Committee of Biblical Knowledge."
 - II. The duty of such Committee to be—to collect, digest, and sift the additional information respecting the Text and the Sense of the Holy Scriptures, resulting from the advance of Biblical Learning since the publication of the English Authorized Version; and to take measures for making the same available to English readers, by the publication of Editions of the whole, or of portions of the Holy Scriptures, exhibiting, by the side of the Authorized Version, such additional information as may be considered important and generally valuable.
 - III. Steps to be taken for obtaining the appointment of Episcopal Referees, to exercise a superintending control over the labours of such Committee.
 - IV. A separate Fund to be established for the operations of such Committee, by means of subscriptions to be solicited for this special object, and of grants to be made from time to time from the General Funds of the Society.
 - V. A report, stating the progress of the labours of such Committee, to be appended to the Annual Report of the Society.
 - VI. The Committee to be guided in their labours by certain definite rules, to be drawn up, and sanctioned by a General Meeting of the Society, as an instruction to them.
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SUGGESTIONS FOR RULES, to be laid down for the guidance of the Committee of Biblical Knowledge, in accordance with Clause VI. of the Scheme.

1. The Text of the Authorized Version to be preserved in its integrity, and all emendations, whether arising from improved Readings of the Original Text, or from improved translation, to be exhibited in the form of Marginal Readings.

2. No Marginal Readings to be introduced merely for the sake of exhibiting a Various Reading, or the suggestion of a different translation, or for the sake of verbal or literal exactness; but such only as are calculated to throw light upon the sense of Holy Writ, by clearing up obscurities or correcting inaccuracies.

3. No corrections of the Received Text to be admitted on grounds purely conjectural or doubtful, but such only as are supported by satisfactory external as well as internal evidence, whether derived from Manuscripts, from Ancient Versions, or from quotations in ancient writings.

4. Alterations in the punctuation, or in the accents of the Greek, or the Masoretic points of the Hebrew Text, to be admitted whenever they are calculated to yield a clearer or a better sense.

5. No emendations of translation to be admitted, unless clearly made out on grounds of sound Biblical philology.

6. Whenever in two or more passages the same word or phrase employed in the same sense in the Original Text, is in the Authorized Version rendered by different English expressions, the sameness of expression in the Original to be indicated in the margin.

7. The idiom of the Authorized Version to be followed as much as possible in the Marginal Readings; and no emendations of translation to be introduced for the sake of modernizing the language.

8. In cases where, from a change in the language, the Text of the Authorized Version is liable to be misapprehended, the proper sense to be indicated in the Margin.

9. Of the Marginal Readings in the present Editions of the Authorized Version, those which rest on the authority of the translators themselves, to be retained and exhibited in distinguishing type.

10. Of the Marginal Readings subsequently introduced, those only to be retained, which, considering the more advanced state of Biblical learning, may be considered valuable.

11. Of the Marginal references in the present Editions of the Authorized Version, such as are merely of a verbal character, to be omitted: and such only to be retained or introduced afresh, as may tend to elucidate the sense by comparison of Scripture with Scripture.

12. The Text of the Authorized Version to be printed in consecutive paragraphs, and in the books, or portions of books, the character of which requires it, in lines exhibiting their rhythmic arrangement or their parallelisms; the division into Chapters and Verses being, in either case, indicated in the Margin.

13. No comments, or exegetical annotations, to be superadded; but such notes only as may be deemed requisite for the elucidation, or justification, of the Marginal Readings.

14. Such notes, if copious, and any introductory or prefatory observations, explanatory of the sources from which the materials for emendatory Marginal Readings have been derived, or of the grounds on which they rest, to be printed and circulated separately.

15. Of any portion of the Holy Scriptures, at any time so prepared for publication, no larger number of copies to be printed than may from time to time be required to meet the current demand, until the entire Volume of Holy Scripture, or, at least, the whole of the New Testament, shall have been completed, and time and opportunity shall have been given for farther revision and emendation.

* * In giving the above notice, Dr. Biber wishes it to be understood, that his object in giving it thus early, is to afford to the members of the Society ample time for considering the question in all its bearings; and that he has brought it forward in this definite shape, with a view to obviate misconceptions. He will thankfully receive suggestions on the subject, and [though he cannot undertake in all cases to answer the communications which may reach him] give them the fullest consideration. Any suggestions addressed to him [Roe-hampton, London, S. W.] before the end of April, may, if relating to important points, be made available for the purpose of introducing any additions or modifications, either in the Resolutions, or in the Scheme and the Suggestions for Rules appended to them, on his giving, as required by the Rules of the Society, formal notice of the present motion at the May meeting of the Board. Suggestions not so used may still prove valuable in the further consideration of the question by the Committee of Inquiry, in the event of Resolution 5 being agreed to.

Proposed Work on the Latin Vulgate.—The recent discussions relative to the circulation of Roman Catholic translations of the Bible on the continent of Europe, have necessarily excited considerable interest among all who truly appreciate the value of Holy Scripture. Very decided judgments have been arrived at, by Christian men, on both sides of the question. Many consistent Protestants, who cannot at all be suspected of the slightest leaning towards Romanism, are inclined to uphold and advocate the course hitherto pursued by the Bible Society, whose agents endeavour to reach the hearts and consciences of ignorant Roman Catholics, through means of such translations as are approved and sanctioned by their own church; while other upright and zealous Christians condemn such a course as almost equivalent to acting on the principle of doing evil that good may come out of it.

There is evidently, among the generality of good men, a readiness to adopt decided opinions on such subjects, without taking the pains to furnish themselves with the information on which all legitimate judgments must be based. Patient inquiry should ever precede positive convictions. On the whole, subject of the Ancient Version denominated the Vulgate—the only authentic and standard Bible in the Church of Rome, and the source whence the Translations above referred to have been derived—an incredible amount of ignorance and misapprehension prevails, even among intelligent Christians.

In such a state of things, it has appeared to me that aid might be obtained towards settling the matters in dispute, were certain leading facts, relative to the Vulgate, put forth in such a way as to be within the reach of general readers interested in the deeply important question of Bible circulation. There is no work in the English language, so far as I am aware, wherein the subject is treated in a manner at once scholarly and yet popular, condensed and yet clear, comprehensive and yet free from overmuch critical minuteness. As a step towards supplying this desideratum, and with the view of bringing the subject before the notice of those Christian scholars whose studies and tastes may dispose them to such an undertaking, I have drawn up the accompanying Prospectus. Very few English scholars would be qualified to fill up the sketch here presented, without being indebted to the help of those who may have made one or other of the matters involved in the execution of the plan here proposed the subject of their more special attention; but if some few of our more advanced biblical scholars were to take up the idea and improve upon it, the result might tend to furnish, to intelligent Christians at large, a very considerable amount of most interesting information bearing on practical questions connected with the circulation of Roman Catholic versions in any part of Christendom.

PROSPECTUS OF A MONOGRAPH ON THE VULGATE.

Chapter I. Origin and History of the Vulgate.—II. General Characteristics of that Ancient Version.—III. Past and present condition of its Text, with particular reference to the Codex Amiatinus.—IV. Leading Instances in which

the Vulgate has preserved readings which the labours of recent critics have proved to be genuine, as being possessed of higher critical authority than the corresponding readings of the received Greek Text, from which, for the most part, our own Translation was derived.—V. Leading Instances of erroneous renderings referable to the fact of the Translator having mistaken the meaning of the Original.—VI. Leading Instances in which the Vulgate misrepresents the meaning of the inspired writer, through having followed an erroneous Hebrew or Greek Text.—VII. Influence of the LXX upon the Vulgate Version of the Old Testament.—VIII. Relation of the Vulgate to the Douay and Rhemish Translation, as originally published, and to the various editions of the Scriptures in English, issued by Roman Catholics, since the publication of that version.—IX. Influence of the Vulgate upon our own authorized Translation.—X. Leading Errors in the Roman Catholic Versions, circulated on the continent:—(1.) Erroneous renderings derived from the Vulgate.—(2.) Errors resulting from such Versions not fairly representing the meaning of the Vulgate.—XI. Inquiry into the propriety of circulating such Versions.—XII. Brief recapitulation of the previous chapters and presentation of the salient points most directly bearing on the controversy relative to the course hitherto pursued by the Bible Society.

Appendix A. On the Latinity of the Vulgate, and its more remarkable deviations from the phraseology of the Classic Writers.—B. Review of the effects on Mediæval Theology resulting out of the use of the Vulgate Version, during the dark ages, and Reflex Effects of the Mediæval Theology on the mode of interpreting the Vulgate.—C. Terms and phraseology, derived from the Vulgate, still retained in modern English, and influence of that Version on certain modes of expression current among Protestant Theologians.

HENRY CRAIK.

6, Clevedon Terrace, Kingsdown, Bristol, Dec. 11, 1856.

American Edition of the English Bible.—We learn from the New York *Protestant Churchman* that the American Bible Society have, with great care and labour, prepared and published a standard edition of the English version of the Holy Scriptures. The necessity for this undertaking arose from the many typographical variations in the editions of the English Bible in common circulation.

The Committee to whom this work was entrusted was composed of the following seven gentlemen, some of whose names will be recognized in England:—Gardiner Spring, Thomas Cock, Samuel H. Turner, Edward Robinson, Thomas E. Vermilye, John M'Clintock, Richard S. Storrs, jun.

The work of collation (continues the *Protestant Churchman*) occupied the labours of three years. The system and method of examination and decision which were adopted were simple and clear. The royal octavo edition of the American Bible Society was selected as the basis. This was compared, in every word and point, with a recent copy from each of the four authorized presses in England, and also with a copy of the original edition of 1611. So far as the English copies were found uniform, there was an entire conformity to them. In all variations among them, the object was to restore, as accurately as possible, the original standard of the first edition. A single collator was employed to devote his whole time to the work of examination. A Sub-Committee of the Committee on Versions met him for several hours every week, for an examination of the results of his collation. The whole Committee reviewed and decided every important question arising in the course of the proceeding, and established the rules by which the collation should be made. The close of their work was the production of the most perfect copy of the English version which has ever been printed. No correction was made but with entire unanimity in the Committee. Twenty-four thousand variations, more or less important, in the printing and punctuation, were found in the various copies compared, and were corrected. And the whole work was brought to the happiest conclusion in the preparation of that edition which was adopted by the Board as the standard edition of the Society, which is now the standard edition of the English version,

and the only really accurate standard of this version in existence. This is called the Standard Bible. All the copies of the American Bible Society are to be conformed to this. The process of correction in the other editions is going forward with rapidity, and all the plates of the Society are to be exactly conformed to this.

Spanish New Testament.—The progress of the Spanish New Testament has disappointed my expectations. The part completed during the year has been from 1 Cor. iv. 9, p. 328, to Heb. viii. 12, p. 452, making 124 pages. This is rather more than last year, and I have found it impossible to advance more quickly, without injury to the execution of the work. With respect to the various readings of the Greek text, since the best versions known to Spaniards are from the Vulgate, and the Vulgate differs from the received Greek Text, in some places where Bagster's edition of Mill shews the consent of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, in favor of the reading which happens to be in the Vulgate, I felt it would be wrong to alter the reading in which Spaniards are accustomed in those cases, to a reading of *inferior* authority, and, therefore, placed the more approved reading in the text, and that of the *Textus Receptus* in a note; thus giving the reader full knowledge of both, and giving priority of position to that which has priority of rank as to testimony in its favor. As this course seemed necessary in such cases, I have, in order to act with uniformity, more generally followed the same course, with respect to other readings approved by the same four editors, always giving the text of Mill, but placing it, in these cases, in a note instead of in the body of the work. In this manner, I felt, I could best preserve that which is, according to present evidence, best entitled to be regarded as God's word, and could give both Mill's text, and the deviations from that text which these *critical editors* attest as having greater probability of accuracy. Though I did not follow this course without some hesitation, it seemed necessary for the above reasons, and did not appear to me to infringe the spirit of the rule, though I cannot say whether it is precisely what was intended by those who framed it: viz., that "revisions of the New Testament shall be made from the received Greek Text, *critically edited, with known errors corrected.*" So far as we can be said to know the more probable errors of that text, I think that knowledge is conveyed by the course adopted, and that the words "*critically edited,*" are not thus pressed beyond their legitimate meaning.

The change in the government of Spain is unfavourable to active operations in that country; but if God should permit the completion of the New Testament, I hope that the society will authorize an active distribution of it by every means which God's providence may present.

Your dear brother, most sincerely,
WILLIAM NORTON.

Bible Union Quarterly.

The Bible in the Basque Language.—A great deal has latterly been said in English as well as Continental papers on the visit of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte to the Basque Provinces of Spain and of France, and all motives have been assigned to it except the right one. Leaving the political sages to their profound discoveries on the reconstruction of the ancient Kingdom of Navarre and kindred subjects, I trust I may be permitted to trespass upon your valuable space for the purpose of shewing that the object of the tour was specifically scientific, and that very important results, though non-political ones, are likely to ensue from it.

Scholars need not to be told, but the generality of your readers may be interested to know, that languages boasting of no literature, and spoken by races unknown to historical fame, may still enjoy the same consideration in the eyes of the linguist as the great cultural languages which have ruled the fate of the world, and left, in their literature, imperishable monuments, connecting the modern mind with that of remote antiquity in an unbroken chain.

It has been well said of the Basque, "that alone it remains, solitary and unknown, by the side of the three great and powerful families of languages that

divide the kingdoms of Europe among themselves. Formerly, as it is presumed, having been spoken all over the Peninsula, it is now driven back to the mountain gorges of Biscay, and there it lives, still cherished by a noble race, but unclaimed by relative or friend among all the languages of the earth—alone among the European tongues, bearing no likeness to, and shewing no affinity with those of their common fatherland."

This singular language, which has hitherto baffled all endeavours to penetrate its mysteries, has long been an object of intense interest to the noble Prince. He has studied it for many years, and is considered to have a thorough practical knowledge of it. The late visit to the Basque country was undertaken with a view of collecting fresh materials for the investigation of the language; and the manner in which the Prince has gone to work demonstrates not only that he is thoroughly in earnest, but also that he has hit upon the proper means for producing the proper results. The Basque language branches off into six dialects—the Guipuzcoan, the Biscayan, the Labourdin, the Souletin, and the high and low Navarrese. The Gospel of St. Matthew has already been translated into the Labourdin dialect. The Prince has now caused the same Gospel to be translated into the other five dialects, and is printing them with grammatical notes attached to each. Upon the completion of this extensive work, the Prince intends to print the six translations in one volume, in parallel columns, to establish a uniform orthography for the six dialects, and to accompany the whole with grammatical notes. The importance of this undertaking cannot be over-estimated, as comparative philology, combining the objects of philology and linguistics, had hitherto no sufficient material for comparing the Basque with other European languages, and for assigning to it its right place among the languages of mankind. The labours of the Prince assume, therefore, most extensive proportions, and may tend to throw light upon languages apparently disconnected with the Basque.

Two of the five translations are now printed, but only in twelve copies each; they are literary curiosities, and I therefore copy the titles, etc., for the benefit of bibliophiles.

The translation into Basque Souletin has appeared under the following title:—

Le Saint Evangile | De Jesus-Christ, | Selon Saint Mathieu, | Traduit En Basque Souletin, | Par L'Abbé Inchauspe | Pour le Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. | Bayonne, Imprimerie de Veuve Lamaignère, née Teulières, Rue Pont, Maison 39. 1856. pp. 179, royal octavo.

On the back of the title:—

"Cette traduction de l'Evangile de Saint Mathieu en Dialecte Basque Souletin a été imprimée aux frais du Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte.

"Je certifie que cet ouvrage a été tiré au nombre de douze exemplaires, dont 10 numérotés portent le nom imprimé du Destinataire, et deux autres non numérotés, dont l'un ayant les titres et les initiales imprimés à l'encre rouge, appartiennent à Son Altesse.—Sig. Veuve A. Lamaignère née Teulières..

(Forty-six pages of grammatical notes are appended to this translation.)

The title of the translation into Low Navarrese reads as follows:—

Saint Mathieu | Sur La Version de M. Maître De Sacy | En Langue Basque | Dialecte Bas-Navarrais. | Par M. Salaberry d'Ibarrolle | Pour le Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte.

The note on the back of the title is exactly the same, except that there is a unique copy "Sur papier grand resin velin" instead of one with red-ink title. Same printing-office.—*Critic*.

The Musical Instruments of Scripture.—This was the subject of the third lecture explanatory of the objects of the Scriptural Museum, at St. Martin's Hall, and was delivered by the Rev. H. B. W. Churton. The Rev. Lecturer opened by referring briefly to the musical instruments of the antediluvian period, of which there were both stringed and wind. He then described in detail the character, materials, and construction of the instruments in use among the Jews and other nations mentioned in Old Testament history, his

remarks being illustrated by diagrams and models. They were of three classes—wind, stringed, and percussion (sounded by striking). In the first class were the pipe, the trumpet in several varieties, and the organ; in the second the harp, the psaltery (also called lute and viol), the dulcimer, and some thought the sackbut (otherwise supposed to be a wind instrument); and in the third the timbrel and the cymbal, with some subordinate varieties. Having compared these with the analogous instruments of modern times, the lecturer passed to the historical branch of his subject. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and that wisdom consisted chiefly in medicine and music. He it was who led the triumphant song after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex. xv.), on which the lecturer dwelt as opening up a view of the high cultivation of music among the Hebrews of that day. Miriam and the women with timbrels indicated that that instrument was chiefly used by women to give expression to joy. The next era was that of Samuel, under whom music was made a chief branch of instruction in the schools of the prophets. Then were formed bands combining four instruments—psaltery, tabret, pipe, and harp. The age of David and Solomon was next noticed. David's lesser and larger bands sustained the Tabernacle service of praise without cessation; and on great occasions, such as the three feasts, no less than 4,000 took part. Even in the times of decadence, under Nehemiah, Jerusalem was still a centre of song. Coming to New Testament times, the lecturer dwelt on the notices of musical instruments by our Saviour, and by St. Paul, and St. John, and concluded by urging the duty of consecrating the gift of music to the praise of God. Much additional interest was given to the proceedings by the performance on the harp of some of the most ancient Hebrew melodies, the character of which strikingly confirmed Mr. Churton's remarks on the high talent for music among the Jewish people. We may add that the chair was appropriately occupied by Mr. John Hullah, to whom, as well as to the lecturer, a vote of thanks was passed at the close.

A New Hebrew Work.—The *Univers Israelite* contains a notice of a very important commentary by R. Haï Geon, on the mishnaic "order" of Taharoth, lately published at Berlin, under the title of קצק כטסה רי טהרם in which the reviewer, Herr Kirchheim, of Frankfort, informs us that the Rev. Dr. Adler has done much for the correction of the defective manuscript from which the work was edited.

A curious Legend concerning Petrus.—To the same work are appended several ancient Pyutim. We translate a portion of Herr Kirchheim's remarks on them: "The introduction of Atha-sonanta, communicated by Luzzato in the *Orient* of 1851, p. 221, from a manuscript sidur of 1301, is not reproduced in this edition, probably because it is said that טהרם כטסה—Petrus, as he is called there—was the author, it having been composed by him during his imprisonment at Rome, in order to shew that he did not believe in the divinity of the Nazarene. The same thing is said of R. Sam in a teshuba of the Machsor Vitri, as communicated by Luzzato, in the *Keram Chamed*, iii. p. 202. That there is some truth in this legend, is also attested from another quarter. In the library of our friend, Herr Meyer B. Goldschmidt, is a Sidur, *Minhag Troyes*, composed by R. Menachem, and arranged by his disciple, Yehudah ben Eliezer, author of the work *Daath Skenim*." On the margin of the Sidur is a commentary from an anonymous hand, in which it is stated, in the portion referring to the Nismath, טהרם כטסה רי טהרם כי עקב טהרם כטסה ב כטסה כי טהרם כי טהרם "I have heard from our master, R. Yehudah, son of R. Yakob, that R. Simeon, son of Caïpha, composed the prayer of Nishmath as far as, 'Mee Yedmah loch.'"—*Jewish Chronicle*.

Curious Works.—Two curious works have lately been published on the Continent. The one is a Hebrew translation of the Koran, published at Leipzig; the other entitled "ספר אשכול," likewise in Hebrew, published at Vienna, and composed by a Jewish physician, Dr. Barasch, as a kind of cyclopædia containing the outlines of all sciences.

Jewish Marriage.—An interesting ceremony lately took place in the Jewish Synagogue, Seel-street, on the occasion of the marriage of two members of the Hebrew faith. They were married by the Rev. D. M. Isaacs, minister of the new synagogue. There was considerable excitement in Bold-street during the morning, and more especially so when the bridal party, who occupied six carriages, set out for the synagogue. Whether the synagogue was in its ordinary or extraordinary adornment is more than we know, but it was very elegantly decorated. The hangings around the walls were of crimson and gold, and the vestry appeared to be appropriately decorated. In the centre of the synagogue, between the reader's desk and the place representing the holy place, a canopy was erected on ebony standards, around which flowers were wreathed, and the whole was surmounted with a crimson and gold curtain edged with gold fringe, under which the marriage was to take place. The synagogue was densely crowded, and all who were present were much interested in the proceedings. The service commenced as soon as the bridegroom, bridesmaids, and bridesmen gathered round the desk, where prayers were read or chanted in the Hebrew tongue, and responded to by the Hebrews present. The bridegroom then left the synagogue, how we cannot say, and the prayers were concluded. Shortly afterwards, the doors of the vestry were thrown open, and the bridegroom made his appearance between, as we supposed, his own father and the father of his intended wife. He wore a white scarf, which we were told was a gift of the bride, and which he would have no title to wear again until death shall set its imperishable seal upon him, when, as our informant stated, it will be wrapped around him. The bride was subsequently brought in between two of her own sex, whom we understood to be her own mother and the mother of her intended husband, the one clasping her as though receiving her as a gift, and the other holding her with a light hand, as though giving her away. She was veiled, and her features were at no time exposed to the congregation, though a ring was put on her finger, and her veil was raised by her husband. A silver goblet was given to the parties to taste, and then a wine-glass was handed round to the family to taste. The glass was then thrown violently on the floor, and as it broke into fragments the bridegroom trod them under his feet; the silver goblet, we believe, representing community of property, and the broken glass the brittleness of human life; and perhaps further signifying, that so surely as the glass could never be restored to its former state, so binding and irrevocable was the marriage contract then performed. After the ceremony, the Rev. Mr. Isaacs gave an extemporary address to the newly-married pair as to their obligations, which was remarkably eloquent and pointed.—*Liverpool Paper.*

Monastic Libraries.—The abbot superintended the management of the Scriptorium, and decided upon the hours for their labour, during which time they were ordered to work with unremitting diligence, "not leaving to go and wander in idleness," but to attend solely to the business of transcribing. To prevent distraction or interruption, no one was allowed to enter except the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, and the armarian; as the latter took charge of all the materials and implements used by the transcribers, it was his duty to prepare and give them out when required; he made the ink, and cut the parchment ready for use. He was strictly enjoined, however, to exercise the greatest economy in supplying these precious materials, and not to give more copies, "*nec artavos, nec cultellos, nec scarpellæ, nec membranes,*" than was actually necessary, or than he had computed as sufficient for the work; and what the armarian gave them the monks were to receive without contradiction or contention.

The utmost silence prevailed in the Scriptorium; rules were framed, and written admonitions hung on the walls, to enforce the greatest care and diligence in copying exactly from the originals. In Alcuin's works, we find one of these preserved; it is a piece inscribed, "*Ad Musæum libros scribentium.*"

Other means were resorted to besides these to preserve the text of their books immaculate; it was a common practice for the scribe at the end of his copy, to adjure all who transcribed from it to use the greatest care, and to refrain from

the least alteration of word or sense. Authors more especially followed this course; thus at the end of some we find such injunctions as this:—

"I adjure you who shall transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious coming, who will come to judge the quick and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe, and diligently correct it by the copy from which you transcribe it—this adjuration also—and insert it in your copy."

The *Consuetudines Canoniorum*, before referred to, also particularly impressed this upon the monks, and directed that all the brothers who were engaged as scribes, were not to alter any writing, although in their own mind they might think it proper, without first receiving the sanction of the abbot, "on no account were they to commit so great a presumption." But notwithstanding that the scribes were thus enjoined to use the utmost care in copying books, doubtless an occasional error crept in, which many causes might have produced, such as bad light, haste, a little drowsiness, imperfect sight, or even a flickering lamp, was sufficient to produce some trivial error; but in works of importance the smallest error is of consequence, as some future scribe, puzzled by the blunder, might, in an attempt to correct, still more augment the imperfection; to guard against this, with respect to the Scriptures, the most critical care was enforced. Monks advanced in age were alone allowed to transcribe them, and after their completion they were read, revised, and re-read again, and it is by that means that so uniform a reading has been preserved; and although slight differences may here and there occur, there are no books which have traversed through the shadows of the dark ages that preserve their original text so pure and uncorrupt as the copies of the Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and the ancient writings of the classic authors; sometimes, it is true, a manuscript of the last order is discovered possessing a very different reading in some particular passage; but these appear rather as futile emendations or interpolations of the scribe than as the result of a downright blunder, and are easily perceivable; for when the monkish churchmen tampered with ancient copies, it generally originated in a desire to smooth over the indecencies of the heathen authors, and so render them less liable to corrupt the holy contemplations of the devotee; and while we blame the pious fraud, we cannot but respect the motive that dictated it.

But as regards the Scriptures, we talk of the carelessness of the monks and the interpolations of the scribes as if these were faults peculiar to the monastic ages alone; alas! the history of Biblical transmission tells us differently; the gross perversions, omissions, and errors wrought in the holy text, proclaim how prevalent these same faults have been in the ages of *printed literature*, and which appear more palpable by being produced amidst deep scholars, and surrounded with all the critical acumen of a learned age. Five or six thousand of these gross blunders, or these wilful mutilations, protest the unpleasant fact, and shew how much of human grossness it has acquired, and how beameared with corruption those sacred pages have become in passing through the hands of man, and the "revisings" of sectarian minds. I am tempted to illustrate this by an anecdote related by Sir Nicholas l'Estrange, of Huntstanton, and preserved in a MS. in the Harleian collection:—"Dr. Usher, Bishop of Armagh, being to preach at Paules Crosse, and passing hastily by one of the stationers, called for a Bible, and had a little one of the London edition given him out, but when he came to look for his text, that very verse was omitted in the print; which gave the first occasion of complaint to the king of the insufferable negligence and insufficiency of the London printers and presse, and bredde that great contest that followed, betwixt the university of Cambridge and London stationers, about printing of the Bibles." Gross and numerous indeed were the errors of the corrupt Bible text of that age, and far exceeding even the blunders of monkish pens, and certainly much less excusable, for in those times they seldom had a large collection of codices to compare, so that by studying their various readings, they could arrive at a more certain and authentic version. The paucity of the sacred volume, if it rendered their pens more liable to err, served to enforce upon them the necessity of still greater scrutiny. On looking over a monastic catalogue, the first volume that I search for is the Bible; and I

feel far more disappointment if I find it not there, than I do at the absence of Horace or Ovid—there is something so desolate in the idea of a Christian priest without the Book of Life—of a minister of God without the fountain of truth—that however favourably we may be prone to regard them, a thought will arise that the absence of this sacred book may perhaps be referred to the indolence of the monkish pen, or to the laxity of priestly piety. But such I am glad to say was not often the case; the Bible, it is true, was an expensive book, but can scarcely be regarded as a rare one: the monastery was indeed poor that had it not, and when once obtained the monks took care to speedily transcribe it. Sometimes they only possessed detached portions, but when this was the case, they generally borrowed of some neighbouring and more fortunate monastery, the missing parts to transcribe, and so complete their own copies. But all this did not make the Bible less loved among them, or less anxiously and ardently studied; they devoted their days, and the long hours of the night, to the perusal of those pages of inspired truth, and it is a calumny without the shadow of foundation to declare that the monks were careless of Scripture reading; it is true they did not apply that vigour of thought, and unrestrained reflection upon it, which mark the labours of the more modern student, nor did they often venture to interpret the hidden meaning of the holy mysteries by the powers of their own mind, but were guided in this important matter by the works of the fathers.—*Bibliomania in the Middle Ages.*

An Abyssinian Library.—* * * Accompanied by a still increasing number of these wild priests we traversed the shady garden, and came to a building with a flat roof, which stood in the south-east corner of the enclosure, and close to the outer wall. This was the college or consistory of the Abyssinian monks. . . . This room was also their library, and on my remarking the number of books which I saw around me, they seemed proud of their collection, and told me that there were not many such libraries as this in their country. There were perhaps nearly fifty volumes, and as the entire literature of Abyssinia does not include more than double that number of works, I could easily imagine that what I saw around me formed a very considerable accumulation of manuscripts, considering the barbarous state of the country from which they came.

The disposition of the manuscripts in this library was very original. I have had no means of ascertaining whether all the libraries of Abyssinia are arranged in the same style. The room was about twenty-six feet long, twenty wide, and twelve high; the roof was formed of the trunks of palm trees, across which reeds were laid, which supported the mass of earth and plaster, of which the terrace roof was composed; the interior of the walls was plastered white with lime; the windows, at a good height from the ground, were unglazed, but were defended with bars of iron-wood or some other hard wood; the door opened into the garden, and its lock, which was of wood also, was of that peculiar construction which has been used in Egypt from time immemorial. A wooden shelf was carried in the Egyptian style round the walls, at the height of the top of the door, and on this shelf stood sundry platters, bottles, and dishes, for the use of the community. Underneath the shelf various long wooden pegs projected from the wall; they were each about a foot and a half long, and on them hung the Abyssinian manuscripts, of which this curious library was entirely composed.

The books of Abyssinia are bound in the usual way, sometimes in red leather and sometimes in wooden boards, which are occasionally elaborately carved in rude and coarse devices; they are then enclosed in a case, tied up with leather thongs; to this case is attached a strap for the convenience of carrying the volume over the shoulders, and by these straps the books were hung to the wooden pegs, three or four on a peg, or more if the books were small; their usual size was that of a small, very thick quarto. The appearance of the room, fitted up in this style, together with the presence of various long staves, such as the monks of all the Oriental churches lean upon at the time of prayer, resembled less a library than a barrack or guard-room, where the soldiers had hung their knapsacks and cartridge-boxes against the wall.

All the members of this Church militant could read fluently out of their own

books, which is more than the Copts could do in whose monastery they were sojourning. Two or three, with whom I spoke, were intelligent men, although not much enlightened as to the affairs of this world: the perfume of their leather garments and oily bodies was, however, rather too powerful for my olfactory nerves, and after making a slight sketch of their library I was glad to escape into the open air of the beautiful garden, where I luxuriated in the shade of the palms and the pomegranates. The strange costumes and wild appearance of these black monks, and the curious arrangement of their library, the uncouth sounds of their singing and howling, and the clash of their cymbals in the ancient convent of the Natron lakes, formed a scene as I believe few Europeans have witnessed.

The labour required to write an Abyssinian book is immense, and sometimes many years are consumed in the preparation of a single volume. They are almost all written upon skins; the only one not written upon vellum that I have met with is in my own possession; it is on *charta bombycina*. The ink which they use is composed of gum, lampblack, and water. It is jet black, and keeps its colour for ever: indeed, in this respect all Oriental inks are infinitely superior to ours, and they have the additional advantage of not being corrosive or injurious either to the pen or paper. Their pen is the reed commonly used in the East, only the nib is made sharper than that which is required to write the Arabic character. The ink-horn is usually the small end of a cow's horn, which is stuck into the ground at the feet of the scribe. In the most ancient Greek frescoes and illuminations this kind of ink-horn is the one generally represented, and it seems to have been usually inserted in a hole in the writing-desk; no writing-desk, however, is in use among the children of Habesh. Seated upon the ground, the square piece of thick greasy vellum is held upon the knee or on the palm of the left hand.

The Abyssinian alphabet consists of eight times twenty-six letters, 208 characters in all, and these are each written distinctly and separately like the letters of a European printed book. They have no cursive writing; each letter is therefore painted, as it were, with the reed pen, and as the scribe finishes each he usually makes a horrible face and gives a triumphant flourish with his pen. Thus he goes on letter by letter, and before he gets to the end of the first line he is probably in a perspiration from his nervous apprehension of the importance of his undertaking. One page is a good day's work, and when he has done it, he generally, if he is not too stiff, follows the custom of all little Arab boys, and swings his head or his body from side to side, keeping time to a sort of nasal recitative, without the help of which it would seem that few can read even a chapter of the Koran, although they may know it by heart.

Some of these manuscripts are adorned with the quaintest and grimmest illuminations conceivable. The colours are composed of various ochres. In general the outlines of the figures are drawn first with the pen. The paint brush is made by chewing the end of a reed till it is reduced to filaments, and then nibbling it into a proper form: the paint brushes of the ancient Egyptians were made in the same way, and excellent brooms for common purposes are made at Cairo by beating the thick end of a palm-branch till the fibres are separated from the pith, the part above, which is not beaten, becoming the handle of the broom. The Abyssinian having nibbled and chewed his reed till he thinks it will do, proceeds to fill up the spaces between the inked outlines with his colours. The Blessed Virgin is usually dressed in blue; the complexion of the figures is a brownish red, and those in my possession have a curious cast of the eyes, which gives them a very cunning look. St. John, in a MS. which I have now before me, is represented with woolly hair, and has two marks or gashes on each side of his face, in accordance with the Abyssinian or Galla custom of cutting through the skin of the face, breast, and arms, so as to leave an indelible mark. This is done in youth, and is said to preserve the patient from several diseases. The colours are mixed up with the yolk of an egg, and the numerous mistakes and slips of the brush are corrected by a wipe from a wet finger or thumb, which is generally kept ready in the artist's mouth during the operation; and it is lucky if he does not give it a bite in the agony of composi-

tion, when with an unsteady hand the eye of some famous saint is smeared all over the nose by an unfortunate swerve of the nibbled reed.

It is not often, however, that the arts of drawing and painting are thus ruthlessly mangled on the pages of their books, and notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the writers labour, some of these manuscripts are beautifully written, and are worthy of being compared with the best specimens of calligraphy in any language. I have a MS. containing the Book of Enoch, and several books of the Old Testament, which is remarkable for the perfection of its writing, the straightness of the lines, and equal size and form of the characters throughout; probably many years were required to finish it. The binding is of wooden boards not sawed or planed, but chopped apparently out of a tree or block of hard wood, a task of patience and difficulty which gives evidence of the enthusiasm and goodwill which have been displayed in the production of a work, in toiling upon which the pious man in the simplicity of his heart doubtless considered that he was labouring for the honour of the Church, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. It was this feeling which in the middle ages produced all those glorious works of art which are the admiration of modern times, and its total absence now is deeply to be deplored in our own country.—*Curzon's "Ancient Monasteries of the East."*

The Vey Language.—Mr. Wilson, who regards African Catholicism as a failure, and African Protestantism as a triumph—not without adducing reasons for his belief—has drawn up a full account of the native manners and superstitions. One of the most effective of his arguments in support of the idea that the African race is progressive and improveable is derived from the fact, that the Vey people have recently, of their own impulse, invented an alphabet. If this be really true—that is, if the suggestion and the characters were not supplied by the missionaries, and there seems no ground for supposing it—the circumstance is indeed remarkable. The majority, not only of savage tribes, but of half-barbaric nations, appear to have exhausted their ingenuity in former eras. When is a new invention announced from Eastern or Northern Asia? When is a forgotten art recovered by Persians, Hindoos, or Chinese? The Vey alphabet is, for the most part, original, though it contains the arrow-head, and a letter like the Greek Ψ , with a distinct B and E, the Arabic numeral 5, with other familiar signs, derived, no doubt, from the Europeans on the coast, and from the Mandingoes, who use the Arabic tongue. The Veyan is now a printed language.—*Athenæum*.

The Kaffir Language.—Amongst barbarous tribes no language is to be found superior to the Kaffir, in precision of expression, order, regularity, and system. It is beautifully soft and melodious in sound, and more resembles the modern Italian in this respect than any other known. It is usually spoken very slowly by the natives; their enunciation being distinct, and their musical and pleasing voices being modulated by the use of well-timed cadences and pauses. It is also worthy of remark that, as an invariable rule, this language is correctly spoken by every class of the community; which is perhaps not the case with any of our European tongues. As a general rule, a Kaffir will never be heard using an ungrammatical expression; and, not only so, but they always connect together their words and sentences in such a manner as to preserve the proper system of alliteration throughout the same proposition. In the formation of the Kaffir dialect much of its admired softness and melody is produced by the multiplicity of vowels that are used. This language is wholly without a literature, being purely colloquial; but, as such, it is perfect and pure. Its origin is unknown; but several of the derivatives of the words are easily traceable to the Arabic and Hebrew tongues. The "*Awa*," yes, is used alike by Arabs and Kaffirs. So also "*Aie*," no. *Kafr* itself is a word of Arabic root. On many accounts there are good grounds for believing that the Kaffirs were of Ishmaelitic descent; and, consequently, that they are of the same origin as many of the tribes of Arabia.—*Fleming's Southern Africa*.

Bibliotheca Glottica.—The idea which the well-known *littérateur* C. G. Von Marx presented to the public in 1804, in his prospectus of a "Bibliotheca Glottica"—that is, a list of all the grammars and vocabularies of the different languages of the world, written and published—will be realized soon by the linguistic booksellers *par excellence*, Trübner and Co., of London. The first volume of their *Bibliotheca Glottica*, containing a catalogue *raisonné* of works relating to the languages of the American Continent, by one of our most learned and industrious New York lawyers, Mr. Hermann E. Ludewig, author of "The Literature of American Local History," etc., is nearly ready, and will be published in London on the 15th of December. From an examination of the proof-sheets of this interesting bibliographical work, we can state that it contains, in three hundred and forty-five articles, all the known vocabularies, grammars, and grammatical notices published or known to exist, of so many of the Aboriginal languages, and of about three hundred of the dialects of this Continent. Even where only a few words of a language or dialect are known, due reference is made to the book where they are to be found; and there are made over two thousand quotations of separate words, articles, or observations on American languages. Until recently, by the most accurate and diligent researches of Vater and others (1815 to 1847), we had such notices of only two hundred and eleven American languages. The study of philology has, however, made great progress in recent years; so that by diligent research the author of the forthcoming work has probably made it a nearly complete survey of this field. Trübner and Co. intend to publish other volumes on the African, Polynesian, Asiatic, and European languages. The aid of some of our own linguists has been solicited for the African, and we may hope for a work in regard to these languages also, which will be honourable to American scholarship.—*Extract from the New York Herald, Dec. 2, 1856.*

Cicero on Immortality.—The latest expression of Cicero's opinions on the immortality of the soul, for he means that by the words "ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit," is in the *De Senectute*, c. 21, etc. After giving the opinions of Plato and Xenophon, which are those of Socrates, on the immortality of the soul, he comes to the Romans (ch. 23); and he says that the great men whom he there speaks of, would never have done what they did, if they had not mentally seen "that posterity or future ages appertained to them" (ad se pertinere); for which I find no translation, and therefore I use a Latin word. He then says, "An censes, ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glories, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiæque suscepturum fuisse, si iisdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus?" It is old Cato who is speaking, but Cicero puts the words in his mouth. This passage, and the others that have been referred to, mark the character of Cicero's practical philosophy. If his glory was to end with his life, would it not have been better, he says, to spend a life of indolence? The motive for action is men's praise, a word, a breath; praise that shall survive his life, and of which he shall some way be conscious. The utmost he could imagine of another existence was a perpetual consciousness of men's talk about him. He adds a few other things (*De Sen.*, c. 23), but this is the leading idea there, and here it is everything. A meaner, more pitiable notion cannot be imagined; and we should do wrong to old Cato's memory and the illustrious Romans of Rome's heroic age, to attribute to them the same mean motives that Cicero attributes to himself. The approbation of the good is a motive to action; and the belief that when a man is gone, if he is remembered, he will be honourably remembered, is, as Cicero says, a pleasing thought to him. But a man may labour honestly and well without getting anybody's approbation, and he will often get many men's censure and abuse both while he is living and after he is dead. What then remains? Why to follow Antoninus' advice, and to do what you believe to be right, and not to trouble yourself about what people may say of you either now or after you are dead. Remember how soon you are forgotten. The greatest live only a short time in men's memories; and they are often remembered as much for the bad they have done as for the good. The Stoics had a higher standard than Cicero. They found a motive

for activity and duty in living conformably to Nature, for the constitution of man's nature shews him what he should do. Accordingly the Stoics could found a morality independent of the belief in a future existence, for they were divided in opinion on the immortality of the soul; but this did not make any disagreement among them as to what a man should do and should not do in this life. Butler, who argues that acquired habits of virtue and self-government may be necessary for the regulation of the particular affections in a future state, adds: "However, though we were not to take in this supposition (of the affections remaining in a future state), but to speak only in general, the thing really comes to the same. For habits of virtue, thus acquired by discipline, are improvements in virtue; and improvement in virtue must be advancement in happiness, if the government of the world be moral.—*Long's Cicero.*

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

FOREIGN.

- Barbé (Abbé).—*Les trésors de Cornélius à Lapide.* (Extracts and commentaries on the Scriptures, for the use of preachers, communicants, and families.) Le Mans. 8vo.
- Bock (Fr.).—*Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder, etc.* (History of the Ecclesiastical Garments of the Middle Ages, etc. With Plates.) Vol. I. Bonn. 8vo.
- Confessio fidei Augustana a. MDXXX. imperatori Carolo V. exhibita, postea a. MDXL. recognita et aucta, edita ab Prof. Dr. Henr. Heppé. Casselis. 8vo.
- Daniel et Gagarin (Fathers).—*Etudes de théologie, de philosophie, d'histoire, etc.* 4 vols. Paris. 8vo.
- Denzinger (Prof. Dr. Henr.).—*Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum, quæ de rebus fidei et morum a conciliis œcumenicis et summis pontificibus emanarunt, etc.* Wirosburgi. 8vo.
- Engelbert (Dr. H.).—*Das Negative Verdienst, etc.* (The negative merit of the Old Testament regarding the doctrine of Immortality.) Berlin. 8vo.
- Faber (Priest F. W.).—*Das allerheiligste Sacrament, etc.* (The most Holy Sacrament, from the English. Part I.) Innsbruck. 12mo.
- Feuerlein (Emil).—*Die philosophische Sittenlehre, etc.* (The philosophical doctrine of morals in its historical aspects.) Tübingen. 8vo.
- Guérin (L. F.).—*Dictionnaire universel de l'église, etc.* 5 vols. Paris. 8vo.
- Gury (Prof. J. P.).—*Compendium theologiæ moralis.* Ratisbonæ. 8vo.
- Hahn (Pastor P. M.).—*Die Lehre Jesu, etc.* (The teaching of Jesus and his Apostles.) Leipzig. 8vo.

- Hahn (Dr. Aug.)—*Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens.* (Manual of Christian Faith.) Part I. Leipzig. 8vo.
- Hartwig (O. R.)—*Tabellen, etc.* (Tables as an introduction to the canonical and apocryphal books of the Old Testament. With an Index, etc. Second Edition.) Berlin. 4to.
- Hasebroek (J. P.)—*Der God des hemels, etc.* ("The God of Heaven and the mountains of Earth. 1. The mountains of the Old Testament. 2. The mountains of the New Testament.") Amsterdam. 8vo.
- Hausmeister (A.)—*Dialogue entre deux amis juifs sur la parole de Dieu.* Seventh edition. Strasbourg. 12mo.
- Jäger (C. F.)—*Die Grundbegriffe, etc.* (The fundamental notions of Christian Ethics.) Stuttgart. 8vo.
- Koran—*nouvelle traduction, etc.* A new translation of the Koran from the Arabic text, by M. Kasimirski. Paris. 18mo.
- L'Authenticité des évangiles, etc. (The authenticity of the Gospels, and the Pagan philosophers of the first four centuries of the Church, by Father J. T. H. D. E., of the Company of Jesus.) Le Mans. 8vo.
- Lhomond.—*Histoire abrégée de la religion avant la venue de Jésus Christ.* Lyon. 12mo.
- Lhomond.—*Dootrine chrétienne, etc.,* (in the form of religious letters, setting forth the proofs of Christianity, dogmas of the Faith, etc.) Le Mans. 12mo.
- Lobstein (F.)—*Quelques maladies spirituelles, décrites en douze médiations bibliques.* Paris. 18mo.
- Luther (Dr. M.)—*Ausführliche Erklärung, etc.* (Complete exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians.) Berlin. 8vo.
- Marie-Bernard.—*Les héros du Christianisme, histoire universelle des temps anciens et modernes, depuis l'avènement de Jésus Christ.* Tom. V. Chevalerie et monastère. Paris. 8vo.
- Maurial (Emile.)—*Le Scepticisme combattu dans ses principes.* Analyse et discussion des principes du scepticisme de Kant. Montpellier. 8vo.
- Maurer (Dr. Konr.)—*Die Bekehrung, etc.* (The conversion of the Norwegian race to Christianity, etc.) 2 vols. München. 8vo.
- Monod (Horace.)—*Sermons.* 4e série. Paris. 8vo.
- Neander (A.)—*Theolog. Vorlesungen, etc.* (Theological Lectures. Part I. History of Christian Dogmas.) Berlin. 8vo.
- Patrum Apostolicorum opera.* Textum ad fidem codd. et Græcorum et Latincorum, ineditorum copia insignium, adhibitis præstantissimis editionibus, recensuit atque emendavit, notis illustravit, versione Latina passim correctâ. prolegomena, indicibus, instruxit Albert. Rud. Max. Dressel. Accedit Hermas Pastor ex fragmentis græcis Lipsiensibus, instituta questione de vero ejus textus fonte auctore Const. Tischendorf. Lipsiæ. 8vo.
- Paulus (Chr.)—*Blicke in die Weissagung, etc.* (A glance at the prophecy in the Revelation of John.) Stuttgart. 12mo.
- Paumier (L. D., Pastor.)—*Rapport fait au consistoire de l'Eglise réformée de Rouen.* Rouen. 8vo.
- Perrone (J.)—*Compendium der katholischen Dogmatik.* Landshut. 8vo.
- Perrone (Father.)—*Compendium der Katholischen Dogmatik, etc.* (Compendium of Catholic dogma for the use of theologians and educated laymen.) Landshut. 8vo.
- Rossat (Monseigneur.)—*Instruction pastorale de Mgr. l'évêque de Verdun* (on the life of faith, instructions for Lent). Paris. 4to.
- Simon (Jules.)—*La Liberté de Conscience.* Paris. 12mo.

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- Trautmann (Pastor Dr. J. B.).—*Die Apostolische Kirche*, etc. (The Apostolical Church, or a picture of the Christian Church in the days of the Apostles.) Stuttgart. 8vo.
- Ulfilas.—*Die heiligen Schriften*, etc. (The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in the Gothic language, with the Greek and Latin text opposed. Notes, vocabulary, grammar, and historical introduction by H. F. Massman.) Stuttgart. 4to.
- Volney l'Hotelier (E. Joseph).—*Eternel, immortel, transformable; ou, Dieu, l'homme, et la création*. (This work will form eight to ten volumes, beginning with May next.) Paris. 4to.

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- Cresswell (Mrs. Francis).—*Memoir of Elizabeth Fry*, abridged from the larger Memoir. London: Piper. 12mo, pp. 590.
- Davies (Rev. Edwin).—*Glimpses of our Heavenly Home; or, the Destiny of the Glorified*. Second Edition, enlarged. London: Heylin. 18mo, pp. 270.
- Evans (Alfred Bowen).—*Lectures on the Book of Job*. London: Bosworth and Harrison. 8vo, pp. 252.
- Franks (Rev. J. C., M.A. and B.D.).—*The Special Study of the Theory of Public Reading and Preaching Recommended: a Lecture delivered to the Cambridge Philosophical Society, Oct. 28, 1856*. Cambridge: Deighton and Co. 8vo, pp. 24.
- Gurney (John Hampden, M.A.).—*Sermons on Texts from the Gospels and Epistles for particular Sundays*. Rivingtons. 12mo, pp. 376.
- Isham (Rev. A., M.A.).—*Ecclesiastical Outlines; or, suggestions Scriptural and Historical, for the abatement of Disunion and Schism among the people of England and Wales*. London: Bell and Daldy. 8vo, pp. 350.
- Keble (Rev. John, M.A.).—*An Argument for not proceeding immediately to Repeal the Laws which treat the Nuptial Bond as indissoluble*. Oxford and London: Parkers. 8vo, pp. 48.
- Maclear (Rev. G. F., B.A.).—*Incentives to Virtue, natural and revealed. An Essay which obtained the Burney Prize for the year 1856*. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 8vo, pp. 80.
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- Merivale (L. A.).—*Christian Records: a short history of the Apostolic Age*. London: Longmans. 12mo, pp. 460.
- Meyrick (Rev. F., M.A.).—*Moral and Devotional Theology of the Church of Rome, according to the authoritative teaching of S. Alfonso de Liguori*. Reprinted in part from the "Christian Remembrancer". London: Mozleys. 8vo, pp. 360.
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- Palestine and Egypt, sketches of a Tour in, during the Spring of 1856. London: Nisbet. 12mo, pp. 110.

- Pollock, Rev. W., M.A.)—*Foundations ; a Series of Essays argumentative and didactic, on Fundamental Truths.* London : Nisbet. 12mo, pp. 574.
- Reichel (Charles Parsons, B.D.)—*Six Lectures on the Book of Common Prayer, delivered in the Parish Church of Holywood. With an Introduction and Notes.* Dublin : Hodges and Smith. 18mo, pp. 224.
- Riddle (Rev. J. E., M.A.)—*Household Prayers for four weeks, with additional Prayers for special occasions.* London : Longmans. 12mo, pp. 176.
- Tholuck (Dr. A.)—*Light from the Cross : Sermons on the Passion of our Lord.* Edinburgh : Clark. 12mo, pp. 304.
- Thompson (Robert Anchor, M.A.)—*Principles of Natural Theology.* London : Rivingtons. 8vo, pp. 126.
- Wallace (Oswald William.)—*The Benefits of the Establishment and of the Overthrow of Monastic Institutions ; the Essay which obtained the Hulsean prize for the year 1856.* Cambridge : Deighton and Co. 8vo, pp. 74.
- Weber (Professor A.)—*Modern Investigations on Ancient India : a Lecture delivered in Berlin. Translated from the German by Fanny Metcalfe.* London, Williams and Norgate. 1867. 8vo, pp. 82.
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APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

WHEN viewed from without its own circle, and by those not prepossessed in its favour, Christianity certainly exhibits some inexplicable phenomena. Perhaps we ought rather to say *Christendom* than *Christianity*, since it is not the divine system established by Christ and defined in the New Testament, but that system as seen in its combination with human elements which perplexes and scandalizes the beholder. When considered in itself and in its origin, it is true that the religion of our Lord has its mysteries, and that mere intellect is often at a loss to see the harmony of all its relations; but this kind of obscurity is compatible with deep reverence, arising, as it is presumed to do, from man's feebleness when placed beside the grandeur of an Infinite Mind. But the phenomena of Christendom—of the Church in conjunction with human frailties, prejudices, and errors, are often more adapted to cause contempt than admiration, and to repel by their folly than attract by their grandeur and sub-

^a 1. *An Exposition of the Book of the Revelation.* By W. De Burgh, B.D., author of "Lectures on the Second Advent." Fifth Edition, revised and enlarged. Dublin: Hodges and Co. 1857. 18mo. pp. 444.

2. *Israel in the Apocalypse; or, an Examination of the Revelation, with a view to discover in Israel and her Enemies the Key to its Interpretation.* By the Rev. G. E. Winslow, M.D., Rector of Alexton, etc., Leicestershire. London: Partridge and Co. 1857. 18mo. pp. 454.

3. *The Nature and Purpose of God, as revealed in the Apocalypse.* Edinburgh: 1857. 12mo. pp. 256.

limity. Human pride, and passion, and self-conceit, and ignorance, have so mixed themselves up, in many cases, with the modest, calm, lowly, and intelligent institution founded by Christ and his apostles, that it requires the hand of a devoted friend to separate the precious from the vile, to see the jewel through its rough exterior, to sift the chaff from the wheat. It is a very serious matter indeed that Christianity has always had to contend more against the obstacles presented by friends than by avowed enemies, and that, according to our Lord's statement on another, though similar connexion, its foes have been of its own household.

Christianity has always excited mental activity, and has produced more books, probably, than all the false religions of the whole world put together. Those who love the spiritual Zion, and who can discern the fair beauty of the Church in spite of all human accretions, while they are sensible of the mass of folly which many of these books contain, can forgive it for the sake of the noble and all but inspired treatises which are found in others. But as folly is noisy and on the surface, while wisdom is retiring and gentle, it follows that the attention of the world is more drawn to the weaknesses of the Church than to its greatness and strength, to its human than to its divine side. Hence the inept, the fallacious, and the false, which is so plainly seen on the surface of the literature of Christianity, is continually strengthening the prejudices of its opponents, and rendering its predicted glory in the earth, humanly speaking, more and more difficult. What an obstacle would be rolled out of the way of the progress of the Gospel of our Saviour if a sponge could wipe out from human books and human memories all the nonsense which ignorant piety has dared to put forth since the invention of printing! What blessed results would ensue if divines who preach and print about human depravity, and its stopping the wheels of the chariot of the Church, would but remember that *nonsense* uttered or written in favour of sacred things is more injurious than the acute objections of infidelity—that a silly defender or expositor of Christian truth is far more dangerous than a sensible and learned scorner! Among the mysterious permissions of Divine Providence this is not the least, that the art of printing should be, at the same time, a mighty instrument for establishing the Gospel, if rightly used, and yet, through its abuse by Christian men, one of the most formidable stumbling-blocks in its pathway.

In surveying the productions of holy men of old who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost for the edification of the Church, we find some of them written, evidently, for all time,

while others, apparently, have a more local and temporary significance, and only yield lessons to futurity by deduction or implication, *mutatis mutandis*. Some few, as the Canticles and the Apocalypse, occupy decidedly a more mediate position, it being doubtful whether their teaching was local and temporary, whether it extended to after ages, and whether its sphere of influence is not the present as well as the past. Had the Bible been formed at one time as a whole, intended professedly in all its parts as a book of laws and instructions for all ages of the Church, it would then be our duty to treat all as explicable, and to consider obscurities as arising from our own dulness, and to be removed by patient and industrious study. But this is not the fact of the case, the separate portions of the Scriptures having a fragmentary character, with but little interdependence in many instances. The Psalms and Gospels have the character of complete compilations, selected and arranged with care for use in all time and by all believers in divine revelation; the book of Ruth would seem to be important principally as unfolding the links of the genealogy of David, and, through him, of the Messiah; while the Apocalypse, like the prophecies, has the aspect of a composition relating to matters either fulfilled or yet to be brought to pass in the Church's history. In other words, while "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," it would seem that these ends are to be accomplished in different ways, and by the application of a spiritual common-sense and discernment recognizing things which differ, and able to distinguish between what is directly didactic and what teaches only by inference and deduction. There surely is a marked distinction between the ethical character of our Lord's sermon on the mount, the decisions of the council at Jerusalem, and the mysterious imagery of the Apocalypse; for the first is entirely moral and didactic, and cannot be affected by any lapse of time; the second only teach by implication, the circumstances which occasioned the apostolic decrees not now existing; while the third is involved in an obscurity which no amount of research has yet been able to pierce. But even in the case of portions of Holy Scripture which have long since accomplished their *direct* purpose, the "instruction in righteousness" predicated of the whole collection holds good, since meditation on God's dealings of old can never be unprofitable to good men.

It seems to us that an obliviousness of this distinction between the direct and indirect teaching of Holy Writ is the source of a large part of the folly which we have ventured to attribute to

biblical scribes, whose lucubrations so often distress the plain Christian, amuse the indifferent, and afford an unholy triumph to the enemy. As long as men will treat the whole Bible as equally susceptible of interpretation in all its parts, and as equally important in every chapter and verse for every age, whether Jewish or Christian, or for the first or the nineteenth century of our era, what can be expected to result but the confounding of things that differ, a disregard and abnegation of that proportion and harmony by which the words as well as the works of God must be expected to be distinguished? When we read the words of our Lord, "I say unto you, love your enemies," etc., we have a practical duty which can never cease to be binding as long as malignant feelings are capable of dwelling in the human breast; but when we find it stated in the book of the Revelation that the locusts "had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions," we surely are not called to a minute inspection of the figure as though *we* in this age of the world could either find out the exact meaning, or could derive any "doctrine or reproof or correction" from it even if understood. Yet one half the religious books which are written proceed in entire forgetfulness of what would seem, at first sight, to be so plain and indisputable. Scripture is appealed to, not in that discreet way which recognizes the distinctions of time, place, the intention of the writer, and the circumstances of those addressed, but as though every verse and every word, from Moses to St. John, were equally applicable to us and binding upon us.

In no department of biblical literature have these plain principles of interpretation been so signally neglected as in that relating to the Apocalypse. That there was a time when that mysterious book was intelligible to the Church we cannot doubt, for it is a principle with us that no portion of Holy Scripture was without an immediate reference and application at the time of its utterance, whatever remote bearings and relations it might also possess. When therefore the Apocalypse was first delivered, in writing, to the Church, it spoke with an intelligible voice, and taught appropriate lessons to those into whose hands it was given, so as to be profitable for "doctrine, or correction or instruction in righteousness." We do not mean that *all* it contained was understood by its readers or hearers: far from it. A divine revelation may be studiously dark in its expressions and details, and yet may answer most important purposes in the spiritual economy. The early chapters of the Apocalypse are simple and easily understood by ourselves; much more must they have been so to the churches of Asia, to whom allusions, now remote and enigmatical to us, were references to facts in their current his-

tory. Perhaps the prophetic visions, with their concrete symbolism, were less explicit to them; yet the whole design of the disclosures was, doubtless, so far comprehended as to have a practical bearing, either for warning, or encouragement, or consolation. We may be mistaken; but in proportion as we feel convinced that the Revelation was the work of St. John, given to him by the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, so we are sure that it must have been a document read and understood by the churches entrusted with it: if not in all its minor arrangements, yet certainly in its main scope and design. Most judicious readers will coincide with the following remarks of Moses Stuart on this very topic:—

“When Paul inscribes his epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, etc., no sober critic thinks of calling in question whether the respective churches which he addresses had a real existence, nor whether Paul meant that what he said in these cases should be historically interpreted. It would be deemed quite a superfluous labour to undertake the formal task of indicating such an interpretation. Why should not the same principles be applied to the Apocalypse, which is introduced by epistles addressed to seven different churches, and which purports to treat of matters deeply interesting to those churches? It is agreed on all hands that when the Apocalypse was written there were Christian churches at Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. It is conceded that John (whether apostle or presbyter), who names himself as the author of the book, lived at or near Ephesus about this period. Whoever he was, he must have been a man of conspicuous character and great influence. Such a book never came from any ordinary hand or commonplace writer. At the beginning and end of his work he earnestly commends it to the most solemn and diligent attention of the churches whom he addresses, and guards carefully against any interpolations or abscissions of it. All this looks like reality, and has at least the appearance of much earnestness and of deep interest in the welfare of the churches. Would any simple-minded and unsophisticated reader ever think of putting all this to the account of mere symbol or of profound mysticism? Never, as it seems to me, would such a thought enter his mind. It is only after the body of the work has been read, and many symbolic and dark and difficult passages have been found there, that any reader begins to desire some mystic exegesis for the prologue and epilogue of this book.”^b

If then we presume that the Apocalypse accomplished an important purpose in the Church, in its early ages, is it an unreasonable supposition that the primary and chief purpose of that portion of Scripture was answered long centuries ago, and that its present use to the Church is secondary and incidental,

^b *A Commentary on the Apocalypse.* London: Tegg. 1856. p. 176.

like some portions of St. Paul's epistles, and many parts of the Old Testament? Dark, in human estimation, as were the scenes through which the saints of the Lord passed previous to the time of Constantine, and heavy as were the trials to which their faith was exposed by losses, imprisonment, and death, is it too much to suppose that a revelation was given expressly for them, which supported their courage, and revived their hopes? If so, then the Apocalypse will occupy this position in the canon of Holy Scripture:—its original and special intention is fulfilled, like the sublime message sent to Hezekiah, by the mouth of Isaiah, on the occasion of the invasion of Sennacherib; but, like that shorter revelation of mercy, it remains on record to instruct the Church in all ages, in the degree in which its statements and allusions can be understood and applied.^c If it be said, in opposition to this view, that such a secondary use is not important enough to justify so large a portion of the New Testament being admitted into the canon, we altogether deny the legitimacy of such an argument. It is false on two grounds; *first*, because it presumes to lay down a rule for the divine operations towards the Church which no mortal has any right to do; and, *secondly*, it underrates the benefit which this part of Holy Writ is capable of conferring upon all ages, in this its presumed lower and secondary application. We need not stay to prove the latter position, for we are sure that the experience of thousands of pious persons will corroborate our opinion when we say, that apart from all prophetic reference of the Apocalypse, its chapters are admirably suited to elevate the hope of a Christian man, both as to his own interest in the blessings of salvation and as to the sure triumph of the Church at large over all opposition. While many grope in darkness to find the application of the parts of this book to the past, the present, and the future, there are multitudes who refrain from exercising themselves in matters too high for them, and simply use its texts, so far as they admit of such a use, for their own comfort and edification.

The literary history of the Apocalypse exactly coincides with the view we have rather hinted at than adopted as our own. Let it be granted that the Revelation given to St. John had originally and principally a local application, and we can then account for these two remarkable facts:—that the early Church had occasional doubts respecting its canonicity, and that no study and

^c Perhaps a case more closely parallel would be the visions of Ezekiel respecting the holy land and temple in the last chapters of his prophecy. If those minute descriptions all referred to the second temple as about to be built by the Hebrews, the illustration will be quite in point. See on this subject a review of Mr. Warleigh's work in the Notices of Books, p. 451.

investigation have ever yet been able to apply its mysterious contents to the illustration of history with any certainty.

I. We need not enter upon the whole question of the canonicity of the Apocalypse, but will merely state what appears to us to be a fact, that the book was received more unhesitatingly by the very early Church than by that of their successors,—a fact accounted for by our supposition that it had an immediate and local reference. Thus there are allusions to the Revelation in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, probably in *Ignatius*; Papias, as we learn at second hand, considered it an inspired composition; *Melito* of Sardis wrote a commentary upon it; *Justin Martyr* quotes it as the work of St. John the apostle; while *Irenæus* makes direct mention of it in two places:—"Sed et Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi sacerdotalem et gloriosum regni videns adventum;" and, "Significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens." Many more early testimonies might be adduced, but these are enough to prove that immediately after the Apocalypse was published, it was known generally in the Asiatic churches as a book of divine authority, and in actual use for the edification of believers.

This being the case, it is the more remarkable that *after* these testimonies had been borne to the authenticity of the Apocalypse it should become questioned and doubted, if not denied, by other authorities. Caius of Rome ascribed the book to Cerinthus; and although his dislike of Montanism was the occasion of this statement, yet it is quite impossible he could have made it had not doubts then been current on the subject. Dionysius of Alexandria would not allow it to be the production of St. John. But Eusebius, who wrote expressly on the canon, leaves no doubt on our minds that in his day the Apocalypse had gathered around it many suspicions, and was in great danger of being robbed of its authority. He speaks of divers views being taken of the matter, *παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς*, by the many; and almost places the Revelation of St. John among the controverted books, *τοῖς ἀντιλεγόμενοις*; and although a doctrinal bias *may* have influenced Eusebius, and made him hesitate in his opinions, he never could have uttered those we have quoted if the Apocalypse, like St. John's Gospel, had been universally and undoubtedly received by the Church. Cyril denied its canonicity by omitting it from the list of those books which he admitted to have that character. And, not to mention more cases than are necessary for our argument, the apostolic canons omit the Apocalypse from the apostolic writings, and the apostolical constitutions ignore its existence. Equally clear, as to the Apocalypse having been received and used partially, is its being wanted in the Peschito

Syriac version of the New Testament; a fact on which much has been written and which may admit of different explanations. But all the phenomena we have glanced at certainly establish the position, that, from some cause or other, while most of the apostolic writings handed down to us were always admitted as of divine authority, the Revelation attached to itself much of doubt and perplexity, not so much in the first, as in the immediately following centuries of the Christian era.

We think there is overwhelming evidence that St. John the Apostle wrote the Revelation as seen by him and delivered to him in Patmos, and this fact has to be reconciled with the other, that its canonicity was so soon and so extensively doubted. Our suggestion is (for we are anxious our readers should remember we are only suggesting), that all the facts of the case are harmonized by the hypothesis that the book was intended for the churches of Asia alone, in the first instance; that it answered a glorious purpose in their history, and that of other churches similarly situated, by whom its allusions and imagery and general design were well understood; that *afterwards* it ceased to be read in proportion as that design was less manifest, until at length its authority was partly questioned and partly denied. But, as truth always prevails in the end, the sifting of the evidence gradually separated the incidental from what was essential, and placed the genuineness and divine authority of the book on an impregnable basis; and although it has accomplished its *prime* object long ago, it still remains to teach us many lessons of heavenly wisdom: to instruct and confirm us in great doctrines, to shew us how God interfered to comfort his people in their tribulations, and to shadow forth to us the certain triumph of the church in time to come.

While we have serious objections to some of Moses Stuart's statements on the canon, there is a good deal of practical wisdom in the following observations, which, although originally made on the Song of Solomon, will apply equally well to the Apocalypse:^d—

“All things considered, we may settle down, as it seems to me, in the conclusion, that the Canticles is a book rather to be regarded in the light of a *local* one, and adapted to *partial* usage, than as a book now, under the full light of the Gospel, specially adapted to our use. It had its day. That its use was *religious* I cannot doubt, from the company in which it is found, and the ordeal through which it has passed among the founders of Christianity. It may have still another day of usefulness

^d *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon.* Lorimer's edition. London, 1849. p. 332.

among the Asiatics. Let us not disown it, nor set it aside. But persons of timid consciences, who have an idea that, since all parts of Scripture are inspired, they all must of course be equally useful, may be set free from this bondage. Are we to hold that the sketches of tabernacle and temple buildings, of ritual ordinances and customs, and catalogues of names and places, are as edifying as the Epistle to the Romans, or the Gospels, or the Psalms? If we answer in the negative, then I would ask, whether, in other compositions once adapted to the state of things then existing, there may not be a lack of former usefulness, since the light of the Gospel has become fully diffused? As I have once said, I would say again, may not a star which once shone brightly in the dim twilight become no longer visible when the sun is shining in his strength? But why should we deny that it has once shone, and that it is still a star?"

We are aware of some objections made to this view, which some persons will think very strong, if not insuperable, and we will state them. It is thought by many, indeed such is the *conventional* opinion, that the Bible is an organic whole in such a sense that every part of it is equally applicable to the Church in all ages; and they therefore object to any relative estimates of its different parts, even as they would object to its being used in separate portions, either in public or private instruction. This opinion is so in conflict with both facts and reasoning that we need only say we have not the slightest belief in it, and that we should think it a hopeless task to try to convince those who can seriously maintain positions so utterly untenable. It is further stated, that the place of the Apocalypse at the end of the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations to read and study it, and especially the threatening of the last chapter respecting adding to, or taking away from the words of the prophecy, all go to prove that it is a book for all time, and as it concludes the Bible so it winds up the whole history of the church until it shall be complete in heaven. But such arguments as these are specious and nothing more, and will not bear a calm examination. There is nothing to shew that the present position of the books of the New Testament is of any authority, and the study of MSS. will convince any one that in earlier times there were many different arrangements of the separate documents. Thus, Syriac MSS. often place the general Epistles after the Acts, and conclude with the Epistle to the Hebrews. The circumstance of the Apocalypse being so little understood in early ages, and also the fact that it is probably the last of the books chronologically, are sufficient to account for its position without having recourse to any deep or mystical reason. Then, what is said about exhortations to read it, and denunciations against any who should corrupt it, has the same force whether we consider the special

application of the book to be to all time or to be limited to a particular crisis of the Church. Another objection is that long periods are spoken of in the Revelation, such as Christ reigning a thousand years; but it is the belief of many expositors that all that seems chronological in the Apocalypse is symbolical, not real, and such a view can be supported on good critical grounds. Against this objection may be balanced others equally opposed to any long continuance of the platform of the visions, such as, "Behold, I come quickly," and "the time is at hand." Whatever opinion we may form on the question, it will be found beset with difficulties, but we do not think those which surround our hypothesis more formidable than such as lie against any other theory.

II. We now come to consider the fruitlessness of all attempts to apply the scenes of the Revelation historically, as corroborating the view that it may have had a past reference. This is a very large subject, but we must treat it within narrow limits. A complete history of Apocalyptic interpretation would be as curious a production as the mind could conceive of, exhibiting an almost incredible amount of labour, employed both with humble reverence and presumptuous levity and carelessness, and all the various shades of human piety and folly between those extremes. In early ages, indeed, divines were more modest than those who came after them, and the sentiment of Dionysius of Alexandria as given by Eusebius may be said to express the prevailing view of the Church before the invention of printing. "He did not understand the Apocalypse, and what was written in it transcended his comprehension." There were indeed numerous attempts made to explain special portions of the book, but there was never anything, before the Reformation, which recommended itself to the church at large as a key to unlock its mysteries. What Arias Montanus said of the commentators who went before him will well apply to all that was done to explicate the Apocalypse before it began to be applied to the Church of Rome;—he asserts that after studying the Scriptures for thirty years he was in the habit of saying "that the reading of the Apocalypse was understood by himself better than by any of the commentators whom he had happened to read; since they proceeded to explain it as if they understood it, and then, by their varying expositions, rendered it only the more obscure; whereas he himself confessed that he did not understand it at all."

But in more modern times, that is, since the Reformation, this part of Scripture has engaged the scrutiny of men to an extraordinary degree, and while there have been some sensible

treatises written on the subject, the great part of the literature of the Apocalypse exhibits a melancholy spectacle of human presumption, ignorant conceit, and folly. Much has been done to improve the Greek text of the book, and much has also been pertinently written to throw light upon its symbols and emblems as they are illustrated by the language of the Old Testament. Had men stopped here it would have been well, and a reproach now heavily pressing on biblical studies would have been avoided. But they ran wild in an exegesis whose implements were the freaks of their own fancy, and whose results are more calculated to excite laughter and contempt than to gain any worthy credence. While Pererius could affirm that the Apocalypse "must be altogether incomprehensible without an especial revelation from God," more modern theologians have read it off as if it were plain history, even without any of that general "inspiration of the Almighty which giveth understanding" to humble and devout seekers after truth. Need we quote more to justify any language of reproof and sarcasm that we might employ, than the following specimen of the Apocalyptic sketches of a popular pulpit orator who often appears in print. He is expounding (?) chap. ix. 10, "And they had tails like unto scorpions;" and he says, "The allusion to tails is thus explained. In one of the earlier battles of the Saracens the standard was lost; their leader instantly cut off his horse's tail, placed it upon a pole, and told his troops that must be their standard when they marched to battle!" We cannot wonder that such wanton foolery as this should provoke disgust in some minds, and a reaction to an opposite extreme in others. Some grave divines who perpetrate the nonsense we are alluding to would treat as a poor mad woman the authoress of the following rhapsodies, sent to us repeatedly in print. Yet are not such insane conceptions closely allied to their own? Yet further, are not such wild thoughts encouraged in the weak and ignorant by the pernicious comments of men who ought to know better?

"EAST.

"Rev. xvi. 12—21.

"*And the sixth angel* (Seljuk, Rev. ix. 13) *poured out his* (Turkish and Mogul) *vial* (of wrath against all idolatry) *upon the great river Euphrates* (at Bagdad); *and the* (baptismal) *water* (of the great Babylonian and Romish whore of the nations, Rev. xvii. 15) *thereof was dried up* (destroyed, Rev. ix. 11, 15), *that the way of the* (Moslem) *kings of the East* (as far as China, in 1250) *might be prepared* (for Elizabeth's baptism of the Holy Ghost, from April 8, 1839. Matt. iii. 3, 7—12; ii. 2; xxiv. 27, 36, 43; Cant. vi. 10).

“ WEST.

“ Verse 13.

“ *And I saw three unclean spirits like (French) frogs come out of the mouth of the (Greek) dragon (Emperor), and out of the mouth of the beast (Roman Pontiff), and out of the mouth of the false (Koran) prophet. For they are the spirits (priests) of devils (tyrants), working (lying) miracles, which go forth (with their armies) unto the kings of the (old Roman) earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. Behold, I (Elizabeth, the person of the Holy Ghost) come as a thief (to steal away the British nation). Blessed is he that watcheth (for Elizabeth), and keepeth his (royal Jewish) garments, lest he (like the Continental despots) walk naked (uncircumcised), and they see his shame (his poverty and his paganism).*”

Would that the reading of this melancholy trash might deter some of the more staid, yet not less mischievous, Apocalyptic fulfilment-mongers !

We cannot wonder that a writer in opposition to these makers and solvers of spiritual conundrums should lose all patience, and exclaim, “ I found,—what did I not find that did not savour of the apocryphal and the marvellous ? I found that no limit would be put to my credulity, and that at last I was required to believe that a certain hailstorm which injured *parts of France*, on Sunday, July 13th, 1788, was foretold in the Apocalypse ; and that a little frog, called the Tractarian heresy, had been heard by St. John to croak all the way from St. Barnabas to Patmos, at a distance of nearly 2,000 years !”

The great stimulus to the production of the immense mass of crude and unhallowed speculation on the book of the Revelation in modern times, has been the imagined discovery that its most pregnant passages are prophecies of the Church of Rome. It does not appear that the German Reformers, at the commencement of their labours, saw the use which was afterwards made of the Apocalypse against the Papacy, for some of them, as Luther, Zwingle, and Carlstadt, either denied or doubted its canonicity. Luther’s opinion is worth placing here, both as an illustration of the general subject and of the rashness of the Reformer :—

“ There are many reasons why I regard this book as neither apostolical nor prophetical. First and principally, the apostles do not make use of visions, but prophecy in clear and plain language, as do Peter, Paul, and Christ also in the Gospel ; for it is suitable to the apostolic office to speak clearly and without figure or vision respecting Christ and his acts. There is also no prophet in the Old Testament, not to mention the New, who

^c *The Apocalypse Fulfilled*, etc. By the Rev. P. S. Desprez, B.D. Preface.

treats of visions throughout; so that the fourth book of Esdras is almost equal to it in my estimation; and certainly I cannot perceive that it proceeded from the Holy Spirit. Besides, it seems to me too much for him to enjoin it rigorously on his readers to regard his own work as of more importance than any other sacred book, and to threaten that if any one shall take aught away from it, God will take away from him his part in the book of life. Again, if even they are to be blessed who hold to what is contained in it, no man knows what that is, much less what *holding to it* means. The case is all the same as though we had it not; and many more valuable books exist for us to hold to. Many of the fathers, too, rejected it long ago; and though St. Jerome employs big words, and says that it is above all praise, yet he cannot prove that; and in several places his praise is moderate. Finally, let every man think of it as his spirit prompts him. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the book; and it is reason enough for me why I should not esteem it very highly that Christ is neither taught in it nor acknowledged, which above all things an apostle is bound to do; for he says (Acts i.), *Ye shall be my witnesses*. I abide therefore by the books which give Christ to me clearly and purely."

But since their time it has been almost conceded among Protestants that both St. Paul and St. John, writing of the man of sin, of the beast, and of Antichrist, prophesied distinctly and solely of Rome. It was so desirable to gain some scriptural justification of the dissent from Rome, and a biblical argument against a doctrinal opponent is deemed so essentially important, that we cannot wonder, while we may lament, that the *odium theologicum* should betake itself to this mysterious book as a quiver full of appropriate arrows against the enemy. In ordinary matters, men would rather hesitate to adopt a mode of reasoning which is so evidently dependent on subjective grounds, when an adversary had to be assailed, and prefer a weapon of less doubtful proof; but in theological warfare it seems to be thought better to imitate the example of Jael, and to take any instrument of slaughter which may come to hand, than that of St. Paul, who exhorts us to "prove all things."

We do not say that the Apocalypse is not a prophecy of things yet future, nor yet that the corruptions of the Church of Rome are not denounced in it—far from it. We trust that we are sufficiently reverent towards God, and conscious of our own intellectual feebleness, to feel that Holy Scripture almost necessarily contains heights we cannot scale and depths we cannot fathom; and our conception of its marvellous fulness is too decided to allow us to think that its designs are yet all unfolded, or its adaptation to the state of man is yet all disclosed. But what we think we have a right to say, without presumption, is this: That the applications of this book to past and passing and future events in the history of Christendom, so recklessly and

plentifully made by modern schools of theology, are neither warranted by the premises nor confirmed by experience. If the Apocalypse is a mirror of the world's history, it has never yet presented its disk in the right focus so as to enable men to see its pictures clearly and thus to make the predictions and the things predicted correspond; and until something less of the character of the kaleidoscope appears in the attempts of men to identify the prophecies, we must be allowed to suspend our judgment, and to suspect that the Revelation may have answered its direct object long ago. What egregious, what entire failure marks the thousands of pamphlets, sermons, and volumes, which have been written on this subject! What student of Scripture, not blinded by a theory, or misled by a foregone conclusion, can believe that the Apocalypse can be historically interpreted with our present resources, after the Church, for long ages, has attempted the task in vain! As has been said by a writer on this question, it is like the quadrature of the circle, morally possible, yet so highly improbable as to be only attempted by weak or oversanguine men. The Revelation may have a key to unlock its dark recesses, but the long and unsuccessful search for it is a rational argument for desisting from the hopeless task. Reasoning from analogy we go farther than this and say, that past want of success is a reason for believing that the Revelation does not apply to successive eras of the Church's history, for had it done so, surely by this time that application would have been discovered; discovered, we mean with such a moral certainty as would have taken its fulfilled predictions out of the sphere of fancy and fanaticism.

If we take the number of the beast, so enigmatically alluded to in Chapter xiii., we find the interpretations so numerous and yet so contrary the one to the other, that the very mention of most of them would provoke a smile, if a reflection on human credulity did not produce more serious emotions. From the TRITON of Irenæus, to the NAPOLEON of a modern soothsayer, the hundreds of guesses all indicate a very forlorn cause, and it appears extraordinary that these repeated and continued failures do not turn men upon some other scent, and make them suspect that a literal and arithmetical solution was not intended. There is something too cabalistic—too much like the *nugae* of Jewish scribes in the worst state of their literature, in this turning the Word of God into riddles, to allow of our admitting its legitimacy without full authority. Had we been plainly informed by a sacred writer that the number 600 or 666 adumbrated a man's name, to be picked out or guessed at by the numerical value of its letters, we must have submitted our own judgment to such a

teacher; but as that is not done, we cannot consent to lower Divine Revelation to a mere utterer of puzzles, the mystery of which any profane hand may try its skill in endeavouring to solve.^f

What, then, is the sum of our previous arguments, the scope and design of our observations? Do we intend to discourage the study of the Apocalypse? By no means, for then we should be as presumptuous as those whose morbid exegesis we are condemning. But we would have the study pursued in due proportion, and with some regard to the rules of interpretative evidence. Assailed on all sides by an intrusive, and often an insolent school of expositors, we are either called upon to take all their *dicta* for granted, or are charged with being indifferent to the claims of truth, and contemnors of the true sayings of God. We deny these charges, and think we can justify ourselves to others, as we certainly can to our own consciences, by adopting a method entirely different from that claimed by our opponents as the

^f That other methods of explaining the number of the beast are possible, might be shewn by quotations from learned and sensible writers; but we will give one only, from *Durham on the Apocalypse*, the work of a Scotch divine of the seventeenth century. We may mention that we are indebted for the extract to Mr. Clissold's voluminous edition of Swedenborg's *Spiritual Exposition of the Apocalypse*, London: 1851; a work of great erudition and which may be profitably consulted for facts by those who have little or no sympathy with its doctrines.

"To count here is not then by arithmetic to number out of a name, and to cast up a sum by so many figures, but doctrinally and judiciously to weigh the matter of that heresy or the nature of that beast; so the Lord is said to have numbered Belshazzar, Dan. v., and to have found him light. Because by this way of putting particulars together, the judicious searchers will find him exactly out, whether he be agreeable or disagreeable to the rule or character given, as arithmeticians will do by their reckonings. Of this sort of reckoning there are diverse examples in Scripture, but of reckoning from the letters or figures of a name there is none. The first implyeth a particular exact search, as if everything in him were considered by itself particularly, and put together again in whole, as arithmeticians do in their countings. This is confirmed by considering the qualification of him who is invited to number, 'Let him that hath understanding,' that is, not understanding in reckoning and arithmetic, but in the discerning of the spiritual truths of God, especially of the characters of Antichrist formerly given, and prudence to apply them where he shall discern them to be. This saith, not that none other should count: the duty is common: but it saith few will take it to them and find it out, and that no other will come speed but they that take the same balance of the sanctuary and spiritual wisdom to discern with; yet it is put to men's doors to essay this, but with much deniedness and humility. . . . Or, by the number of a man may be understood a number not having God but a man for its author, and not being approved of God, but invented of man, whatever there be pretended; thus, there are in Scripture such phrases, the wisdom of a man, the law of a man, the will of a man, in opposition to the wisdom, will, and law, of God. Thus, the reason runneth: let spiritual wise men consider her and reckon well; for it will be found that this beast's number or doctrine is not of God but of man, whatever be pretended; even as that statue, Dan. iii., might be called the image of a man or of the king; not because it represented him, but because it was instituted by him. Neither of these will be disagreeable to the scope and truth."

only true one. They affirm that the Revelation *must* be a prophecy of things to transpire in all ages of the Church, and that the finger can be placed upon events of past ages and the present time which are evidently intended to be pointed out by its descriptions and denunciations. We reply that this is a mere *gratis dictum*, and that all the requirements of the case may be met by supposing that this sublime book was designed to instruct and support the Church in an earlier age, and that its details *may* have to us, not a direct but an inferential interest. This view, we maintain, allows the Apocalypse to be a source of devout contemplation and religious profit, without entailing the necessity of curious prying into mysteries, or a waste of energy in matters unrevealed and of doubtful import. Some stop should at all events be put to the crude and licentious speculation of which this book is the subject, and we think the course we have marked out will tend, in some degree, to such a result.

It may be necessary to state that we are far from involving all expositors of the Revelation in the charges we have been preferring, although they may think that the historical interpretation may be legitimately pursued. There is a learned, and devout, and tasteful method of pursuing what may prove a false exegesis, as well as one which is ignorant, irreverent, and rude, and it is the advocates and exhibitors of the latter alone that we wish to condemn. But it is worthy of serious inquiry whether the entire method of exposition we are speaking of is not in itself vicious, and whether it does not necessarily lead to the abuses we desire to condemn. If one man may feel justified in finding the name of the Beast in LATEINOS, what reason can be alleged why another should not discover it in LUTHER, as has been attempted by a writer of the Romish Church; or in any other name which he can torture to utter the requisite number, and which may seem to him to designate the error or the vice of the passing age? In other departments of sacred criticism and interpretation there is a scientific method of procedure which lays a restraint on false doctrine, and compels all Christendom to something like unanimity, when a character for scholarship has to be maintained. How signally, for instance, has Socinian doctrine been repressed and confuted by the application of rules which are acknowledged to be true, and which to question would be a mere return to barbarism? But can we predicate any of this moral certainty of the principles of those who swell the stock of Apocalyptic literature? So far from this being the case, every man is his own lawgiver, and adopts critical rules of his own, *pro re natâ*, without the power of claiming the assent of any but his own disciples. This is a great evil, and its bitter

fruits are being reaped in almost every section of the visible Church.

We shall now endeavour briefly to state some of the causes which have led to the morbid activity in this department of biblical interpretation: to the one-sided and disproportioned mental labour bestowed upon the Apocalypse. We do so in the earnest hope that, as far as our opinions are correct, they may induce more carefulness in writers on matters relating to Holy Scripture, and lead to a less fruitful production of scandals both to believers and infidels.

First, we are compelled to place a *love of popularity* as one cause of undue speculation on the Apocalypse. As no man would confess to this, we may be thought uncharitable in attributing such a motive, but as there *are* means of attaining to some moral convictions respecting the principles which animate our fellow-creatures in their overt acts, we think we may justly arrive at such a conclusion. This courting the *aura popularis* is perhaps more evident in preachers than in writers of treatises, because reason and argument are less necessary in the pulpit than in the study, and also because it is so easy to move a mixed multitude by an affectation of depth, an assumption of skill in the elucidation of mysteries. When a popular preacher took some trouble to prove to his audience, during the late war, that Sebastopol was Armageddon, contrary to all philology and all common sense, we are obliged to attribute his doing so either to mental imbecility or to a pandering to the populace; and as we have evidence that it could not be the former, we are compelled to adopt the latter supposition.^g It is a sad feature of our times

^g While we are writing we see advertised a course of lectures in a Scotch place of worship in London, of which the following is the synopsis:—

“THE Rev.——will deliver, in the NATIONAL SCOTCH CHURCH, Halkin-street West, Belgrave-square, a COURSE of SIX LECTURES on the Prophecy on the Mount of Olives, on TUESDAY AFTERNOONS at Three o’Clock. The First Lecture will be given to-morrow (Tuesday), the 23rd. The following is the Course of Lectures:—

- “I. (June 23.) The Fall of Jerusalem. Matt. xxiv. 1.
- “II. (June 30.) Warning Signs. Matt. xxiv. 12.
- “III. (July 7.) The Witness to all Nations. Matt. xxiv. 14.
- “IV. (July 14.) False Prophets and Signs. Matt. xxiv. 24.
- “V. (July 21.) The Great Conflagration.
- “VI. (July 28.) The Last Separation.

“To prevent any crowding or inconvenience, admission will only be by tickets, to be had of Mr. Inglis, 22 Motcomb-street, Belgrave-square.

“June 22, 1857.”

Notice here the expectation of a “rush” for seats—the conviction that the theologico-political exhibition will suit the popular taste! No doubt, from the neighbourhood chosen, it is calculated pretty surely that some aristocratic dabblers in unfulfilled predictions will grace the building and encourage the lecturer.

that a dignified regard to what God teaches, to be set before men "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear," is too often postponed to the more pressing question, "What will the people like?"

Secondly, novelty has charms in the region of theology as well as in more worldly associations, and a *desire to find something new* in the Holy Scriptures has a great influence on exegesis. This is quite in accordance with the spirit of an age which probably approximates closer to that of Athens in apostolic times than any which has preceded it in this country: "For all the Athenians spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Most unfortunate is it that this tendency should shew itself in connexion with revealed truth, which, of all other departments of human knowledge, must have fewer new aspects and combinations; yet so it is, and he is often thought the best and most useful preacher or writer who leaves the paths of catholic consent for untried ways of his own devising. An impatience of what has been said by those who have gone before us, as not sufficiently deep and attractive, has led to a thousand heresies, and to a perversion of a thousand texts of Holy Scripture. To acknowledge that the Apocalypse is partly incomprehensible, as the fathers did, is too great a stretch of humility for modern scholasticism; to eat the "bread corn" of divine truth is but poor entertainment for those whose palate longs for the taste of exotic delicacies. Indeed, it is customary now even to find a divine warrant for this search after novelties in our Saviour's declaration that a scribe, well instructed in relation to the kingdom of God, "will bring out of his treasury things *new* and old." A preacher must declaim in a novel style, and treat his texts with new interpretations; a commentator must eschew the old and coin fresh explications from his own brain; a student of prophecy must be ashamed to confess, as the ancients did, that the event alone can make a prediction plain, and is rather to prefer to point with his finger to the age and circumstances which Apocalyptic imagery shadows forth.

Thirdly, it is easy for shallow minds to dabble in what cannot be proved, and they therefore confine themselves to those branches of literature, sacred and profane, which admit of being presided over by imagination and fancy. Now no department of thought is so airy, so intangible, so discursive, as that of unfulfilled prophecies, for this evident reason, that whatever nonsense men may think or utter upon them cannot be contradicted or disproved, although we may feel as certain that it is nonsense as that two and three cannot make four. In the fair field of

legitimate exegesis, where a comment can be decided by grammar or lexicography, by the analogy of divine truth, or by an extensive consent of authorities, the dunce or the sciolist is easily defeated, and therefore is wise enough, within such lists, to decline the combat. But when the position taken up is *in nubibus*, and the structures of defence erected are castles in the air, what can be done with such unsubstantial and slippery combatants? Without allowing such things as common principles, or any data or axioms, how are men to be refuted though their errors are too palpable to admit of any valid defence or justification? The locusts of the Revelation are Saracens, who can deny it? We venture to question the assertion, and for proof are told that the allusion to their tails settles the matter, for did not an early leader of that people cut off his horse's tail for a standard? Unavoidable inference! logical conclusion! what else can be said upon a matter so learnedly discussed and conducted? But however stupid all this may be to persons of a modicum of sense, your shallow preacher and writer gets the better of you, in his own esteem, because you cannot confute him, and though he is evidently a fool, thinks himself wiser than seven men who can render a reason.

Fourthly, inattention to the rules of evidence is another source of Apocalyptic speculation. Let any one take the more respectable works of this class, such as Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ* for example, and after he has seen the map of the Church and of Divine Providence marked out by the pencil of the writer, from the early persecutions and heresies to Constantine's patronage, and down to the end of all things,—let him ask himself what proof can be given for all this well-defined speculation, and he will find that it is subjective altogether, and that no evidence but the *ipse dixit* of the writer, or those who think with him, is either to be given or expected. We could pardon these dreamers of dreams and seers of visions if they were amiable as well as weak, and were contented to please themselves with the syllogisms of the fancy; but, unfortunately, in proportion as their premises are baseless, their dogmatism is intolerable. No men find so little favour or mercy at the hands of others, in literary warfare, as those who venture to require evidence when told that the Jews are to reign over Christians (which may God in his mercy forbid), that Jerusalem is again to be the glory of all lands, that the present state of the world is to come to an end before the year A.D. 2000, and that Christ is to reign upon earth for a thousand years. It is lawful to ask for proof before a thief is convicted; for evidence that a comet is to be expected, and for all predicted phenomena besides; but in the region of

theology, such a temper is scepticism, such a demand is closely akin to infidelity. Once admit the rules of evidence into this region of dreams, and the laborious evidences sought to be palmed upon us vanish into nothingness.

Fifthly, a more respectable cause than those we have enumerated remains to be mentioned, *the prevalence of à priori notions as to the use of the Holy Scriptures and the destiny of the Church*. This, if fully treated, would well occupy more space than we have allotted to the present paper, but we must only hastily glance at it. If our readers will give a little thoughtful attention to the modes of thought which are current in what is called the religious world, they will find that very many of the topics to which importance is attached in books and sermons have no solid foundation whatever, but are derived from the presumption that God *must* act so and so, or that the Church and the world *must* take such and such a course in the future. For instance: it is said that the Bible *could* not answer its purpose unless verbally inspired; that unless the Bible revealed *everything* which the Church ought to know it could be of little use to it; that as seven is a full number, the Church is to exert its present mode of influence only for six thousand years, and that the seventh thousand is to be the millennium, corresponding to the Sabbath-day. We take these instances *in transitu*, out of a very large number of equally ungrounded conclusions. So, in reference to Apocalyptic interpretation, it is taken for granted that the Bible *must* testify to the events of the Church's history till the end of all things, and that the Church *must* come to an end, as mingled with the present world-state, within a certain period.

After so many intimations given by our Lord to his apostles of the intention of God to conceal the future even from the eyes of his favoured people, it is astonishing that any should still insist upon a chart of the course Divine Providence will pursue as being presented in the Bible. It appears to us as clear as the sun at noon-day, that "it is not for us to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power;" and the moral purposes answered by this divine concealment are, to us, so manifest and weighty, that it seems marvellous that it is not at once and universally acquiesced in. But man will be "wise above what is written," and thus obscures the clearness of gospel truth and darkens divine counsel. True it is that men "rush in where angels fear to tread," and with hands little less than impious, hasten to lift up the veil which God, in his mercy doubtless, has allowed to conceal the future. What is denied to us in our personal history, and what we cannot procure

for our families, our country, and the world, in relation to matters of affection and interest, is supposed to be conceded to us in the region of Divine revelation with regard to spiritual matters. But the concession is imaginary, not real. Men think that God *ought* to act in the way their wisdom points out, and it then becomes easy for them to jump to the conclusion that he *has* so acted.

In conclusion, we beg to hope our readers will give us credit for having nothing more at heart than the reverent, calm, and reasonable exposition of the Holy Scriptures, than the adoption of a *method* of exegesis which can bear the light, and approve itself to men who are thoughtful as well as pious. It is a deep grief to us that a branch of intellectual activity which deserves to be respected as the very highest which man can engage in, should be so much discredited by the rashness of some and the weakness of others who engage in it. Yet such is the fact. Moral science—that is, scientific treatment as far as the subject will admit of it—is so commonly disregarded in matters affecting theology, that it is too often thought they are beyond its range, and that biblical religion is only what varying minds declare it to be. In this state of things nothing is more incumbent upon those who seek the welfare of the highest and best of causes, than to correct this tendency to waywardness by always advocating and encouraging a *reasonable service* in regard to the Scriptures. Most solemn is the thought, that for every idle word we must give an account to God ; solemn when considered in reference to common life and secular pursuits. But how much more solemn does such a declaration become when it is transferred to Christ's kingdom, to the words and opinions of divines and scholars, who are set for the defence of the Gospel ! May all such apply to their studies and public declarations the language of the preacher :—" Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter anything (word) before God ; for God is in heaven and thou upon earth ; therefore let thy words be few."

The three works which we have placed at the head of this article illustrate, though in very different ways, what has been advanced. We have not selected them so much as specimens of the various mental tempers with which men enter upon the study or the exposition of the Book of the Revelation, as because they are about the last works which the press has put forth on the subject, and as having suggested the composition of this paper. We do not agree with either of the writers ; but not one of them enters on the discussion before him with the irreverence

and carelessness which we have been condemning in others. Mr. De Burgh assumes what we think a false position; but it is one not novel, but has rather the support of many excellent and judicious divines. Mr. Winslow also, we think, reasons on false premises; but they are of his own invention, and therefore he has still less claim to be heard than Mr. De Burgh has. The third and anonymous writer also invents a scheme of his own; but it has not the apparent reasonableness and feasibility of Mr. Winslow's, being incoherent, unfounded, and we must say, to us, absurd.

Mr. De Burgh published the first edition of the work, of which that before us is the fifth, in 1832, and he declares that he has since seen no reason to alter his opinion. He is an advocate for the doctrine of our Lord's second advent to reign upon the earth; and by that doctrine he endeavours to explain the Apocalypse. As we cannot see sufficient evidence for Mr. De Burgh's views on the first subject, so we are unable to admit the conclusions which he deduces from it as to the second. If we could grant the first position, that there is to be a millennial reign of our Lord upon the earth, we might then be able to acquiesce in some, at least, of the conclusions to which he arrives in the volume before us. But we think the writer deceives himself when he declares that "as Scripture is its own interpreter, therefore this book," the Revelation, "is intelligible to every diligent and prayerful student of the sacred volume." Hard measure this to deal out to the tens of thousands who, after studying the Apocalypse, have confessed that they *cannot* understand it, and *cannot* acquiesce in Mr. De Burgh's conclusions! Will he assert that they are not "diligent and prayerful?" This statement, found in the preface of the book, seems to us to establish a *prima facie* objection to the writer's exposition; for we can scarcely trust the judgment of one who, on a subject like this, begins with so complacent and prejudiced an assertion.

Again, in reference to chap. xxii. 18, 19, on the denunciation we have already quoted and commented upon, Mr. De Burgh appears to think that only one interpretation is admissible, that, viz., which proceeds on the truth of the assumption that the Apocalypse refers to all ages of the Church. He says:—

"That neglect of this book of Scripture, much less objections to the study of it, should exist after such testimonies to its importance as these, is truly wonderful; yet that, for a long time past, though not in its early days, the Church has been, and is still, characterized by the most deliberate inattention to it, is but too notorious; and this to such an extent, that I tremble to think how many individual Christians there are—how

many of those who read and value the rest of the Scriptures—who, it would be found on enquiry, never read this book, and are ready to seek out reasons to justify them in the neglect of it. To afford every answer that might be made to these reasonings is not now my object. I will not, for instance, here insist that the Revelation is the word of God, and therefore commands our attention,—that, as a part of the Word of God, ALL of which is said to be ‘profitable for instruction,’ etc., it must carry with it its special profit, and that therefore to neglect it is dangerous,—that for both these reasons, its being part of *revealed* Scripture, and of that which is designed to be ‘*profitable for instruction*,’ it must be intelligible; if fulfilled, as furnishing examples; if unfulfilled, as affording warnings for our admonition.”

The careful reader of the preceding pages will see that we have endeavoured to answer all the arguments of the above passage; and we trust we have sufficiently shewn that both reverence may be given to the Apocalypse, and instruction gained from it, without considering its prophecies and images designed specially for ourselves. We need therefore say no more on this topic, but will dismiss Mr. De Burgh’s in many respects clever and interesting volume with the remark that we think he has *imagined* a charge against the Church when he states that the Revelation is neglected. Can he mean to say that the judicious reserve maintained by the Church of England in passing by this book in its selection of lessons, is a neglect which makes him tremble?

Mr. Winslow tells us that the numerous *non sequiturs* perpetrated by those who use the Apocalypse to condemn the Papacy, induced him to study the subject, so that he might, if possible, find out a more excellent way. We wonder it did not occur to him that the failure of one theory was a warning against his contriving another; but he seems to have been sanguine of success, and thinks that the history of the Jews is the true key to the mysteries of the Revelation. The idea is very ingeniously carried out, and we feel a respect for the acuteness of the writer, although we think all his conclusions are vitiated by false premises.

We were daunted at the threshold of the third volume by these positions in the headings of the chapters:—“The true divinity of Christ, or the full equality of the divine existence of the Son with that of the Father, absolutely indispensable to the holy happiness of the Godhead;” and, “The indissoluble union of the Father and the Son, as one holy God, the source of angelic intelligent existence, and the cause of angels receiving the gift of holy happiness.” Having no confidence in any writer who can thus dogmatize on the highest topics, and such as are

not revealed to man, we felt a disposition to close the book, but on looking into it a little we were justified in our objections to it. We will give a few quotations without comment, to shew that we do not find fault without a cause :—

“‘And God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; he made the stars also.’ The sun, moon, and stars of the Jewish economy would be the body of its national religious light, the body of its national political light, and the individual men who surpassed their fellows in intellect, and knowledge, and position, constituting them ecclesiastical and political leaders. The sun and moon are also employed as signs of the written word. In this sense the moon symbolizes the partial light which Scripture would throw upon the divine purpose, during the dark night of this world’s history; and the sun symbolizes the meridian glory of that day of light, in which the contents of the four great prophecies shall be explained and disclosed as fulfilled. The sun and the moon are further employed to symbolize the Christian and the Jewish churches; the sun signifying the Christian Church, when animated by the life, and filled with the Spirit of the Sun of righteousness; and the moon signifying the Jewish Church, reflecting a borrowed light. When the subject treated of is not confined to things human exclusively, but embraces all intelligences, divine, angelic, and human; the sun is used as a sign of the triune God; the moon as a sign of humanity; and the stars as signs of angels. . . .

“‘If the seven spirits of God, or the holy angels, are the ministering spirits of his love and mercy to them who receive his truth and submit to his spirit; then the four angels who stood ‘on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth,’ or the wicked angels, will be the ministering spirits of his wrath and vengeance to them who despise his truth, and resist his Holy Spirit. Therefore, while the hail and the fire mingled with blood symbolize the incarnation of the divine purpose, it is the incarnation of its avenging aspect. Before the Christian era, the spiritual influences here signified were not mingled with blood in the sense of a corporate union; for until the birth of Christ, and his ascension to heaven, all men, whether believers or unbelievers, were strangers to them; were personally ignorant of their power; and had no experience of their effects in their own nature. From the day of Pentecost, however, the world of invisible spiritual life was opened; and from thence, until the final regeneration of all living men, the hail and fire shall continue to be mingled with blood. ‘Trees’ are symbols of individual men. ‘Green grass’ is a symbol of human flesh, or the tabernacle of man’s intelligent nature; for ‘all flesh is grass.’”

ON THE RELATION OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS
CHRIST, AS WELL TO JOSEPH AS TO MARY.

THE instincts of mankind, and, as flowing from these, the traditions, usages, and laws of all nations, in all ages of the world, and under all circumstances, whether of barbarism or of civilization, seem unequivocally to point to the *male* as being not merely the chief or head and the proper representative of the species, but the *real* reproducer of it also; the man being the head of the woman; the woman, on being united to the man, merging in him, becoming one with him, and having no right nor any existence apart from him; their joint offspring truly his, born indeed of her but begotten by him, the fruit of his body, named after him and inheriting his substance. "What is hers, is his; what is his, is his own," a proverbial observation which tallies exactly with a legal maxim,—“the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage.”^a

Physiology, also points in the same direction. Its revelations, as far as they go, are in perfect harmony with the intuitions of instinct. They not merely demonstrate that, in the reproduction of the animal species, there is a direct union and incorporation of the male with the female generative element; but they tend also to shew, that, while (as familiar experience proves) there is an actual blending in the offspring of the parts and qualities of the two parents, the male parent does, nevertheless, specially and mainly impart those parts and qualities that are characteristic as well of the animal as of the species—and very generally of himself individually,—the female imparting those chiefly that are concerned in the nutrition and support of the organism, and which are no otherwise characteristic of either the species or the animal than *indirectly*, that is, simply because they are necessarily constituted in conformity with the essential peculiarities and with the special conditions of existence of both the animal and the species.^b

Keeping in view what has been now advanced, it may be observed, that, in that most extraordinary of all interpositions of Divine Agency in human affairs—the *incarnation* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, there seems to have been a *studied* regard in point of *form* and *spirit* to the instincts in question.

^a Blackstone's *Commentaries*, book i., chap. xv.

^b For references to authorities on these points, see Carpenter's *Principles of Human Physiology*, 5th Ed., pp. 805, and 823, foot note.

Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, the Son of the Highest, Very God and perfect man, our Lord Jesus Christ was yet *as a man*, the child of a married woman. The Virgin Mother of our Lord was the *wife* of Joseph—and that, too, prior to the time he was conceived in her womb, prior even to the time of the “Annunciation” (Matt. i. 18, 19, 20; Luke ii. 5). True, she was then only the *espoused* wife of Joseph. But by the Jewish law, the espousals constituted the marriage. To break the espousal-contract, was to commit adultery; and to marry a virgin that was espoused, was to marry another man’s wife (Deut. xxii, 23—29). *Legally*, therefore, as well as *ostensibly*, though not in the way of natural generation, Christ was the son of Joseph. As his son, he was regarded by his mother—“Thy *father* and I have sought thee sorrowing” (Luke ii. 48); himself “was subject unto them” as his “parents,” recognizing thereby Joseph as his father (Luke ii. 41, 51). And as Joseph’s son, he was considered by the common people—“Is not this the carpenter’s son?” (Matt. xiii. 55).

I. To David was the promise given: “When thy days shall be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom” (2 Sam. vii. 12). Made with immediate reference to Solomon, this promise pointed also, and emphatically, to “a greater than Solomon,” even to Christ, and was so understood by David (Psalm cxxxii. 11; Acts ii. 30). And to Mary it was announced regarding the son that was to be born of her: “The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.” (Luke i. 32, 33).

With much in its full import that transcends, we have here the ideas and the language of ordinary political life—an heir promised, a line of succession indicated, a throne and a house to be perpetuated and securely established. And the words made use of imply all that is understood in human laws as regulating the succession to a crown—lineal descent, primogeniture, a valid title. In this sense, to its fullest extent, they were clearly intended to be received: and thus regarded, two questions present themselves for consideration:—

1st. Was our Lord’s descent from David reckoned through Joseph or through Mary? And

2nd. Through which parent was his right to David’s throne regarded as derived?

Premising that, while, on the one hand, if the lineal descent

of our Lord from David and the validity of His title had not been indisputable, he would have had no right to the Jewish throne,—so, on the other hand, no question was ever raised on the subject at the time when the claim was made, nor during the time that the Jewish archives remained entire,^c—premiting this, it must be admitted that difficulties attach to the existing genealogical records in both the Old and the New Testament, which we have not *now* the means of solving, and, likewise, that there is not that fulness and directness of statement in the writings of the evangelists which would preclude *all* question on the subject. Nevertheless, enough appears in those of St. Matthew and St. Luke to warrant its being affirmed—and that with a confidence short only of absolute certainty—that it was through Joseph, and through him *alone*, that the right was derived and the descent reckoned.

The genealogy given by St. Matthew is unquestionably that of Joseph's line. The terms in which it is drawn demonstrate this: "Abraham *begat* Isaac, . . . and Jacob *begat* Joseph the husband of Mary." And the genealogy furnished by St. Luke is *professedly*—at least *ostensibly*, Joseph's also: "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, who was the son of Heli," etc. Some, indeed, have maintained that it is *actually* Joseph's. It is almost universally held, however, to be really Mary's; and, while the indefinite form of expression used—"Son of," so different from the explicit term "*begat*" employed by the other evangelists (and which may include sons-in-law equally with sons proper), bears out this supposition, the incongruity of the two lists and the impossibility of identifying the Heli of St. Luke with the *Jacob* of St. Matthew,—and the *Neri* of the former with the *Jechonias* of the latter (of both of whom *Salathiel* is represented as the son), seem almost completely to negative any other view.^d

But granting this—allowing St. Luke's genealogy to be truly Mary's, it is remarkable how little Mary is regarded in it and how much Joseph,—nay, how completely Mary is set aside

^c Dr. Adam Clarke,—^c Farther considerations on the best mode of reconciling and explaining the genealogy of our Lord as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke,' in *Commentary on the New Testament*.

^d 'The two *sons-in-law*, who are to be noticed in this genealogy, are *Joseph* the son-in-law of *Heli*; whose *own* father was *Jacob* (Matt. i, 16), and *Salathiel*, the son-in-law of *Neri*; whose *own* father was *Jechonias* (1 Chron. iii. 17 and Matt. i. 12). This remark alone is sufficient to remove every difficulty. Thus it appears that *Joseph*, son of *Jacob*, according to St. Matthew, was *son-in-law* of *Heli* according to St. Luke. And *Salathiel*, son of *Jechonias*, according to the former, was *son-in-law* of *Neri*, according to the latter.' Dr. Adam Clarke, *Comm.*, etc., note to Luke iii. 23.

and Joseph substituted in her room. She is not so much as named in it. It is true (as is remarked by Dr. Adam Clarke) that the "Hebrews never permitted *women* to enter into their genealogical tables, and that whenever a family happened to end with a *daughter*, instead of naming her in the genealogy, they inserted her husband as the *son* of him who was in reality but his father-in-law." But without at present raising any question as to the reason why they did so, it may be observed that, from a remark which twice drops from St. Luke's pen, it is quite clear that Joseph was mainly, indeed exclusively, regarded in the matter by this evangelist. He intimates respecting Joseph, incidentally seemingly, yet once at least significantly, that he was "of the house of David"—"of the house and lineage of David" (Luke i. 27; ii. 4). Mary, we allow, was of the same house and lineage. No such observation, however, is any where made of her—an omission the more singular, that, in the place where the fact is first thus recorded of Joseph, nothing seems more natural than that it should have been recorded of her also—nay of her rather than of him: "And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David" (Luke i. 26, 27). A man of the house of David! Why not also and rather a virgin of the house of David, but that, while the mention of it respecting him was important, it was quite unimportant respecting her? ^f

Taking then St. Luke's genealogy to be really Mary's, but taking the considerations now adduced along with it, it seems scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that, considered in its *legal* intent and in relation to the crown-rights of our Lord, it is *potentially* Joseph's.

But duly regarded, St. Matthew's genealogy is decisive of the questions before us. We are but too apt to read the evangelical narratives as we would a connected and contemporaneously written history, the production of different contributors yet written in concert and after a prescribed plan—agreeably to which each confines himself to a particular portion of the general subject, leaving it to his coadjutors to supply the rest. To read them thus is, very often, to read them amiss, and to lose much of their real import. St. Matthew wrote his gospel long

* *Commentary*, etc. Note on Luke iii. 23.

^f It is very remarkable that there is no direct or explicit statement in any part of the New Testament as to the tribe to which Mary belonged; and but for the presumption (a very certain one it may be allowed) that the genealogy furnished by St. Luke gives Mary's line, it might be inferred from the intimation made of her being cousin to Elizabeth (chap. i. 36), who was of the house of *Levi*, that Mary was herself of the same house.

before St. Luke wrote his, and doubtless, without any knowledge or anticipation that it ever would be written. And writing thus independently, it is clear that in his estimation the only genealogy that legally connected our Lord with David, or was of any value, was the genealogy of Joseph. And it is peculiarly important to observe further, as regards both the acceptance by the Jews (for whom especially this gospel was written) of the genealogy given them, and the view taken of it by St. Matthew himself, that the genealogy in question is directly followed by a plain and unequivocal intimation that Joseph was not the actual or the natural father of our Lord. "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise," is the very first observation which succeeds the record of the genealogy; and the account given of it is, that "When as His mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost," (Matt. i. 18.) With child of the Holy Ghost! One would think that an announcement so extraordinary needed some explanation to justify the genealogy given. Yet none seems to have been thought necessary. The Jews, indeed, must have been quite prepared for such an announcement regarding the manner of the Messiah's birth. "A virgin shall conceive and bear a son," was what their evangelical prophet had foretold them of. But that St. Matthew should thus exclusively, and without any explanation, have affiliated Him to Joseph, and through him to David, can be accounted for on no other principle than this—that, even under the circumstances, Joseph's line and it alone was regarded, not by the evangelist only but by the whole Jewish nation also, as the proper one. Writing as a Jew, and more immediately for his own countrymen, the Jews, St. Matthew presented them with such a genealogy as he knew they would neither gainsay nor refuse, nay, peradventure with such a genealogy as he knew they would alone accept. That is the construction it admits of and requires.

It is, then, altogether inconceivable that had the crown-rights of our Lord passed to him legally through Mary, or his descent from David been properly in Mary's line, both St. Matthew and St. Luke would, so completely as they have done, have in these respects omitted all allusion to her.

And in relation, further, to the questions under consideration, it may be observed, with regard to the lines in which Joseph and Mary were respectively descended from David, that Joseph came in the elder, and royal, and male line, Mary in the younger, and private, and female line—the two lines meeting and being united in the person of *Zerubbabel*, "by the marriage of *Salathiel*, chief of the royal family of *Solomon*, with the daughter

of *Neri*, chief and heretrix of the family of *Nathan*.² While, therefore, Joseph had in himself rights very different from any that could have belonged to Mary—rights higher than hers, prior to hers, and excluding hers, it may be questioned whether Mary carried with her any to which, under the circumstances, the smallest *legal* value could be attached. But supposing that she had, it is plain that in virtue of her relation to Joseph, those rights, even in the eye of St. Luke, came to be vested in him as her husband. Such as they were or may have been, those rights had through marriage been transferred to him and made his—and that in such manner and in such a sense as to be accounted his, and be by him conveyed to Christ. Thus had Joseph centred in himself a *double* power to transmit the succession to David's throne and the honours of David's house to Him who, albeit He was David's Lord, was yet David's Son and Heir.

The position so clearly assigned by the evangelists to Joseph in relation to the Saviour cannot be considered as accidental or undesigned. No reason is given for it. But the details furnished in connexion with it (fragmentary as they mostly are) and those withheld, are of such a nature as unequivocally to bespeak some reason or principle underlying it. And, duly considered, the position in question, as thus exhibited, seems irresistibly to point to the inference before adverted to, as deducible from the universal instincts of mankind and from physiology, as to the *representative* and *reproductive* relations of the *male*. It might of itself suggest that inference; and it certainly seems to impart to it, viewed as the expression of a law of nature, a support in the way of proof or evidence which is all the stronger that it is indirect and special. Conversely, the law itself thus evolved and thus seen to rest on two perfectly distinct and independent grounds—the one physiological, the other that of a universal instinct—may serve to explain or enable us the better to understand *why* that position was assigned to Joseph; that is, its capacity to comprehend or include this position under it, may suggest to us whether it be not that self-same law which was the foundation of it in the Divine Mind; and, peradventure, lead us

* to see in it—to recognize even in this case, *altogether* exceptional as we may at first be disposed to regard it, an instance of that conformity to His own laws which everything that we know of His actings shews to be a ruling principle in the government of God.

II. Nor may this law be without its use in throwing at

² Dr. Adam Clarke, *Op. Cit.* Note to Luke iii. 23.

least a ray of light over a much more mysterious and difficult subject than that of our Lord's relations to David—the true nature of His Humanity.

And to mankind in general this is a subject of far deeper interest. The relations of our Lord to the common family of man reach immeasurably beyond those which He bore to David. Nay, these were but subservient to the former. There was a promise made to Abraham of a higher nature than that made to David: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 18; Gen. xii. 3),—a promise ratifying one of still earlier date, and made at the time when the whole human family pent up as yet in Adam had fallen in him, and death had passed upon the race, namely, that "the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head" (Gen. iii. 15). And it was as this promised seed—the Desire of all nations, equally as the Holy One of Israel, that He came into the world. It was to reign over the Gentiles as well as over the house of Judah, that He came. His great mission was to seek and to save the lost children of His Father, of whatever name, or kindred, or tongue. And, "forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same, that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them." To accomplish the work which His Father gave Him to do, it "behoved" Him to be "made in all things like unto His brethren." And, accordingly, He took upon Him "not the nature of angels," but "the seed of Abraham" and the "fashion" of a man.

In now hazarding a few observations on our Lord's Humanity, it is with a sense of the reverence and the modesty which a subject so mysterious and so peculiarly sacred should be approached. It is with a conviction, however, that within certain limits it is a legitimate subject of enquiry,—and with a persuasion also, that, in freedom and boldness of speculation, it would be difficult to exceed the licence which at different times the church herself has taken. Nor is it without a hope, that if the light which it sheds (as exhibited in the former part of these pages) has been borrowed to elucidate a general law of Nature, light in its turn may from this law be reflected back upon it, and enable us the more clearly to see at least its bearings.

We learn from Holy Scripture that the purposes of God, in the economy of human salvation, required that the Redeemer should be truly man and one with men, while yet He should be truly God and perfect man. We learn further, from the same source, that while He was born of a woman He was conceived by the Holy Ghost. And we have just seen that in His own family

relations as a man, He is set forth as the son of Joseph. These several revelations of fact and requirement seem all to suggest and to consist with these following assumptions as to the essential conditions involved in His Humanity: *First*, That while He should come into the world ostensibly after the manner of men, it should yet be *so far* essentially otherwise than in the way of natural generation; and, in particular, that while one of the links in the double chain, so to speak, by which the generation of men is accomplished, should be preserved, the chief and more essential link should be broken; that is, that while the *female* element should *remain*, the *male* element should be *excluded*. Had both the links been broken, it is impossible (humanly speaking) to conceive how He could have appeared on the earth as a man. Had both the links remained intact, He must needs have been an ordinary man. *Secondly*, That as Mary, being a woman, was not, nor could be, a proper representative of humanity, and was besides incompetent adequately to supply either the material or the dynamical elements necessary to impart the attributes of Humanity to her Son,⁹ it was requisite that her husband Joseph, although he had neither part nor lot in His conception, should yet be *vicariously* or *substitutionally* His father—the Holy Ghost being in point of fact substituted for him, and by substitution, *representing* and *acting for* him.

The Athanasian Creed, indeed, bears that our Lord Jesus Christ is "Man of the substance of his Mother." It may be questioned whether this expression (which contrasts remarkably with the statement in the Apostles' Creed, "Conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,") reaches or realizes the *full* idea of his humanity. The object revealed to us, as sought to be accomplished in regard to our Lord's humanity, is, the *re-creation* within the family of man, and as one of that family, of a *perfect* man, such as Adam at the first was. Whether, then, is it the more reasonable view to suppose that he derived his humanity so exclusively from Mary, as the Athanasian Creed represents, or in the manner just suggested? It was surely as a man, that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin. As a man, therefore, he owed his humanity, in part at least, if not in fact altogether, to the Divine Spirit; and to maintain that in the conception of him, this Divine Spirit acted in the room and in the behalf of Joseph, is in perfect harmony with the relation which both St. Matthew and St. Luke exhibit Joseph as holding towards him. And peradventure the

⁹ Besides the general grounds deducible from the instincts already so often referred to in these pages, there are physiological grounds for the allegation in the text.

view now submitted will serve to explain, and itself derive support from an intelligent appreciation of the reason *why*, in the incarnation of our Lord, the male element, rather than the female, was *actually* excluded, while virtually represented. There was, of course, the very necessity of the case. It was *ex necessitate rei* that our Lord should be born of a woman. It is impossible to conceive how otherwise he could have come into the world as a man. But admitting this, there is another reason besides. In Adam personally the whole human race fell. Eve was first in the transgression, but it was Adam's disobedience that brought death into the world. He was the federal head of the race. In his loins the race lay. Eve held no such relation to it. The common mother of the family of man, she was herself the offspring of Adam and included in him. Neither does any daughter of Adam hold the relation of *progenitor* to the children born of her, but their father alone, whose they truly are. "Behold to me Thou hast given no seed; and, lo, one born in my house is mine heir," was the mournful ejaculation of the believing, yet perplexed, Abram. And the assurance he received in this regard, embodied the principle here insisted on—a principle uniformly recognized in Scripture, and continually breaking out in the language of the Old Testament: "This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth *out of thine own bowels* shall be thine heir."^j Accordingly, "the second Adam, the Lord from heaven," could not as a man have sprung *directly* from a *son* of the first Adam. Mary might *bear* him while Joseph could not *beget* him. Conversely, bearing him, Mary could not constitute him what he truly was—a man. The Divine Spirit, therefore, must needs have had the chief, if not indeed in everything essential, the whole share in imparting the attributes of humanity to the Redeemer; an inference which, though at variance with the doctrine of the Athanasian, is strictly in accordance with that of the Apostles' Creed: "*conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.*" Nay, with that also of the Nicene Creed: "*incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary.*"

And in assuming that therein he represented and acted in the behalf and room of Joseph, there is surely nothing that detracts from the miraculous character or from the sacredness of the incarnation—nothing that is not in perfect harmony with the general analogy of God's dealing, or the general tenour of the revelations he has made to us in his word and in his works: nay, that is not in fact reflected from the light he has vouch-

^j Gen. xv. 3, 4,

safed to us in his Word as to the relation of our Lord to his *reputed* father Joseph.

Nor is there anything that trenches on our Lord's Divinity. The taking of the humanity into Godhead was a perfectly distinct and independent element in the incarnation. Simultaneous it may have been, and probably was, with the incarnation itself; but it was altogether different in character, and accomplished by the Holy Ghost as representing the Godhead alone and exclusively.

It may, in conclusion, be observed, that, in this whole matter, viewed in its relations to our Lord's humanity, it is not in one particular only, but in two (these two, however, embracing everything essential), that the *form* and *spirit* of LAW and ORDER have been preserved intact. It is manifest that they have been adhered to, not merely (1.) in respect of the general law which at the first made and still regards the man as the chief of our race, the head of the woman, the proper representative and the real reproducer of the species; but (2.) in respect also of the special law and appointment of marriage, "instituted of God in the time of man's innocency," declared to be "holy," and by our Lord himself "adorned and beautified with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee." At the time he was conceived in her womb, the Mother of our Lord was the *wife* of Joseph. It is this, indeed, which gives to the position assigned in Scripture to Joseph, in its relations to David, its whole reality and value. But it is not the less deserving of consideration in the point of view from which the subject of our Lord's humanity has just been regarded.

One or two other observations, and these very briefly. It will be at once apparent how adverse to the Romish doctrine of Mariolatry the views here submitted are. Yet let us examine this doctrine a little in detail, and, if possible, without prejudice. The views in question do not, indeed, touch the doctrine of "the immaculate conception;" and it may be freely allowed that the same divine agency by which the Redeemer was miraculously conceived in the womb of Mary, may simultaneously with the conception, and in virtue of her Son's all-sufficient merits, have purged her of every stain—making her a clean vessel for the reception of so divine a seed. Scripture, however, has given us no information on this point; and the doctrine itself cannot by any Protestant be regarded in any other light than as a "fond imagination." Yet there is nothing in it, thus simply viewed, that need excite any feeling of repugnance. But while thus in itself nothing else than a pure hypothesis, without any warrant in Scripture, it has by the Church of Rome been

made one of the grounds on which an undue exaltation has been given to Mary, and divine honours claimed for her. It may be questioned, however, whether it would have been thus used, nay, whether it would have been entertained at all, had not a deeper and a wider foundation for this higher doctrine been laid in the mere fact of Mary's maternal relation to our Lord. That this fact furnishes no sound reason for such a foundation has, it is hoped, been here clearly shewn from Scripture, indirectly it is true, but all the more clearly on that account. Mary, indeed, was the Mother of our Lord. And "highly favoured" as she thus was, and "blessed among women" as she is and will be, even "throughout all generations," Joseph, whom the Church of Rome has altogether overlooked, must yet be regarded as holding towards him the *nearer* and *more excellent* relation. Accordingly, either the doctrine of Mariolatry is no true doctrine, or that church must have omitted from her creed a co-relative and still higher doctrine, and can be no true custodian of the faith.

Again: the cardinal facts as to the relation which St. Matthew and St. Luke exhibit Joseph as standing in towards the Redeemer, may be adverted to as not the least striking among the "*undesigned coincidences*" in which the Scriptures abound, and which the late Professor Blunt of Cambridge has turned to so admirable an account as an argument for their veracity. The record of the facts cannot, indeed, be considered as undesigned. But the manner of their exhibition by the two evangelists, so different and yet so truly consistent, has all the appearance of being so. And it may just be added in connexion with this, that an impostor, giving the pedigree of the Saviour, would never in all probability have dreamt of regarding Joseph. Nay, representing our Lord to be, what he is set forth to us in Scripture, as being "God manifest in the flesh," it may well be doubted whether, for the credibility of his story, he would have *ventured*, even had the idea of it crossed his mind, to give to such a personage, born into the world (as alleged by him) in a manner so exceptional, and invested with the attributes of Deity, such a pedigree as St. Matthew, "writing as he was moved by the Holy Ghost," has not hesitated to give him, or have connected him so pointedly with Joseph as St. Luke, while recording, for the information of the Gentile Church, his Mother's line, has both there and elsewhere so manifestly done.

A. H.

**JESUS, WHEN TWELVE YEARS OLD, AT JERUSALEM, AND
IN THE TEMPLE.**

THERE are found in the New Testament certain striking incidents, simply and concisely recorded, which, though they may only call forth impatient cavils on the part of the sceptic, are yet well suited, if duly studied and compared with other parts of Holy Writ, to nourish and confirm the devout Christian's faith in the word of God, and in the divine sonship of Jesus of Nazareth, the adorable Saviour of sinners. To this class of facts may especially be referred the visit of Jesus to Jerusalem, when only twelve years of age, his singular temporary separation from his parents on that occasion, and his unexpected appearance in the temple, where his deportment, intelligence, and answers rendered him the object of general surprise and admiration.

Before we transcribe the inspired Evangelist's interesting narrative of this remarkable transaction, it will be expedient not to overlook the immediately preceding verse, which contains a beautiful summary of the previous history of Jesus, from the time that Joseph and Mary finally took up their abode at Nazareth, after the return from Egypt. St. Luke writes—"And the child grew and waxed strong in^b spirit, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him." Thus habitually and effectually upheld, taught, and protected by the love and favour of the Most High; Jesus, although, as he increased in years, he was ever advancing from one degree of wisdom and knowledge to another, still attaining to that which was highest of its kind, was never seen to be a child, like other children, in moral weakness and waywardness of temper and character. Nor had he, as he gradually grew up to man's estate, to unlearn (as too many, or rather as we all have to do), the ignorant and erroneous notions and prejudices of childhood—he had indeed to learn, but not to unlearn. Amiable, docile and obliging—conciliating universal esteem and regard from his pure and unwavering love and practice of piety, goodness, and benevolence—happy as a heart overflowing with goodwill to all around him, and a conscience at perfect peace with God and man could make

^a Matt. ii. 23.

^b In this passage, the same form of expression is applied to the human soul of the adorable Saviour, as is used of John, the son of Zacharias, in Luke i. 80. The strength of spirit implies firmness and teachableness, to the exclusion of self-will.

him ; even his childish occupations, pursuits, and joys would never partake of the idle and aimless frivolty, still less of the instinctive attachment to self which usually marks the season of childhood. We may well believe that this child's looks, words, and actions bore the uniform stamp and impress of a consistent, gentle, loving, and more than human holiness ; and that he was in all that came within the sphere of childhood, a daily and hourly winning model and example of " whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report." Accordingly, in quiet steadiness of purpose on the side of truth and godliness, in knowledge, wisdom, discretion, and benevolence, he would be far beyond his years ; and we should especially expect to see him, at all times and in all places and circumstances, demeaning himself towards Joseph and Mary, alike from solemn religious obligation and filial love, as a dutiful and affectionate son, earnestly desirous to promote their comfort and happiness, watchful to avoid whatever might seem in the slightest degree likely to displease or grieve them, and willing to abandon at once even the most cherished purpose, should it be one to which their judgment and feelings were opposed.

Let us now, without further introduction ; proceed to a careful examination of the details of this memorable visit to Jerusalem, which the Evangelist was directed to record for the instruction of the Church, and for the confirmation of our faith in Jesus as the Son of God.

" Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem ; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey ; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem seeking him. And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the

^c It is thought by some to have been an established custom among the Jews, to take their sons, when arrived at the age of twelve years, to Jerusalem, where they were introduced to a participation in the services of the temple. Of course, no tradition, however general at the present day among the dispersed Hebrew race, in reference to matters not enjoined in the Holy Scriptures, can be accepted as a valid proof that any particular usage, thus supported, was certainly in force in the time of our Lord. If, however, we may think that the above was already then an established national custom, it will not, perhaps, be difficult to suppose that it may have pleased the Heavenly Father, on so special an occasion, to have vouchsafed to Israel in the temple, as well as to Joseph and Mary, something like a dawning manifestation of the true character and dignity of the child Jesus.

temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers."—Luke ii. 41-47.

And now, what is it that we must at once infer from St. Luke's words—"the child Jesus tarried behind at Jernsalem, and Joseph and Mary knew not of it?" Doubtless, that it was a designed and deliberate act on the part of Jesus to remain by himself in the city, though aware that his parents must have set forth on their homeward journey in the happy assurance that their beloved child continued to be their fellow-traveller. Nor could he possibly be ignorant of the painful astonishment and uncertainty which would be the immediate consequence of the unwelcome and unexpected discovery that he was no longer with them. On the other hand, the fact that they should, on this occasion, when at a distance from home, have allowed him to be out of their sight during the whole day, is a convincing proof of the entire confidence which they must have reposed in his piety, discretion, and affection, and how impossible they deemed it to be, that he should designedly and deliberately act towards them as he had done, as if forgetful of their peace and comfort, and in seeming disregard of the plainest obligations of filial affection and duty.

Again, how are we to understand the Evangelist's statement—after "three days they found him in the temple?" It is quite unnecessary to suppose that Joseph and Mary, on their return to Jerusalem, spent three days in vainly seeking Jesus; for, according to a well-known scriptural idiom, the phrase—"after three days" may very well mean, "on the third day." Did they then pass two days in a fruitless search, and at length succeed in finding the child on the third day? The correct account of what then occurred is probably not unlike the following. The three days began on the morning of the departure of Mary and Joseph for Nazareth, when their unconscious separation from Jesus commenced. On that morning, the child would of course rise and go with his parents to the spot which had been appointed as the common meeting-place of the several families with whom they were to return to Galilee. When the company set forward, Jesus intentionally remained behind, while his parents proceeded on their way, without entertaining the slightest idea of his purpose. At the close of the first day's journey, when, after making every inquiry, the child could nowhere be found; Mary's maternal affection and overpowering longing to recover the missing treasure of her heart, would urge the paramount duty and necessity of immediately retracing their steps, and they would begin, on that same evening, to

bend their course once more towards Jerusalem. Strong as would be the pious mother's faith in the exercise of a divine guardianship over the holy child, it would not exclude the pressure of a present burden of painful uncertainty and anxiety, her whole soul craving to have him once more safe under her own watchful eye. During the night, they would not desire more rest than nature would absolutely require, resuming their journey early on the next morning; and as they would proceed more rapidly than on the preceding day, there is no difficulty in believing that they reached Jerusalem not later than the noon of the second day. Scarcely conscious of fatigue, they would, of course, not delay to make their first inquiries in the neighbourhood in which they had themselves lodged during their passover sojourn in the city, and then repair to other places to which, on their recent or^d former visits to the metropolis, they might have occasionally or habitually resorted with the child Jesus. Bethlehem, the town of their royal ancestor David, was perhaps somewhat too distant a locality; and spots nearer to the city would demand their earlier attention. And in their earnest search, Joseph and Mary may have sought their lost lamb on the Mount of Olives, and in the vicinity of Gethsemane and Bethany, the former not yet a name of tears and sorrow. We learn, however, from the evangelical narrative, that their first efforts must have ended in disappointment, and they were doubtless compelled to desist until another night should have passed over them. On the third day, however, either having heard some popular rumour of the appearance of an unknown and remarkable child in the temple, or, at length, beginning to think that Jesus would most probably be found there, they entered the sacred edifice, where they discovered him "sitting in the^e midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions, while all who heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers."

We are now come to that portion of the history before us which most powerfully arrests our attention, and which seems

^d Jesus had probably been the companion of his parents in their visits to Jerusalem, not only on former passovers, but also at the two other great annual festivals.

^e It has been observed by some writers that we are not to suppose that any degree of forwardness, unsuitable to his tender age, was displayed by Jesus on this occasion. This is, doubtless, most true. They add that these doctors were, perhaps, seated on elevated semicircular benches, and that Jesus may, with others, have occupied a lower seat, as it were in the midst of them. This is probable. Yet in such an exceptional case as that before us, it is at least possible that the learned teachers, charmed with the wisdom and sweetness of manner in the holy child, may have intentionally put honour upon him, by causing him to sit with them in the place allotted to themselves.

likely to lend us valuable assistance in our endeavours to understand the otherwise extraordinary and inexplicable conduct of the holy child Jesus in his designed and deliberate temporary separation from his fond and sorrowing parents.

"And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said, how is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them."

We pause to make a passing observation on the phrase—"to be about my Father's business." The terms in the original, viz.: *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς μου*, are almost literally rendered, "in my Father's"—the construction being elliptical. The direction usually given for the supplying of this ellipsis is to insert *πράγμασι* or *τόποις* after the article. In the former case, the expression might be fairly translated, "in my Father's affairs or business;" and in the latter, "in the house of my Father." On either view, however, the phrase in question would most obviously point to the temple, which was regarded by the Jews as the earthly palace of the Most High—the terrestrial court and offices where the heavenly government of the chosen people was supposed to be more especially administered. But, upon the whole, it may be more in agreement with the context to translate the passage as follows—"Wist ye not (were ye not aware) that I must be in my Father's house?" For they had been seeking him in much distress and uncertainty as to the *place* where he was most likely to be found; and Jesus evidently seems to suggest to them that, from all which they knew of his previous marvellous history, they ought at once to have sought him in the temple, the house of his Father.

On discovering the child in the sacred building, so deeply occupied in hearing and answering questions that he seemed altogether unmindful of his parents, and forgetful of the affliction which his strange and sudden disappearance must have caused them; Mary's quick maternal sensitiveness—however, under other circumstances, she might have rejoiced at such a spectacle—was doubtless wounded by his apparent lack of filial regard and sympathy in her darling child. Accordingly, though joy at thus recovering the lost one would be the ruling emotion, she accosts him in terms in which some degree of gentle complaint and reproof was mingled with the inquiry—"Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." The child, without pausing a moment to ask forgiveness, or to utter a single expression of apology and

regret, at once becomes in his turn the mild questioner, his questions almost assuming a tone and character of gently authoritative surprise and remonstrance. Nor can we, indeed, help feeling, at first, sentiments of perplexity and astonishment, as we read the unexpected reply to Mary's maternal inquiry, if reply it may be called, from the lips of a child of twelve years of age—"How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?"

Let us, then, try to explain these two short questions, which, as we learn from St. Luke, neither Joseph nor Mary was able to understand at the time. Of these the first is—"How is it that ye sought me?" It is not difficult to discern what such words, deliberately spoken by the wise and holy child Jesus, did not and could not mean. They certainly did not mean—"How is it that ye sought me at all? Why, when my absence was discovered, did you not determine to pursue your journey to Nazareth, and leave it with me to return hence and rejoin you in Galilee, as soon as I should think it right to do so?" The question could not possibly have been so idle and unmeaning. Wise and thoughtful beyond his season of childhood, Jesus was well aware that every parent would, under similar circumstances, have been bound by duty, as well as urged by affection, not to loose an hour in delaying to seek a missing child of the tender age of twelve years, which had unaccountably disappeared, and was believed to be alone in a populous metropolis. Nor is there any real ground for such a misapprehension of the meaning of this brief question. For, if we read St. Luke's narrative with only a slight degree of attention, we shall at once see that Mary had not spoken of merely *seeking* her son, but had expressed herself more strongly, and said—"we have sought thee sorrowing"—the original word (*ὀδυνώμενοι*)^f translated "*sorrowing*," being of an emphatic character, and denoting real and heart-felt distress and anxiety. This language has plainly no reference to their having looked for him on the road (where they would not expect to find him), but rather to their having spent at least some hours, after their arrival at Jerusalem, in seeking him under painful doubt and uncertainty as to the particular direction in which their search was to be prosecuted. It is clear that Jesus had left no kind and dutiful message for them either at the gate of the city or in the neighbourhood where they had

^f *ὀδυνῶ* is derived from *ἔδω* 'to eat, consume,' and denotes a grief that *preys* upon the mind. See Rom. ix. 2 : 1 Tim. vi. 10. The following beautiful passage may serve to illustrate the meaning of the verb. "And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, *sorrowing* (*ὀδυνώμενοι*) most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more."—Acts xx. 37, 38.

so recently lodged. Nay, it would seem evident from the occurrences in the temple, that he had abstained from every attempt to shorten their period of trouble and sorrow by furnishing the slightest clue to his movements; though, while in the temple on the third day, as often as his thoughts reverted to his parents, he could not but feel assured that his mother was anxiously, and perhaps tearfully, seeking him. On their part, they appear to have been at first altogether unmindful of the sacred edifice on Mount Moriah, which is somewhat surprising when we call to mind the mysterious transactions which they had witnessed twelve years before, and to have ended their search where they ought unhesitatingly to have commenced it. And we are thus conducted to the scripturally probable interpretation of the second question—"Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" It was as if he had said to Joseph and Mary—"Did you not well know **WHOSE SON** I really am? Why then did you give way to so much doubt and sorrow? Above all, why did you feel so uncertain where to find me? For *where* else should you have expected to find the Son but in **HIS FATHER'S** house?"

This conduct of Jesus towards his parents would have been regarded in any other Jewish child of the same age, as more than thoughtless, as decidedly culpable. This will at once appear if we direct our attention to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, reverently believed by Jewish parents and children to be the revealed will of the God of Israel. Let us consider the Fifth Commandment—the first with promise, though the promised "length of days in the land" was not his portion, who, in the very prime of life bowed his head in death upon the cross on Calvary. And as we reflect upon the peremptory language of this precept, "Honour thy father and thy mother"—a precept which the Most High expected every Hebrew parent to endeavour, so far as parental care and effort could avail, to engrave on the memory and heart of his children—we cannot but feel how inconsistent with religious and moral duty to God and man it is, to violate wilfully and deliberately the letter or spirit of this solemn injunction, a due regard to which lies at the very foundation of social order and happiness. The command in question must be understood and explained as enjoining, under awful divine sanction and authority, a tender, filial, and dutiful regard to parental feelings and wishes, and an habitual watchfulness (in devout subordination to the divine will) to shun whatever is likely to cause annoyance, anxiety, and distress in the heart of a father or mother. Whence, then, was it that the child Jesus, when at Jerusalem, acted as if indifferent to, or

rather wholly forgetful of, the painful suspense and anxiety which his stay in the city, without their consent or knowledge, would certainly cause in the minds of Joseph and Mary? Childish thoughtlessness and indiscretion cannot be accepted in his case as an excuse, since the strange step was, on his part, most deliberate and intentional. Want of acquaintance with the decalogue cannot be pleaded in behalf of the wondrous child whose understanding and answers—assuredly with especial reference to scriptural topics—excited the astonishment and admiration of all who were privileged to hear him. He cannot, for a moment, be supposed to have been otherwise than familiar with the exhortations and injunctions to filial obedience which are found in the Old Testament, whether in the form of direct commands, or of denunciations against the disobedient. Yet thoroughly aware of the revealed will of God concerning the solemn obligation of filial obedience, and deliberately abstaining from giving even the slightest hint of his purpose to his parents, he designedly suffered them to commence their homeward journey, in the full but erroneous persuasion that their beloved son was with them, while he was not ignorant how great would be their amazement and grief, as soon as they should discover his absence from their company. Still further, neither on the second day, when they must have again reached Jerusalem, nor on the earlier part of the third day, did he make the least effort to put an end to their uncertainty and distress. In other Jewish children such seemingly unfilial conduct could not but have been regarded as a culpable breach of both the letter and the spirit of the Fifth Commandment, the first precept of the second table of Jehovah's moral law; and as Jesus was far more than a child of twelve years in grace, wisdom, and strength of character, the degree of blame, if he was really to be blamed, must have been proportionably greater in his case. Hence arises an interesting and important question, viz.: What was there extraordinary and exceptional in the case of the child Jesus, which rendered innocent, or even laudable, in him, that which in any other Jewish child would have necessarily been an unseemly forgetfulness of the divine law, and a very blameable want of dutiful subordination to parental authority?

There does not seem to be anything in the facts of the narrative itself to excuse or extenuate the child's apparent neglect of the comfort and sensitive feelings of his parents. There is not, as we have seen, the slightest approach to any acknowledgment of recent fault, or promise of future amendment in the child's calm reply to Mary's earnest and affectionate maternal appeal. On the contrary, what an entire independence of

parental authority, what an almost irresponsible superiority to parental control seems there consciously displayed! Yet, in the face of all this, we venture to assert that there is scriptural ground for believing that the apparently inexplicable conduct of the child Jesus, on the occasion of the memorable passover visit of which we have been speaking, was strictly according to the mind and will of the Heavenly Father. Yes; the marvellous child of twelve years of age, when discovered and challenged in the temple, consciously answered as one responsible for the extraordinary step which he had taken without the knowledge and consent, and to the anxiety and distress of his parents, not to Joseph but to God. He replied to Mary's touching and earnest appeal, not as the son of Mary, bound to render her an account of apparently unfilial and undutiful separation from his afflicted parents, but rather as (in the highest meaning of the terms) the holy and irresponsible Son of the Most High God.

The very silence of Joseph and Mary, and their almost submissive deference to the child after he had addressed to them his two brief questions, which were suited rather to put an end, gently but authoritatively, to all further remarks and inquiries, than to afford them any distinct information of the causes of his voluntary separation from them—that very silence and almost submissive deference on the part of the parents, would plainly seem to shew their consciousness that, although they did not comprehend the meaning of the child's words, there was something extraordinary and exceptional in the case of Jesus—some very important distinction, in respect of relationship towards God, between him and every other child of the seed of Abraham.

The scriptural testimony to the wisdom of Jesus (which is a divinely inspired testimony) altogether forbids our regarding as comparatively idle and unmeaning any sentence which proceeded from his lips at any time and place, still less in the temple, and on such an occasion. Hence, his question—"Knew ye not that I must be in my Father's house," must be understood as a strong affirmation. It was only a more emphatic form of saying—"Ye surely could not but well know that I must, while in Jerusalem and separate from you, be in my Father's house, that house in which he especially manifests his presence."^g And we repeat once more, that the whole force of

^g It is as if he had said, "I could have had no other possible reason for separating myself from you than to be near my Father. If I tarried behind in Jerusalem, it was not to be my own master, or to wander in childish curiosity from street to street, and place to place, but to frequent my Father's house."

this concise question, doubtless intended to be (and as such it appears to have been accepted by those to whom it was addressed), not so much a defence or apology, as a mild but authoritative and unanswerable justification of the step which he had taken, rested upon the implied fact that Joseph and Mary were fully aware of the existence of a special filial relation between the holy child and the Most High, such that the God of heaven was the Father of Jesus in some true and special sense in which he could not be said to be the Father of any other Jewish child or adult—neither of Joseph, nor of Mary, nor of any other human being. If, however, no such special filial relation existed between Jesus and the Heavenly Father, other intelligent Jewish children, whether of more or less than twelve years of age, whose imaginations and religious feelings were warm and lively, and who should be suddenly possessed with a very powerful inward longing to separate themselves from their parents and friends, and make a public appearance in the temple, might have claimed to act in a similar manner, and have pleaded a supposed divine impulse in their defence.

The more we study this short and simple narrative, too exquisitely simple and unadorned to have proceeded from the pen either of an unskilful or of a subtle forger, the more clearly do we seem to discern its value and importance to a candid inquirer, and to the devout and humble Christian, as a part of the undesignated internal evidence furnished by the New Testament to the truth of the earlier and miraculous portions of the gospel history. It does not appear to be enough to say that the words and actions of Jesus at Jerusalem, which we are considering, were not inconsistent, or rather were consistent, with what the evangelists relate of his miraculous conception; we may safely advance further, and say, not only that they were even strikingly consistent with, but also confirmatory of, the evangelical history of his conception and birth. How is it, we once more ask, that Joseph and Mary appear to have been immediately silenced; when the child, with an air and tone of gentle authority, put his two short and simple questions? It was not because their judgments were enlightened and convinced by the words of Jesus; for the evangelist expressly tells us, that "they understood not the saying which he spake unto them." Their silently and submissively refraining from making further inquiry is best explained (and can indeed be satisfactorily explained only) on the supposition that they knew enough of a marvellous past in connexion with the previous history of Jesus, to make them feel that it was quite possible that the child "had tarried behind at Jerusalem," under a far higher than human influence and guidance; and, therefore, they were

not unwilling to submit in silence, although they could not understand his words. And thus, in a narrative which would be otherwise wholly dark and inexplicable, we have, when, without offering any violence to the language, it is interpreted in the light of previous sacred history, the mild but firm assertion by Jesus of conscious divine Sonship in a very high and special sense, and, on the part of Joseph and Mary, the submissive recognition, in quiet deference, of that high and special divine Sonship, from their knowledge of a marvellous past.

All this will appear yet more plain, if we place before the reader the concluding part of the narrative, again transcribing by its side the brief and beautiful summary of the holy child's previous history, which has already been brought under our notice.

"And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and the grace of God was upon him" (Luke ii. 40).

"And he went down with them and came to Nazareth, *and was subject to them*; but his mother ^a kept all these sayings in her heart. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man" (Luke ii. 51, 52).

Now, of course, we cannot doubt that Jesus, before the memorable passover visit, had always been dutifully subject to his parents, as we are told that he continued to be afterwards. It is also evident that the previous period of his childhood had been radiant with the noonday beams of the divine love and favour; and, so far as the page of Scripture is to guide us, we have every reason to believe that this bright state of things had continued without interruption up to the very moment when the temporary separation commenced. It is equally clear, from the same authority, that, from the moment of their return to Nazareth, the child went on increasing in favour with God and man. Let us then attentively bear in mind the important facts, that the evangelist (doubtless writing under divine guidance) passes not one word of censure upon the child's temporary and remarkable departure from his habitual submission to his mother and reputed father, while Jesus himself neither made confession of fault, nor uttered one single expression of regret. And if we do

^a This shows the very high esteem in which Mary held those sayings. If they were not intelligible at the time, she felt it was not from their want, but from their depth, of meaning. We are reminded of the shepherds' visit to the new-born babe at Bethlehem. "And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds. But Mary *kept all these things and pondered them in her heart*" (Luke ii. 18, 19).

this, must we not come to this conclusion, that the bright and steady sunshine of God's love and favour before and after the memorable passover visit, the abstinence from every approach to censure on the part of the sacred historian, and the absence of every word of confession and regret from the lips of a child so thoroughly aware of his duty to God and man, all evidently unite in teaching us, that the seemingly unfilial and undutiful temporary separation of the child Jesus from his mother and reputed father, was not only not contrary to, but entirely in accordance with, the mind and will of his Heavenly Father.

Can we gather any additional light from Holy Writ in reference to this point, viz., that all which Jesus did in the temple at this passover visit was entirely in accordance with the mind and will of his Heavenly Father? Let us reverently try and see if we can advance a step further in the path of cautious and legitimate inference; and in doing this we request the reader to excuse a slight degree of unavoidable repetition.

Is it not declared in the New Testament that, "he who is circumcised is a debtor to fulfil the whole law," and that Jesus of Nazareth, "who was made of a woman, was made under the law?" The holy child was, therefore, as strictly under the covenant of the moral law of the Ten Commandments, and as solemnly bound to obey its fifth precept, as was any other Jewish child among his contemporaries. Hence, it was not possible for him, of his own mere will and pleasure, to divest himself, even for a single hour, of the sacred and divinely enjoined duty of filial subjection and responsibility to Joseph and Mary. The clearly-ascertained command or consent of his Heavenly Father could alone render innocent and lawful the act of Jesus in remaining alone at Jerusalem without the knowledge or permission of his mother and reputed father. We have not the shadow of scriptural authority or analogy for supposing that the child Jesus should himself have conceived such a purpose, and then have asked the sanction of his Heavenly Father's consent. It would have been against the deepest feelings of his loving and sympathising heart to inflict needless uncertainty and sorrow, anxiety and distress, on Mary and Joseph, to whom he was so deservedly dear. Still less could so wise and holy a child have deliberately formed a plan, the execution of which involved an open departure from the moral law of Jehovah; nor is it credible, or even conceivable, that he could have presumed, as if wiser than his Heavenly Father, to ask the divine sanction and consent to such a scheme. The more calmly and devoutly we meditate upon the subject, the more does light seem to enter our minds. Bound

by the most solemnⁱ obligations to obey the divine command—"Honour thy father and thy mother"—Jesus could not, as we have just seen, lawfully and innocently carry into execution a deliberate purpose which he knew would certainly afflict and grieve his parents, without some kind of communication from and with the heavenly throne, to set aside for a time the binding force of the commandment in his particular case, and on that special occasion. For the sake of illustration, the supposed heavenly communication may have been either in the form of consent in answer to his own prayer, or in that of clear injunction from his Heavenly Father, to which it was his sacred and bounden duty to render implicit obedience. It is not so much that we presume to take upon ourselves to decide between the two forms, as that, while reflecting on the deeply interesting subject in all its scriptural bearings, it appears to us to be increasingly incredible and impossible (if such an expression may be allowed) that the child Jesus should himself have formed the plan, and have sought the divine assent to his own individual wish and purpose. It was clearly and emphatically for that child, who, though the Son, was under the law, and in the form of a servant, to leave absolutely to the will of the Omnipotent and Omniscient Father, to determine the path which he was to pursue, whether at Nazareth or Jerusalem. Nor is it possible to entertain the thought that the holy child would take it upon himself to suggest and propose a change in his course, involving the apparent breach of the first commandment of the second table of the moral law. Few things are more clear in the New Testament than this, viz., that with reference to his own personal path, it was not for the Son to choose, suggest, or propose, but submissively to hearken and dutifully to obey. Hence, it is not in the way of selection between two different views, but rather in that of a moral constraint and compulsion to which Scripture and reason alike invite us to submit our judgment, that we believe (or rather to speak more reverently, regard it as in the highest degree probable) that the Eternal Father especially directed his beloved Son, the

ⁱ Surely we may safely regard it as beyond question, that Jesus did not stay alone at Jerusalem on this remarkable occasion, without reasons calculated to satisfy both his conscience and judgment, and sufficiently powerful to outweigh all natural human reluctance, however strong and deep, to inflict certain mental suffering on the parents whom the Fifth Commandment enjoined him to honour. We are, therefore, constrained to conclude that, as this commandment came from heaven, with the most awful divine sanctions, its solemn obligations were, on that ever-memorable occasion overruled in his case, by a special injunction from that same heavenly source.

child Jesus, to act, on that particular occasion, in entire^k independence of his earthly parents, and, remaining at Jerusalem without their knowledge and consent, to manifest in the temple an understanding and wisdom so far above his tender years, as to excite the wonder and admiration of all who were present to hear him.

There is one question which it is not for us even to attempt to discuss:—How the Heavenly Father's will was made known to the wise and holy child, when at the age of twelve years he tarried behind at Jerusalem in obedience to the divine will—whether by dream, or vision, or audible voice, or angelic message, or through a clear and unmistakable impression on his mind by the Holy Spirit, it belongs not to us to say. We leave this point untouched as God's unrevealed secret, the knowledge of which would be of no benefit to us, however important it may be to acquaint ourselves with the very strong presumptive evidence to be gathered from Holy Writ to the view, that Jesus received, in some form or other, a direction (which he could not possibly mistake) from his Heavenly Father, to remain for a time at Jerusalem without previously asking the advice or consent of Joseph and Mary—thus acting not as the son of Mary but as the Son of God.

In a like spirit of reverential caution, we would briefly notice another point, as it will most probably force itself upon the minds of many of the thoughtful readers of the narrative before us, and which, for that reason, it may be better not to pass by altogether in silence. It is a striking circumstance, that this passover visit to Jerusalem is the only instance in the evangelical records, during the interval which elapsed from the settlement at Nazareth after the return from Egypt, to the appearance of John the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan, in which Jesus of Nazareth is presented to our view otherwise than as the Son of Joseph and Mary. Now there must have been a time when the human soul of Jesus was not yet conscious of his special divine Sonship. May we then venture reverently to inquire if the Scriptures lead us in any way to think that it was on the occasion of this visit to Jerusalem, that the first clear and direct

^k The Eternal Father had entrusted his only-begotten and beloved Son to the care and training of Joseph and Mary, and willed that Son to be obedient to them as a child to his parents. But he never purposed to share his paternal authority with weak and fallible mortals. And we may reverently believe, that it was to instruct Joseph and Mary in their true position, as well as to teach Jesus his real and true divine Sonship, that the Father directed the holy child to act on the special occasion before us, in entire independence of his earthly parents, and to remain alone at Jerusalem without their knowledge and consent, not as Mary's son, but as the Son of God.

knowledge was conveyed to the human soul of Jesus, that he was in the highest sense, especially and exclusively, the only-begotten and beloved Son of God. It may, perhaps, be hastily advanced against such a supposition—Surely Mary and Joseph had long before told so wise, holy, and thoughtful a child the secret of his mysterious conception, and of the marvels which accompanied his birth. He must surely have already learned from his parents (even if not from information directly addressed to himself, yet when, unconscious of his presence, they were conversing together from time to time, on the marvellous past) the visit of the angel to Zacharias—the interview of Gabriel with his mother—the salutation of Elizabeth when the Baptist was yet in her womb—the dreams of Joseph—the appearance of the hosts of angels to the shepherds near Bethlehem—the homage and gifts of the Magi—and the divinely-enjoined journey to, and return from Egypt. Or, if not, surely the Father, who had given to his Son such rare wisdom, and a strength of mind and character so far beyond his years, must be supposed to have revealed to Jesus the secret of his divine Sonship before the memorable passover visit to Jerusalem. Of the latter supposition we say nothing, being utterly incompetent to discuss such a question. We have, however, far less difficulty in understanding that the marvellous, or rather miraculous, events which Joseph and Mary had either personally witnessed, or learned from trustworthy testimony, were not their own secret, to be revealed or not to the child at their own will and pleasure, but emphatically the mystery and secret of God, to be held by them in trust for him, in his fear, according to his will, and for his glory. We do not for a moment venture to assert that the holy child certainly did not first learn the mystery of his divine Sonship from his mother; but we may perhaps safely say that candid and reflecting minds will find no difficulty in assenting to the reasonable and scriptural probability of the view, that the time and place, the occasion and manner, of revealing this secret to the human soul of the beloved Son, was especially reserved in his own power by the Heavenly Father, and that Mary would not have presumed to make the secret known to Jesus on her own judgment and responsibility.

So far as we can form an opinion of the characters of Joseph and Mary from the New Testament, they both appear to have been discreet rather than talkative; thoughtful, rather than communicative—"swift to hear and slow to speak." The fact of her addressing the child as if she could not conceive any possible cause of his sudden separation from her, together with the way in which she speaks of her husband Joseph—"thy

father and I have sought thee sorrowing"—would seem to show that she had not yet discovered to Jesus that he was the son of the Most High, and also that up to the moment of their meeting in the temple, she was not aware that the mysterious secret was known to the child. Let us also give due weight to her apparent (or rather undoubted) abstinence from all exercise of unquestionable parental right to question him more fully and closely, and ask and require replies to such queries as these—"Why hast thou ventured to do this? Was it altogether thine own thought? If not, how, when, where was it suggested to thee?" Again, let us bear in mind the fact that, after their return to Nazareth, Mary "kept all these sayings of Jesus in her heart," *i.e.*, she did not question the child afterwards, but silently meditated on the marvellous scene in the temple, as eleven years before she had pondered in her mind the words of the shepherds at Bethlehem. The seemingly submissive and silent acquiescence of Joseph and Mary, on hearing the child's two short questions, leads us to suppose that a conviction was springing up in their thoughts, as they listened to him, similar to that which the aged Eli experienced when Samuel came to him the third time—"And Eli perceived that the Lord had called the child." Thus Joseph and Mary appear to have been mentally persuaded, from the child's manner and questions, that God had recently made known his will to Jesus, and that it was in consequence of some special communication and impulse from heaven that the holy child had suddenly separated himself from their society, and remained alone at Jerusalem. If we patiently and candidly weigh these considerations, and others which will suggest themselves as we study the narrative, they will doubtless be seen to be not unfavourable to the view that Mary had never, previously to the memorable passover visit, revealed to Jesus the mystery connected with his conception and birth—that all which the child Jesus knew, at that time, of his divine sonship, he had learned not from his human mother, but from his heavenly Father—and that it was in obedience to the clearly¹ expressed will of the Father (in whatever way the divine will was made known to the child), that Jesus remained alone at Jerusalem, without the knowledge and consent of Joseph and Mary.

¹ That Jesus was not moved to remain as he did at Jerusalem, by a mere vague and inexplicable, but irresistible impression and impulse on his feelings, unaccompanied by, and exclusive of corresponding light and instruction in his mind, seems to be sufficiently clear from his silencing Joseph and Mary by the mention of his Father—his human soul must have been enlightened to know that he was staying in Jerusalem in obedience to the will of the Father.

While we freely confess that nothing can be definitely and positively asserted on this interesting and not unimportant subject, we think that the scriptural statements and analogies which bear upon it, and the legitimate inferences which are to be drawn from those statements and analogies, apparently agree in converging towards the view advocated in this paper, as towards a common and true centre.

The narrative which we have been considering suggests some other instructive reflections and useful practical lessons, in addition to its indirect but powerful testimony to the miraculous conception and divine sonship of Jesus of Nazareth.

I. In the holy child's grave and gentle authority of tone and language, as if at the moment irresponsible to man, and in the silent acquiescence of Joseph and Mary, who seem to have at once ceased from further inquiry and remonstrance; we have a brief glimpse and anticipation of that gracious and unearthly dignity of which we have occasional instances after his baptism, when, as it is written, "the people were astonished at his doctrine, for he taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes."—Matt. vii., 29.

II. Again, we are reminded of what afterwards took place at Cana in Galilee. The baptized Jesus had then already entered upon his mission as the Messiah, and when his mother, in her well-meaning but ill-instructed affection and patriotism—in her maternal zeal, without due knowledge of her son's position—wishing to hasten forward the longed-for moment of His manifestation as King of Israel and heir of David, said "They have no wine," He, no longer speaking and acting as Mary's son, answered her as the Son and servant of God, His Heavenly Father, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? My hour is not yet come." As subsequently at Cana, so, at the passover visit in the temple, he does not recognize any responsibility to his mother where the will of God is concerned; he silences, rather than answers, her inquiries, and indirectly, but authoritatively, instructs Joseph and Mary that in all which belonged to his recent sudden and temporary separation from them, he had acted not on his own mere will and choice, but as the obedient Son of God, irresponsible, as such, to man, and accountable solely and exclusively to his Heavenly Father for what he had been doing in submission to that Father's will.

III. The perusal of the narrative before us throws light upon the expressions which were afterwards used concerning Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth. "Is not this the car-

penter's son?" Is not this the carpenter?" When we read that Jesus, after acting for a very short time independently of Joseph and Mary at Jerusalem, on his return to Nazareth was subject (*ὑποτασσόμενος*) to them, can we reasonably or scripturally come to any other conclusion than that he learned the trade of a carpenter, and wrought at it with honest diligence and industry. And as it may be considered certain that Joseph died before John the Baptist entered upon his ministry, we may believe that Jesus, by the daily labour of his hands, and the sweat of his brow, assisted in the support and maintenance of his mother, and thus put honour upon honest daily labour. This view is also strengthened by other considerations. He came to endure all the penal sentence passed on man at the fall, so far as such endurance in his case was consistent with perfect sinlessness. But a part of the penal sentence on Adam was—"By the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread." Again, he came to fulfil that law, which contained, in its fourth commandment, the precept—"Six days shalt thou labour." And the Apostle Paul tells us that it was a saying of the Lord Jesus—"It is more blessed to give than to receive," and we may feel assured that during the life of Joseph, and afterwards, while living with his widowed mother, Jesus would find pleasure in giving rather than in receiving, in labouring with his own hands, rather than in living at his ease upon the produce of the labours of others.

IV. Let us refer to the command which God gave to Joseph through His angel, saying, "Joseph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost." Does not this teach us, as plainly as words can do, that the unspeakably high honour put upon Mary from whom the eternal Word took flesh, did not, in the infallible judgment of Omniscience, render her too holy and too sacred to be the true-hearted and loving wife of a faithful and affectionate husband; and that the humble faith of Joseph, and his submission to the will of God, were afterwards to be graciously rewarded with the blessing of conjugal happiness and confidence. Were we to consider the words of the angel to Joseph as almost a divine promise to this effect, how consistent

* Matt. xiii. 55, and Mark vi. 3. Both forms of expression were probably used by different individuals on the same occasion. The writer of this paper (as is doubtless the case with many of his clerical brethren) has, on more than one occasion, when addressing a village congregation, found the comfort and benefit of being able to bring forward the example of Jesus, as putting honour from God on the diligent exercise of daily labour in an honest calling.

" Acts xx. 35.

is the narrative before us with such a view. Joseph and Mary were evidently living together in the sight of all their neighbours and of the child Jesus, as husband and wife, bearing towards each other a mutual affection and esteem. Nor is there anything in the scriptures of the New Testament to justify us in asserting that Mary did not bear children to Joseph, after the birth of Jesus—still less to warrant the papacy to anathematize those who think it possible, and not improbable, that she may have done so.

V. The simple evangelical narrative before us, in agreement with other passages in the life of Jesus, strikingly discourages that childish but impious tenet of the Romish heresy, which ascribes to Mary the possession of an all-prevailing maternal influence in heaven, over the Son of God, in behalf of all those for whom she chooses to make intercession. When Jesus, while upon earth, was acting as the Son of God, and as the Messiah, not only as a child of twelve years old in the temple, but also after his baptism, both at Cana and when teaching at Capernaum, he did not allow Mary to exercise any maternal authority over him. And can we believe that, now he is seated in the heavenly glory, at the Father's right hand, holding from the Father's love and covenant faithfulness all power in heaven and earth, as "Head over all things for his church,"—can we believe, we say, that he will allow a maternal control to be exercised over him in heaven, where he is ever visibly and gloriously the Son of God as well as the Son of Man, to which control he did not, when acting as the Son of God, submit while upon earth? Nay, what strong or valid plea can^o Mary now employ, even if we could accept as true the incredible and monstrous fiction that she has been taken up bodily into the celestial regions, and enthroned there as the Queen of Heaven? The

^o We instinctively allow that the consideration of the pangs of childbirth powerfully strengthens a mother's claim to the affection, sympathy, and obedience of her children. Many would deprive Mary of this touching claim upon the heart of Jesus, when he was sojourning on earth, by asserting that, when she brought forth Jesus, she experienced a perfectly painless parturition. If we believe, as the inspired Scriptures surely teaches us to believe, that Jesus was not only really and truly God, but also really and truly man, there being an ineffable and indissoluble union in him between the Godhead and the manhood, then do we seem bound to believe (unless we had a special revelation to the contrary) that Mary, the mother of the true and real humanity of Jesus, suffered when bringing that human nature into the world, like other mothers, more or less, the divinely appointed pains of childbirth. Not a few will perhaps think that the very last case in which we could reasonably and scripturally expect a perfectly painless parturition, would be that of the mother of him who was born to take away, as the Lamb of God, the sin of the world, and to "redeem us from the curse of the law, by being made a curse for us." Is it probable that the mother of this Jesus was exempt from the penal sentence of painful parturition?

mortal life which he possessed on earth, and on which he spake and acted while sojourning among men, this life Jesus received in Mary's womb; and, therefore, she may doubtless be said, in the ordinary sense of the terms, to have been the mother of that mortal life. But in what possible or conceivable sense can Mary be said to be the mother of that resurrection life, that immortal life, which Jesus, when lying dead in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, received as a gift and reward from the Eternal Father, in the dark and silent womb of that new and rock-hewn grave? This is the immortal life in which Jesus now lives; and every act of the glorified Christ at God's right hand, is done by him as the possessor of this resurrection-life. Is it not then worse than puerile and absurd to suppose that Mary, the mother of the mortal life of Jesus the Incarnate Word—which mortal life he laid down on Calvary as the saviour of sinners, of whom Mary herself was one—can have any authoritative maternal control over the heart, and will, and acts of Christ in his glorious and immortal resurrection-life in heaven?

VI. Parents have here a beautiful and winning example of filial obedience to set before their children, and they should earnestly and thankfully avail themselves of the goodness of God in providing for them such an instructive model to assist them in training up their offspring in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Jesus willingly leaves the applause and admiration of the great and learned in Jerusalem, returns to the obscure Galilean town of Nazareth, and contentedly dwells there as the son of an humble carpenter, in dutiful filial subjection to Joseph and Mary, though we are sure that now, at length, he was become fully aware that he was emphatically the Son of God. That the child Jesus cheerfully acquiesced in this arrangement is very plain from the narrative. For, if there had been the slightest shade of gloom and dissatisfaction in his voice and countenance, or of pride and discontent in his deportment, he would never have been beloved of his neighbours and his Heavenly Father. It was the dutiful, obliging, cheerful, and contented child Jesus, who thus went on "increasing in favour with God and man." The language of his heart was, doubtless, not merely that of submission, but rather of cordial acquiescence—"Here I desire to be, in Nazareth, in my present humble position—even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."

As we reflect on this portion of the narrative, our thoughts are irresistibly carried forward to even a brighter manifestation of the same spirit of heavenly-minded submission to, and ac-

quiescence in, the Father's goodwill and pleasure. We call to mind his wonderful career when "he¹ went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people, and his fame went throughout all Syria." The proud and aspiring heart of fallen man would desire and expect (and be vexed and impatient should the expectation be disappointed) that such an exhibition of wisdom, benevolence, and mighty power, should result in winning the admiration of this world's great and wise ones, and would feel ill-satisfied if followed only by the obscure, the lowly, and the poor. It was not so with Jesus. There was no unworthy self-love in his soul to be mortified and wounded by the cold regards, the neglect, or open hostility of the great, the influential, and the learned of the land. He had no will of his own. It was enough for him to be followed by all whose hearts it was his Father's will to open to the reception of his word and doctrine. "At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for it seemed good in thy sight."

Before we finally take our leave of St. Luke's simple and deeply interesting narrative, we offer two or three additional remarks. Joseph and Mary unquestionably believed that Jesus was, after his arrival at the state of manhood, sooner or later to be made king of Israel, and that John, the son of Zacharias, was to precede him as a herald sent from God to proclaim the Son's approaching inauguration to the throne of David. And if, instead of seeing the holy child merely admired and applauded as a child of rare talents, wisdom, and piety, they had beheld all the learned Rabbis and others prostrating themselves before Jesus (after the example of the eastern Magi) as their promised Messiah and king, however surprised, they would have been far less perplexed, and have better understood so marvellous a scene.

With the Evangelist's short but instructive record to instruct us, we can well afford to despise, and dispense with, the absurd and extravagant apocryphal gospels of the childhood of Jesus; that record does not, indeed, minister to idle curiosity, but it tells us all that is useful for the church to know concerning the earlier years of the Son of God. We have before us, in the few verses and concise narrative of St. Luke, what is equi-

¹ Matt. iv. 23, 24.

valent to a whole volume; for there we possess a clear and vivid picture, which enables us to understand, not indeed the minute details, but the true character of the life of Jesus, from his tenderest childhood to the day of his appearing before John the Baptist, on the banks of the Jordan—a life of uniform and uninterrupted holiness, wisdom, piety, benevolence, and love.

The illustrious John Calvin (as quoted in one of our popular commentaries) speaking of the marvellous scene in the temple, says—"Christ gave them to taste of his divine wisdom and knowledge. Methinks they might have had Christ to enter upon his work now, but they were only astonished, and understood not the indication; and, therefore, like Moses, he retires into obscurity, and they hear no more of him for many years after."

How different was it with the just and devout Simeon, who, at the time of the birth of the holy child Jesus "was" waiting for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms and said, Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. Which thou has prepared before the face of all people; A LIGHT TO LIGHTEN THE GENTILES, AND THE GLORY OF THY PEOPLE ISRAEL."

4th April, 1857.

G.

EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.—No. II.

WHATEVER conclusions may be arrived at as to the origin of the Egyptian kings from the history of Sanchoniathon, and the traditions that are traced into connexion with "*the later Gene-*

² Luke ii. 25-32.

¹ Concluded from April, 1855.

rations" of that writer, it is certain none can be satisfactory, except they coincide with the chronological requirements of the royal tables, or "*Dynasties*" of Egyptian kings, handed down by Manetho. For there is no ancient record of better authenticity than those Tables; and however differently they may be considered to be applicable to the periods of history, no one has ever ventured to charge them with a want of genuineness, or to allege that the kings there registered never existed. And, as those tables professedly extend from the reign of the first *Man-king*, as "*Menes*" was held to be, who reigned in Egypt after the "*Dii*" or Osirian "*God-kings*," down to the very times of the Persian and Macedonian conquests, it is plain the period we have assigned to the reigns of the Osiridæ from the Syrian history, must coincide with the commencement of that rôle of kings, or our conclusions cannot be correct.

Now we have shewn, in our former number, a very certain connexion between the concluding "*Generations*" of Sancho-niathon, and the family of the patriarch Abraham in its first three generations; and from this in the second line of descent, there has been shewn also a race of African monarchs, of Ketu-rene and Arabian origin, commencing in a first conqueror and civilizer of the central and northern regions of Africa; upon whose history the Orphean, and many local traditions of the same continent, are brought to bear by the historian Diodorus. If the connexions so traced are at all true, the period in which the Osiridæ reigned cannot be doubtful; and if we do not presume to say they are so, we do not hesitate to say, that such notwithstanding, is our opinion respecting them. For they can only be refuted by an entire rejection of many ancient notices of the times we treat of; which men, who lived nearer to that age and were eminently qualified to judge of such matters, deemed worthy of recording, as marks, though obscure ones, of a true history.

There is, as we are aware, a strong feeling of distrust on the subject of these ancient traditions, whether derived from Herodotus or Diodorus; though the characters of both these writers are generally unimpeached, and it is known that both travelled into most of the countries from whence they professed to have derived their information. This was eminently the case with the Sicilian; so that, in whatever degree we may distrust the truth of the traditions themselves, we think it cannot be questioned that his account of them is true; and that they prevailed as he has related them, among the people he refers to. And thus the marvel is, that though he collected these African traditions from four distinct and remote people; for such the

Egyptians, Ethiopians, Libyans, and Atlantæans were, from whom separately he professes to have received them; they all have a great deal in common, relative to the existence of the old kings of that first conqueror's family, of whom Josephus gives us an account; and to the descent, power, and establishment by them of the Osirian rulers of Egypt, in the upper regions of the Nile. And then we may ask;—if we admit any dominant powers at all to have ruled at the early period referred to over that large assemblage of nations, many of which to this day are found with marks of a great antiquity in the central parts of Africa; how can we reject the notion of traditions of a reliable nature being found among the more civilized portion of them, as long as the fabric of those old kingdoms was not wholly shaken to pieces:—as it may be said to have been by the effects of the Roman and Saracen inroads into their countries:—and to which an “*enquirer*” in the time of Diodorus might have obtained access? Many of the western nations of Africa still afford evidences in their family and provincial names and customs, that are very corroborative of these traditions; and at the same time, indicative of an extremely early association with the first Greek and Italian families. The personal features of the best Greek families, the names of the royal races of the Dardan, Lydian, and Æolian people, and the festive and funeral customs that prevailed commonly among them, are still to be found among the towns of the Western Niger, from whence the Hesperian and Dardan settlers were certainly brought by leaders of the Atlantæan family. The custom of assigning an apotheosis to their sovereigns, clothed the traditions of these kings among the colonists from their coasts with the mythical character in which they are found among the European nations. But if Virgil assigned a constellation to Augustus for the abode of his immortality, may we not believe the people of these less civilized countries might have exalted those kings to similar honour, who taught them how to know the seasons of seed time and harvest, and to turn the changes of the year to their proper account? And knowing that such a system of deification existed amongst the Ethiopian nations, is not the custody which that religion gave, the very safest pledge that men could ever have for the truth of their traditions, and of the existence of such kings as are handed down to posterity with that guarantee of their authenticity? One can hardly refrain from a sort of contempt for a sciolism which will reject evidence of so sure a kind, built upon the most sacred instincts of mankind; rather than undertake the task of contemplating a certainty under a disguise, which requires an interpreter.

There is some little waywardness undoubtedly in the case; for if we took half as much pains only, and as much faith for the elucidations of these records,—the oral hieroglyphics of the pagan priesthood,—as we do to give a doubtful meaning to an Assyrian inscription, we should probably find the elements of much true history as the reward of our pains.

But we must turn to Manetho and his Tables, the adjustment of which is to form the subject of this paper; and of which we may first observe, that under the arrangement here proposed of them, these tables are found to have that coincidence with the deductions of our former paper, which we have above predicated to be necessary. For the kings there registered take their commencement from the middle of the seventeenth century B.C.; which formed, by the deductions of that paper, the concluding epoch of the Osirian kings. (April, 1855, p. 22, 28).

The result will be found disclosed in the arrangement we have made of the Tables at the end of this article, and of which we purpose now to give some explanation. But it may perhaps facilitate that object if we offer a few words preliminarily, respecting the process we ourselves pursued in the investigation of these perplexing registers. For the first step for the elucidation of their character was not at all of an affirmative kind, but by looking for indications of a negative character in them; not for determining what they were, but what they could not be. And it is no great boast to say, that the first discovery in that direction was, that the classification of the Tables themselves could not be throughout consecutive in order of time; nor, with respect to the later tables, could the names they contained disclose a consecutive succession of kings; though such probably may have been the case in the earlier Dynasties.

These were very important conclusions; and the circumstances that led to them are so very pregnant, that we will recount a few of them, in order to give assurance to our readers that they were well founded. Thus, then,—if we count the numbers of the years between the reign of Menes, who is placed at the head of the whole Tables, and the first king of the fifteenth Dynasty, which is the register of those Phœnician shepherds whose expulsion from Egypt took place under Amosis, the first king of the 18th table; according to some chronologers, about the time of Abraham, or, according to others, at the time of the Exodus,—there will be found an interval of nearly 3,000 years. Yet, the next king to Menes in his own dynasty is Athothis, who is taken by Syncellus to be the Thoth of the Egyptians, and by Erastosthenes as the Thoth of the Phœnicians; of whom Sanchoniathon fixes the date by a contemporarity with

the fourth generation of the Abrahamic family. Now, as this dynasty of the Phœnician shepherds extends over 284 years; whether its expulsion took place under Abraham or Moses, it is clear Athothis could not have reigned before their age at all; but many years after. In effect, the fifteenth dynasty must be of much older date than the first. But this Athothis of the 1st Table is held moreover to have been the contemporary of Tosorthus, the second king of the third dynasty; (a Table of Memphites), who was the Egyptian Æsculapius. And here again, we find by the order of the tables, that these contemporaries are separated by an interval of more than 600 years. Again, the builders of the Pyramids are registered in the first, fourth, and sixth dynasties, at an interval, between the first and last, of about 1400 years. But of these last builders, the tables shew that they lived nearly 2500 years before the first king of the eighteenth dynasty; to which table, in some point or other, the era of the Exodus is by all chronologers attributed.

And if these "*Impossibilities*" plainly shew that the Tables themselves cannot be consecutive registers in their earlier numbers; those of the later period, particularly after the twenty-third dynasty, afford internal evidence, that neither are the entries of the kings in those tables, entries of consecutive kings. For the history is tolerably authentic which treats of the kings of the eighth century B.C.; that the succession was from Gnephactus to Bocchoris, and Necho I.; then to Sabaco the Ethiopian conqueror; and from him, after an interval, to Psammeticus the son or grandson of that Necho. But the tables of that era register these kings in the following manner:—Gnephactus by his name of Necheptos in the 26th table; Bocchoris in the 24th table; Necho I., under Necheptos in the 26th table; Sabaco in the 25th table; and Psammeticus again in the said 26th table, under his father the first Necho. The order of a true succession, therefore, was neither observed in the sequence of the tables, nor in the entries of the kings in these later dynasties.

These deductions in the negative appeared to lay open the whole arrangement of the Tables to the necessity of some collateral dispositions. But whether that requirement applied to the whole range of the dynasties, or for a period only and what period, formed another and new subject of inquiry. For it is very extraordinary, that though Manetho professes to write a history of five separate states in Egypt, it has been contended, with reference to these Tables, that having given them in the order of a continuous succession, it must be taken that the historian necessarily intended to represent them as one series of

kings following that order. The circumstances above pointed out ought we think to have led to a different conclusion. And if Manetho gave an account of five Egyptian kingdoms, and added these lists, as the lists of all the Egyptian kings, it may very certainly be concluded that he intended them as the tables of the kings of all the five kingdoms. As the point is disputed however, we have been obliged to have recourse to the Tables themselves for elucidating their true nature; and this, by a proper analysis, we think they do in a very satisfactory manner.

They do, in effect then, according to our view of them, disclose the concurrent registers of that very number of kingdoms which Manetho treats of: four of which took their commencement about the age of Menes, and in immediate succession to the dynasty of the Osirian kings; that is, about the middle of the seventeenth century B.C.: while the fifth, comprehending that section of the Tables which constitutes the several shepherd dynasties of the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th numbers, and are generally of an anomalous character and of uncertain dates, must be referred to several races of temporary occupants of the Egyptian Delta or some other border lands by foreign settlers, whose histories are generally unknown.^a The dynasty of Phœnician shepherds alone holds a place in the Egyptian annals: and this is numbered the 17th table by Eusebius; in which position it stands next before the eighteenth dynasty; whose first king, Amosis, was instrumental in expelling them from the Egyptian territory; as is probable, about the latter period of the life of Abraham. This king, Amosis, with the six next succeeding names of that 18th table, disclose therefore a race of enchorial sovereigns, before the accession of the post-Osirian kings of Egypt: for they commenced their line in the Memnon and Horus, who are the 8th and 9th kings of that table.

Under the fourfold divisions of the remaining dynasties, the Tables disclose a series of dynastic successions, which are marked out by contemporary epochs in all the four lines, in a manner which could hardly result from any merely fortuitous adjustment of them. For instance, the whole four kingdoms are shewn by this combination to have been descended together from the age of Menes and Horus through their respective dynasties for a course of about 700 years, down to the time of that king who was the contemporary of David and Solomon,

^a See a notice of one of these shepherd races in an extract from Herodotus in note ^c at p. 313 post.

and the father of him who is called in the sacred Scriptures by the name of Shishac: from whose reign a new system of things took their commencement. During the whole of that long interval, all the kings of these four kingdoms are registered in their Dynasties by name, and with the exact years of their reigns—and those reigns are generally for long periods. After that epoch, the lists still continue to shew the same fourfold division through another period of about 200 years; but in all that interval the names of the kings are generally not given; except only in a few cases of the paramount or Theban kings; and the reigns appear throughout shortened to very brief periods.

This second series of successions terminates in all its four sections with the coming of Sabaco, the Ethiopian conqueror, about the middle of the eighth century before Christ; with which event all the Toparchal Thrones appear to have ceased; and their registers are no longer found. From that epoch, after an interval of about thirty years of unregistered rulers, the government in its single monarchy came to Psammeticus of the old Pharaohic stock; in which condition the throne of Egypt descended in a regular succession of his descendants, till the period of the usurpation of Amosis; who held it down to the year which preceded that of the conquest of the country by Cambyses.

The above adjustment, however, is subject to a subdivision of its first period, the 700 years between Menes and Shishac, into two other well defined subordinate sections. The first, extending from Menes to the epoch of the Exodus, when the race of Osirian kings from Horus, who occupy the eight last numbers of the eighteenth dynasty, appear to have been brought to an end: the other, extending from that time to the period of the Trojan war, when the race of Sesostridæ took their commencement, as hereditary kings. Between the Exodus and the later epoch, the Theban or paramount throne appears to have been held by a succession of elective kings out of the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd tables. From these the family of the Sesostridæ, themselves perhaps first seated as elected kings, took the Theban throne hereditarily, and handed it down from that period to him who lived in the time of David, and gave his daughter to the favoured son of that king.

These results are the fruit of what has appeared to us, from a very unprejudiced view of the tables, to form their *necessary* classification. We disown emphatically that the arrangement has been, in any proper sense, a gratuitous or arbitrary one. If anything can at all be said to have been adopted arbitrarily,

it is alone the coincidence of the terminating point of the eighteenth dynasty with the events of the Exodus. But that view was not adopted till after the æra of the Osiridæ had been determinately fixed from other data; and the interval between their æra and the Exodus, found to be in close proximity to that which the 18th table shews, between the Osirian names of Horus and Memnon and the close of that dynasty. Having gained the certainty of that point, as we deemed it;—of the contemporaneity of Horus and Menes;—and of the concurrent nature of the tables, through their separate series of kings; the development of them followed almost of course.

We say, then, that the Tables themselves disclose that the race of kings of the eighteenth dynasty terminated their line of descent, and, we assume, their sovereignty, with the end of that Table. But the 19th table does not shew the immediate successors of the kings of that 18th table. The kings of the 19th and 20th tables are clearly kings of the Sesostridæ, and of a much later date than the eighteenth dynasty; they are later than the kings of those Tables that follow the 19th and 20th; as low down as to the 23rd table. The 19th and 20th Tables (the latter being plainly a sequel only to its predecessor) are anomalous in their position; and the true succeeding tables to the 18th are in effect the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third dynasties; all of which have a different character from those of the first periods of the dynasties; and have appeared to us to denote the series of elected kings we have referred to: into which state the paramount throne must have fallen, after the destruction of the race of kings of the 18th Table.

The line of kings of the elective monarchy, taking these to have been such, terminated in Psammus, third king of the 23rd Table; when the order of the registers reverts to the 19th list, where the kings of the Sesostridæ, in their Theban or paramount throne, are found. These last kings reigned through four descents for 192 years, down to the end of the reign of Rameses; who is the same king as Sesostris, in the Toparchal Register of the 12th dynasty. For these Sesostridæ were of the lineage of Menes; and ruled, in their first accession to the Theban throne, both in that Throne, and the subordinate one of their own patrimonial kingdom.

After the death of Sesostris, and the accession of his unworthy son, as the Greek historian calls him, there succeeded a race of tyrannical kings in the Theban throne, for the space of about 200 years, and down to the time of the Ethiopian Sabaco. There is a notice by Herodotus of this period of oppressive

domination, under which the reigns of the provincial kings shortened according to the tables. For that historian relates that such a tyranny was foretold by an oracle, and was attempted to be put an end to by a king named Mycerinus, before the end of the decreed years, for which impiety he was punished by the gods.^b The age of that king, according to Herodotus, was four reigns before that of Sabaco, and agrees, therefore, with the reign of "*Zet*," fourth king in the 23rd table, who, by our adjustment of the tables, is the first king who follows in succession to the unnamed kings of the 20th table, at an interval of 147 years from the death of Rameses.^c

The reason why the Sesostrian kings, who first took the Theban throne hereditarily after the elective kings, have the table of their succession placed before those elective lists, instead of below the 23rd table, where they should appear by the order of their date, can of course be only conjectured. Of the fact, we think, the reader will be quite convinced; but conjecturally, their position in the tables may be accounted for, by the impossibility of observing a strictly true consecutive order of succession in the reigns, by any arrangement that could be made of them; as is evident by what we have said in p. 309. This perhaps was coupled with a purpose of making that dynasty of eminent kings, who raised the Theban throne to its highest glory, appear at the head of the system out of which it had sprung, and which was truly of its own family, though differently organized in its inception: and which, moreover, had restored the inheritable property to that throne, after its suspension by the overthrow of the kings of the 18th table.

It will be manifest to the most cursory observer, that these Tables are a compilation of registers, continuously kept; and so the growth of separate archives, and independently generated.

^b Euterp., § 133.

^c There is a very extraordinary notice in Herodotus relative to this period of trouble, which is quite unintelligible from the history. For there, after referring to Proteus, as the king who received the Greek Helen, it states that Ramsinitus was his successor, and then continues:—"Down to the time of Ramsinitus, the laws were supreme in Egypt, and the country enjoyed a universal prosperity" (Euterp. 124); but with the accession of Cheops, who succeeded him, iniquity became predominant: the temples were shut and the sacrifices forbidden, and the people subjected to a most oppressive slavery in the works of the king. This king reigned fifty years; and Chephren, his brother, who pursued the same course, fifty-six years (126, 7). After him came Mycerinus, who attempted to put an end to this rule, and was told it was the decree of the gods to be so for 150 years (133). Herodotus writes, "in these 106 years, of Cheops and Chephren, all kinds of evils befel the Egyptians; so that they would never allow any memorial of their names;" and called the very pyramids they had constructed by the name of the shepherd Philition, who pastured his cattle in those vicinities during that period (Euterp., 128).

In the old hereditary kingdoms, the successions followed in the order and numbering of the tables; but in the Paramount throne, and the successions of the kings of that throne from the 21st to the 26th table, the kings appear to have been taken out of the different families of those dynasties, by a course that was not one of regular succession, according to the order of the tables. The position of the 24th and 25th tables, whose kings were evidently of later date than some of those in the 26th table, as we have before shewn, indicates an irregularity in the order of arrangement there, arising from some plain necessity beyond question; and the principle of a necessary transposition in the classification of the tables being admitted, the anteposition of the 19th and 20th tables, to the 21st, and two sequent ones whose kings were of an earlier date, at once becomes a possible anomaly in the arrangement of these dynasties. But if those three tables, Nos. 21, 22, and 23, were concurrent tables of a race of elective kings, who were the predecessors of those of the 19th table, who were of another order of sovereignty by their hereditary character, and had also their family registers in the antecedent lists of their own local kingdoms:—taking the anomalous character of that list into view from these circumstances, it appears to ourselves difficult to perceive where that list could be better inserted than in the very place where it is found.

As to the general classification of the dynasties in other respects, the method adopted appears a very simple one; which was to collect the tables relating to the three old Toparchal thrones, in one fasciculus, and to place that fasciculus altogether before the series of Tables by which the succession in the supreme throne is deduced, as first stated. These Toparchal registers will be found, therefore, to be comprehended in their whole extent, down to the time of Sabaco, in the first thirteen Tables: those of the Shepherd kings taking their commencement at the fourteenth number, and extending down to the time of the Theban kings of the 18th table.

Of the Shepherd dynasties, which occupy the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th tables, although one only of them can be taken as the certain predecessor to the kings of the 18th table; which one is the table of Phœnician shepherds, yet again, it seems hardly possible to conceive, in what other parts of the rôle of dynasties the others could be placed, so as to be in conjunction with the one certain table of their own class. For being altogether anomalous, and their dates, and even the locality of their kingdoms and their histories being unchronicled, they could only be treated in their one abnormal character; and so classed to-

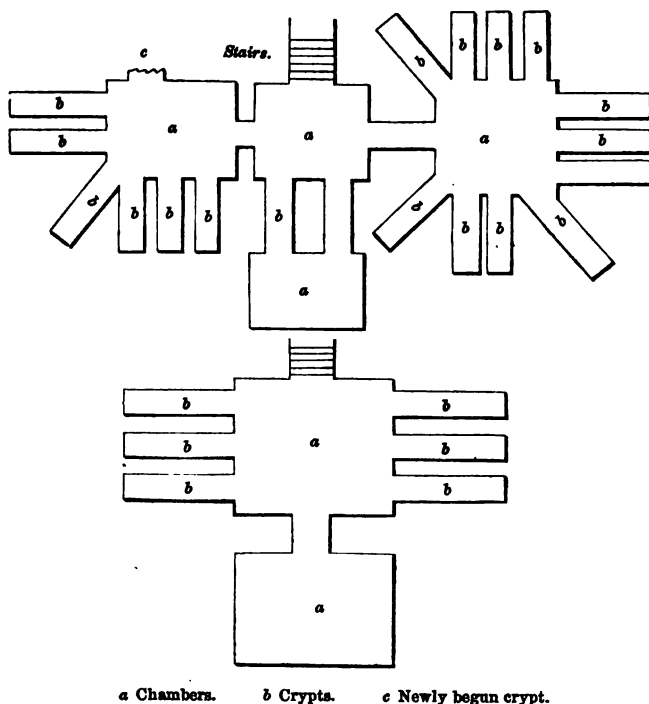
gether, as we find them to be, with that one whose date and position with reference to the 18th table was known and certain. The first king of the 18th table, as we have said, is he who is supposed to have expelled the Phœnician shepherds, the Hycsos or Shepherd kings, from their position; and the table of their kings is properly precursive to that 18th dynasty. Africanus, whose lists we have generally followed, numbers this Phœnician list as the fifteenth dynasty, and gives the names and periods of the reigns of six kings, placing the list of Greek and Theban Pastor kings in his 16th and 17th lists, who must clearly have been of a much later age. But the version of the tables by Eusebius puts the dynasty of these Phœnician shepherds in the 17th list, and as the immediate precursors, therefore, of the king who expelled them.

Taking this disposition of the Tables to be the true one, a question then arises, what could have been the original nature of the Tables themselves? For undoubtedly they must have been generated *in situ* by the gradual accretion of the names that constitute their respective dynasties. But why are they broken into these small compartments? If they were taken from the rolls of a royal record office that could hardly have happened. For the first two tables are of the same kingdom and race of kings; and the next two tables are also of the same kingdom and family of descendant sovereigns; so that it seems impossible to conceive why any municipal records should not have continued each of those lines, as long as they lasted, in one continuous register. This circumstance, and the precise nature of the numerical classification of these old dynasties, while it leads us to a conclusion that they cannot have been obtained from records that were strictly municipal or regal in their nature, give great ground for supposing that they may have had another origin altogether, and been taken from the registers of the royal tombs. For they answer very specifically to the character of "mortuary tables," such as the ancient tombs of that early period would have given rise to:—and, after giving due consideration to the subject, it is our opinion that such is the true nature of all these earlier Tables. They are certainly transcripts from the inscriptions or registers of interred kings, belonging to the royal sepulchres; and answer exactly in their arrangement and numerical constitution to the disposition of those ancient tombs which are found to have existed among the Syrian nations.

As we conceive this point to be of the utmost importance to the right understanding of these Dynasties, we will occupy our reader's time for a brief space, to explain the grounds upon which we have come to this conclusion.

First, then, we beg to present to his view a plan of the ancient tombs described by Maundrell, as still in existence near the island of "*Aradus*" on the coast of "*Syria*." These are found underground, with spindles or small tapering towers, by which the entrances to the caves below were concealed, and the annexed drawing is copied from that traveller's work. They are formed of a principal chamber or entrance-hall, out of which the repositories of the dead branch in all directions, except that of the entrance, and the number of these crypts or receptacles is limited by the nature of that construction. They vary in this drawing, as may be seen, from six to eleven, but the normal arrangement would evidently be, three crypts on every side but that of the entrance, or to the number of nine. A reference to the early tables in these dynasties will shew that that was the precise constituent of these registers; and if they are mortuary tables, this order of their compilation will at once be accounted for, by reference to the contents of the respective tombs; to every one of which a new register would probably have been assigned.

MAUNDRELL'S SYRIAN TOMBS.



The neighbourhood where these tombs are discovered, is about fifty miles from that very "*Byblus*," which Sanchoniathon assigns as the original settling-place of the patriarchal race; from whom the royal races of the Arabian, African, or Egyptian dynasties, in their early stages, were all derived; as we have shewn in our preceding papers. From that region, we shall recollect, the descents of the Egyptian Thoth and Æsculapius, both kings in these Egyptian tables, are deduced: there "*Busiris*," the lieutenant or viceroy of the second Osiris, and the contemporary of "*Menes*" and "*Horus*," held his government, according to the Egyptian traditions: and, finally, from thence also—a point we shall have to improve upon in a future paper—the Aramite concubine of "*Manasseh*," the son of Joseph, was derived (1 Chron. vii. 14); if that region is the original seat of the Aramite family of the old scriptures; as Dr. Shaw supposes it to be. The neighbourhood is therefore in every way connected with the origin and history of the Osirian family, and the early kings derived from or established by them in Egypt, and it is the very place therefore where we should expect to find customs which were taken into Egypt by the kings of that dynasty.

The history we have of the cave of Machpelah shews the prevalence of this kind of sepulchre of many receptacles, at a period earlier than these tombs can be referred to, and in the same region. In that one tomb, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, and Jacob were certainly interred; and it is probable that Ishmael and Esau would also have been deposited in that sepulchre of their fathers. The vicinity of that locality, then, to the abode of Melchizedek, who is very certainly held to be the same person as the Sydyce of Sanchoniathon, leaves no doubt but that the cave of Machpelah was such as the Syrian tombs were; and that its type is fully represented in the drawing above given from Maundrell.

And now, with regard to the application of the Tables of Manetho to this suggestion, it will be manifest that those tables answer to the transcripts from inscriptions, or the copies of registers of such sepulchres. It cannot be doubted that such depositaries would have the brief memorials of their occupants engraved upon the rock which held them. Over the entrance of the tombs would be found the names or titles of the Houses or families deposited within them: and over the crypts within would be written the names of the individual occupants. Such is precisely what is found in Columbariæ, still existing in the vicinity of Rome. In the Syrian tombs, Maundrell says the chambers were about the height of a man; and the disposition

of the crypts, round a common hall of sufficient size to admit of the coffin and its bearers, would certainly have fixed the limits of the sepulchre and its capabilities, as to the number of its tenants. It is clear also the crypts were formed as they were called for by the deaths of new claimants: for, by reference to the above drawing, we may see the commencement of a new crypt; which, for some cause, was left unfinished. That vault was never filled with its full complement: and in the sixth dynasty of these tables of Manetho, the last of the Memphian kings of the prosperous reigns, we shall find the number exactly correspond with that of the unfinished chamber in this drawing: probably from the same cause, that the succession of the family was stopped at that point; as the fact is shewn to have been in the case of the Memphian succession: whereupon the tomb was closed. What is very confirmatory of this hypothesis, is the finding in the earliest tables of Manetho, when the descents must have been regular and continued for several centuries, that there are two lists of the same houses registered in continuation. This happens both in the earliest Thinitic and Memphian dynasties: for a reference to the drawing will again shew, that two chambers were the common extent of contiguous excavations: and then, in arranging the registers for their permanent compilation, the enumeration of them would follow that condition in the formation of the tombs; and thus the two sequent dynasties of the early Thinitic kings would appear together in the compilation; and the two sequent dynasties of the early Memphitic kings also appear together. While, in the later lists of the elective kings, especially where the succession was not in one or other of the families, but taken from two or more houses promiscuously, as the elections fell upon the individuals of them; and, as we think, the Theban kings were selected from the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Dynasties; two Tables of the same house could not be, and they are not, found together. Those three Tables are, in that sense, contemporary registers of different races of kings of the same dynasty; and when one family tomb was filled with its proper complement, another single vault must have been opened, as appears evidently to be the nature of the 23rd table, with reference to the 21st. In fact it is hardly too much to say, that the character of these Syrian tombs and their order of arrangement will be found sufficient to explain every circumstance in the structure of these dynasties.

This notion of their mortuary character, however, is very materially supported by the account related to have been given to Diodorus Siculus by the Egyptian priests, as to the tombs of

the old Egyptian kings. "They told me," says that historian, "that there were forty-seven tombs of their kings; but all had been lost except seventeen; and that even those had in a great measure fallen to decay." But, what the thirty were, and what the seventeen, may, we think, be guessed, when we look at the number of these thirty dynasties; if we may take them as the registers of so many royal tombs; and find that the number of the alien kings which close the whole lists amount exactly to seventeen, and so answer to the number whose tombs the Egyptian priesthood admitted to be existing.

The story of the priests was no doubt framed to conceal the ancient tombs from the knowledge of their conquerors.

The number thirty was a sacred cycle with the Egyptians, and it was probably well known that such was the reputed number of their dynasties or royal registers. The seventeen alien kings who succeeded Vaphres, the last of the Pharaohs, beginning with Amosis who dethroned him, were therefore inserted at the end of the dynasties in four tables; and the tombs of those kings shewn, while the ancient sepulchres were kept out of sight. For the falsehood of the priests' report, as to their loss, is proved by the discoveries of Belzoni forty years ago, who found the old tombs in such a state of preservation as to be almost intact by the hand of time.

But, if the numbers of the old cycle of thirty dynasties was necessary to be ostensibly maintained, the double numbers of registered names, which are found in a few of the lists, may be satisfactorily accounted for by that necessity. For while the old dynasties shew, that the regular complement of registered kings in those lists was certainly limited to eight or nine names, we find the 18th table containing sixteen kings, being just double the usual number; shewing the probability that two dynasties are there blended into one. The 10th and 11th Tables evince also the same numerical excess: the one being called a dynasty of nineteen kings, the other, of sixteen: and the 13th table has a still longer list ascribed to it. The constituting of these four excessive tables out of eight original lists would have made room within the sacred cycle for the last four of the present tables, which contains the seventeen strange kings; whose tombs or mausoleums would have been shewn to strangers by the Egyptian priesthood. And, in our own opinion, that is the true version of the forty-seven tombs, and the lost thirty of the ancient kings.

It may perhaps be objected, that the small receptacles, shewn in the Syrian prototype of these tombs, do not at all answer to the magnificence of the old Pharaonic necropolis. But it

by no means follows, that all the old tombs were of the same extensive order as was exhibited in the one found by Belzoni. No doubt the sepulchres of the first kings were of a much more simple kind; and if of increased magnificence, yet the old formula of their structure might still have been adhered to for many centuries. The particular tomb discovered by Belzoni, and exhibited in London, was divided into several chambers, in which, upon their walls, all the events of the king's reign, and the fashions of his age, were depicted in a series of beautiful reliefs: but no counterpart of that tomb, in point of splendour or extent, has yet been discovered. That tomb was the tomb of Pharaoh Necho, who was the son of Psammeticus, and comparatively of late date: and its particular design may perhaps even be found to have originated under a dynasty and from principles quite foreign to any that could ever have operated under the old regime of the former kings. For Diodorus relates, that while Psammeticus was in league with the twelve chiefs, who usurped the government after the death of Sethon, and to which he was joined as one of the confederates, the brotherhood of that oligarchy were desirous of building a common tomb for themselves, which should surpass in grandeur everything that had ever been seen. It was especially to contain memorials of all the confederate chiefs and their countries, and priesthoods, and their rites of religion and sacrifices; all which was to be sculptured in the highest perfection of Egyptian art. And this was to be done, that in death these chiefs might partake of a common veneration, by inhabiting the same tomb, as they had enjoyed in their lives by ruling together. This "*enteinte cordiale*" of the dead was, however, frustrated by Psammeticus, who put his confederates to death, and seated himself in the legitimate throne of his ancestors. Whether such a memorial, of so extensive a kind, had ever before been executed does not appear; but the idea was precisely carried out in the tomb of Necho, who was the son of that same Psammeticus. It by no means follows, therefore, that the dynastic tombs did not observe their primitive formation, at least as low down as the reign of that king.

The hypothesis, therefore, that these "*thirty dynasties*" are in fact mortuary tables of the kings, it cannot be denied is supported by very substantial reasons. The limited numbers of the kings in the Tables, and the intermixtures of the tables of different houses, have presented great difficulties in the way of their interpretation: but these are in a great measure removed by this view of their origin and nature. As each state grew old, the number of its tombs would have increased; and with

the lapse of years the names or titles of the royal races would have become changed, so that the old lines of princes of one title might have to be registered in another century by some other household name: as the house of Chandos of a former age may be found changed to Buckingham in ours; or that of Tavistocke into Bedford. The names of "*Nephercheres*," in the second Thinitic table, and of "*Nephelcheres*," in the twenty-first Tanitic table, which is the first of the elective kings, shews this probable change of title in the same family very distinctly.

We come now to the Tables themselves, and the classification of the Dynasties in accordance to the requisites of their own composition, and the judgment we have formed of them; and in doing this, we beg only to observe, that we have not framed our conclusions from any historical theory. We have simply worked, as an attorney-general's beagle—not to use the true vernacular of Westminster Hall—might be supposed to do, in the labour of unfolding a complicated skein of intermixed registers, in some case of pedigree or title by remote descent, in the courts of Westminster. Any historical notices that may arise in the doing this will, therefore, have nothing to do with "*the process*" of the investigation; though they may be thought, and are used, to confirm its results; and for that reason, and not to obtain the results, they are referred to. The adjustment of the whole body of the Dynasties will be found to proceed, then, out of what appeared to ourselves, and we think will appear to every one who will investigate the tables under the view we have presented of them, a *necessary* combination of the early tables into the four separate fasciculi of concurrent kings ruling over the same number of Egyptian kingdoms, which we have already spoken of, the four divisions being marked out by very distinct epochs, which are common to all, and traceable in all, by the same indications.

These four kingdoms are recognized in their earliest date, under the titles attached to the Tables by Manetho; and they consist, first: of "*This*," which holds the first place in the lists, and probably referred to that city, which it was said was built by the first Osiris in honour of his mother, and seems to have borne the precursive name to the later Thebes. The name itself, it can hardly be doubted, is of Cushite or Ethiopic origin, and the same etymologically as the Assyrian *Thisbe*; from whose stock, by its later settlers in Ethiopia and builders of Axum, the "*Hera*," or Queen of the African Cronidæ, the mother of the first Osiris, was in one half of her blood certainly derived. The town of "*This*" was situated on the Libyan shores of the Nile, a few miles below the site of Thebes,

and not far from the Lesser Diopolis in the same direction. This latter city was also probably the first of its own name, and called after the Dios Uranius, who was the father of the second Osiris, and builder of "*This*." From this race of "*Thinites*," or kings of "*This*," beginning with Menes, the later Sesostridæ derived their origin: the first of whose line was he who appears as eighth king of the second dynasty, where he is registered in his local table by the name of Sesochris; but who is the same king, registered "first" of the 19th table of the later Paramount or Theban dynasty, by the name of Sethos.

The second kingdom was "*Memphis*," of which the Tables will be found to proceed with great regularity.

The third kingdom was that of "*Eliphantina*;" which, at a later date is changed into "*the Heracleotic*."

The fourth is the Paramount Throne, the later Thebes; but having the commencement of its dynastic tables at the beginning of the 18th table, with the Pre-Osirian kings of the country, who are there registered down to Memnon, the eighth number. The whole of this early table is entitled, by a prolepsis of the later name, "*Diospolitan*;" for the name of "*Diospolis*" was given by the elder Osiris as we have stated, and could not have existed when the first king of the 18th table ruled in Egypt. Memnon and Horus might have ruled at Diospolis, but they would have been its first kings; for they were respectively the associate and descendant of the younger Osiris; and contemporary kings in that throne with Menes in the Thinitic. The epoch of Menes' accession we assume in this paper to be in the year B.C. 1668: for which there are sufficient reasons.

Under this order, the tables fall into the following fourfold classification: 1st,—

THE KINGDOM OF "THIS."

1st Dynasty: of Thinites.

Menes and seven other kings, all named, who reigned	Years. 253
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2nd Dynasty: of Thinites.

Boëthus and eight other kings: eight of these are named; the ninth supposed to be Ammenemes of the 11th table	} 297
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11th Dynasty, supplement to

Ammenemes, above referred to	"
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Part of 12th Dynasty: Diospolites.

1. Sesonchoris, who reigned	46 years	}	132
2. Ammanemes,	38 "		
3. Sesostris (the socer of Solomon)	48 "		
Total years....			682

The date of the accession of Menes being taken B.C. 1668, as we have above stated; and these 682 years being deducted from that epoch, it will bring the end of this series of kings to the year B.C. 986, coinciding with the thirtieth year of the reign of Solomon. As the last king of this series, Sesostris, reigned forty-eight years, he would have acceded to his throne in Egypt in the year B.C. 1034; being nineteen years before the accession of Solomon, who married his daughter about the time of his own advent to the throne of Israel.

After this king, the registers of this toparchy fall into the series of short reigns we have above spoken of. Four of these are found in the concluding names of the same 12th table, and the remainder will be found in the 13th table; viz.—

Residue of 12th Dynasty.

	Years.
Lachares and three other kings, who reigned	28
<i>13th Dynasty: of Diospolites.</i>	
Sixty kings, not named, who reigned	184
Total years....	212

These 212 years being deducted from the year of the death of Sesostris above stated, namely, B.C. 986, will bring the end of this toparchy and its provincial kings to the year B.C. 774; which was about the period of the conquest of Egypt by Sabaco, who put the local kings to death.

The second kingdom is “of Memphis;” as follows,—

3rd Dynasty: of Memphisites.

	Years.
Necherophes and eight other kings, all named, who reigned.....	214
<i>4th Dynasty: of Memphisites.</i>	
Soris and seven other kings, all named, who reigned.....	274
<i>6th Dynasty: of Memphisites.</i>	
Othoes and five other kings, all named, who reigned	203
Total years....	691

These long reigns, extending over 691 years, deducted from the epoch of Menes, B.C. 1668, will therefore be found to terminate in the year B.C. 977; which is nine years later than is assigned to the same event in the first or Thinitic kingdom above shewn; which was in the year B.C. 986.

From this point the Memphian dynasties fall into the series of short reigns, as in the preceding case : the first of which, recording a race of seventy kings, who reigned seventy days, marks the beginning of the time of trouble with extreme accuracy.

The edition of these tables by Eusebius gives the number of these kings as five, and their reigns seventy-five days ; but the epoch is distinctly marked, and the cutting off of these royal brothers, for such no doubt they were ; while it recalls the slaughter of the seventy sons of Ahab by the new raised King Jehu, or of that earlier family of the sons of Gideon, by Abimeleck their brother ; indicates the circumstances of the period to be such as we have ascribed to it, a beginning of a new system ; and in this case, a system of tyranny and great oppression. It accounts also for our finding only six kings in the last of the three long reigning lists of Memphites, instead of the eight or nine which occur in the previous tables, as well as in the contemporary ones of the Thinitic kings ; for it indicates that the race was cut short, before the full complement of the existing tomb was completed.

The sacrifice of these seventy sons may perhaps also account for the extension of the long reigns of this kingdom, a few years beyond that of the Thinitic : for it bespeaks the issue of an opposition to the new tyranny, which terminated in that sacrifice.

The short-reigned tables of this kingdom follow in due succession : viz.,—

<i>7th Dynasty : of Memphites.</i>	
Seventy kings, not named, who reigned	70 days
<i>8th Dynasty : of Memphites.</i>	
Twenty-seven kings, not named, who reigned	Years. 146
<i>11th Dynasty : called Diospolites.</i>	
Sixteen kings, not named, who reigned	43
After whom Amenemes	16
Total years.	205

These 205 years, deducted from the year B.C. 977, when the long reigns terminated, will bring the end of this line of kings to the year B.C. 772 ; which is within two years of the same epoch in the Thinitic tables, and the age of Sabaco.

There is however a discrepancy in the title of the last Table of this series, which is called Diospolitan ; for which the sub-

joined name of Amenemes, who was certainly of the Thinitic race, and the same family as occurs in the 12th or succeeding table, may perhaps be sufficient to account, for the complement of the Memphian succession is exactly completed by the reign of this king, for which no other place is found. The anomaly of this name is altogether inexplicable, but we have taken it to be the king whose title is omitted at the end of the second dynasty; who appears to have been not reckoned with his race in their proper kingdom for some unexplained cause. It is clear he did not belong to the race of the eleventh dynasty, though being attached to it, the entry of the title may have been affected by its appearance there. We speak conjecturally, and our readers must form their own judgment on the subject on a due consideration of the whole tables and their arrangement.

The third kingdom is the Elephantine or Heraclopoleitan; to which we have assigned the three remaining Tables of the first thirteen. In this kingdom, however, the long reigns appear of less extent than in the preceding two; which we account for by supposing that the throne had a later commencement of its separate sovereignty than those. The name of Elephantina fixes the original site of this kingdom on the borders of Nubia; and if Horus reigned supreme at the lesser Diospolis, as we say the traditions shew he did, it is probable that this border district may have continued under his own rule till his death; for it is precisely that period that is deficient in the extent of its long reigned kings. The names of Acherres and Rathos, which follow that of Horus in the eighteenth dynasty, and are found also among the kings of the Elephantine table, shew a close affinity in the two lines of kings, and that both were of the same Osirian stock. Taking this supposition to be such as the case was, the beginning of this kingdom would take its date from the death of Horus, by which interval it would be of more recent origin than the two preceding kingdoms. Such then we take it to have been, and these tables will date from the year B.C. 1668, minus twenty-three years, or B.C. 1645; and they are as follows; viz.,—

5th Dynasty: of Elephantines.

	Years.
Userchoris and eight other kings, all named, who reigned	248

9th Dynasty: of Heracliots.

Achthoes, and kings not enumerated.....	409
Total years.....	657

These 657 years, deducted from the death of Horus in the year B.C. 1645, will make the period of the long reigns of this kingdom terminate in the year B.C. 988; which is two years earlier than they end in the Thinitic kingdom, and three years later than will be found the case with those of the Theban or Paramount Throne.

From this date the same succession of short reigns is found to occur as in the other kingdoms; leading this line also down to the age of Sabaco, though again rather short of the full complement; viz.,—

10th Dynasty: of Heracleots.

Nineteen kings not named, who reigned 185 years

Which 185 years, being deducted from the year B.C. 988 when the long reign ceased, will bring the end of this dynasty to the year B.C. 803; a period rather earlier than is found in the other kingdoms. This difference, however, may also have proceeded from the locality of this government in Nubia, and its consequent vicinity to the territory of the conqueror. For Sabaco would have made his path through this kingdom to those of the Thebaid and Lower Nile; and it is somewhat confirmatory of that supposition, that while Herodotus assigns the whole dynasty of Sabaco to one king, who reigned fifty years, the tables of Manetho give a succession of three kings to that Ethiopian visitation, who altogether reigned only forty years. It is evident the conquest affected the territory of Egypt by different inlets, and probably under Subarchous; whose domination would have been of earlier date and longer duration in the Nubian borders, than in the lower and more remote divisions of the kingdom. The arrangement of the tables evinces upon the whole an extraordinary uniformity, and discloses such variations in their character, as might be expected at the two epochs of the accession of a tyrannical race of kings, and the conqueror of the country from that oppressive dynasty. For we shall not forget, that such a period of tyranny is distinctly noticed by Herodotus; nor that there are three kings historically noticed, as having been in existence at the coming of Sabaco; two of whom he put to death; and another, who escaped into the marshes, and lived concealed during the reign of the conqueror.

The association of the Elephantine and Heracleotic Tables, follows as a necessary consequence the arrangement of those of the two preceding kingdoms; and we may say, the adjustment of the Thinitic tables became necessary from the previous adjustment of the Memphian. It is plain the Heracleot dynasty

could belong neither to the Thinitic kings nor the Memphian; while a removal of the Elephantine government from the borders of Nubia where that town was placed, as the country became more settled, to a town of Lower Egypt, as Heracleopolis was, is so extremely probable, that it may sufficiently account for the change of designation of that line of kings.

The original name of this dynasty and its locality, lead however to considerations which are very confirmatory of the Ethiopian introduction, which we have in our former number ascribed to the Osirian family, into their Egyptian seats. For the traditions of the wars both of Ammon and Dionysus are there shewn to have been mixed up with Indian expeditions and alliances by those kings, in a manner to leave no doubt that those early conquerors were associated with the Hindu-Cushite families. The Nubian gate must then have been the avenue by which that family found their way into the Thebaid; when, according to Herodotus, the Egyptian throne was first established; at a time when the lower parts of Egypt were still in a marshy and unhealthy state.ⁱ

Now the temple of Dendyra in this district has been remarked by very intelligent travellers, as we have also before noticed, to bear a close resemblance to that of the Indian Elephanta; and this Egyptian Elephantina a few miles below the island of Philæ, the tomb of the first Osiris, was probably therefore a transcript from the Indian name. It is possible indeed to say, it might have been the other way, and by descent from Egypt to India: but the appearance of the "*hooded snake*" among the inscriptions of this temple of the Nile indicates an Indian association and descent; since that is not an African reptile, but found only in India. It may be doubted, also, whether the elephant from which the name is evidently taken, could have been an inhabitant of the Ethiopian latitudes or at all to the northward of the Kumric mountains, at the early period we treat of. It is very remarkable, that none of the old African traditions notice this animal; and Diodorus, although he reckons the rhinoceros among the beasts that were found in Ethiopia, makes no mention of the elephant; and, what is very extraordinary, it is not observable in the figures of the Prænestine pavement, though the camelopard and hippopotamus are represented there.^z Diodorus speaks, indeed, of elephant hunters: "*elephantomachæ*:" but he does so only by observing, that their range was quite beyond the utmost bounds of the common hunting territories of the Ethiopian

ⁱ Euterp., iv.

^z Diod., l. 3, 35.

families, very far in the remotest west, and in the thickest and most unfrequented forests.' This name, and the tradition as to the temples built in the neighbourhood by the younger Osiris in honour of his father and mother, and of the old veneration of the island of Philæ as the burial-place of the first Osiris, is therefore very confirmatory of the whole of the traditions given by Diodorus of the rise of the Osirian family, and the way they were introduced into Egypt from Ethiopia.

Before we proceed with the Tables of the fourth sovereignty, which is the great Diospolitan or Theban dynasty; and which it will be inconvenient to interrupt, or intercept from the concluding topics of our paper; we will draw out a brief analysis of the preceding adjustment; to shew in how distinct a manner the long and the short reigns of the two contrasting periods differ from one another, and how distinctly all the points of separation are marked between the two.

Thus then, in the first dynasty or Table of the Thinitic kings, we find there are eight named kings, whose reigns extended over 253 years. That gives an average of thirty-two years to a reign. The second table of the same dynasty has nine kings, who reigned through 297 years, giving an average of thirty-three years to a reign. To these succeed the 12th table, of which the first three kings are of the race of Sesostridæ, within the period of the long reigns, and these average forty-four years a-piece. But then succeeds the period of the short-reigned monarchs of this dynasty; and we find, accordingly, the last four kings of that table having reigns of an average of seven years each; while the 13th table, which concludes the sum of this line of local kings, gives a record of sixty kings in a period of 184 years; or little more than three years to a reign. There is no mistaking the line of demarcation of this race, to which both Diodorus and Herodotus assign the origin and descent of the two Sesostridæ of their histories: for both those authors deduce those kings from the line of Menes.

Then of the second or Memphian kingdom: Dynasty, No. 3, again contains nine named kings, who reigned 240 years, giving an average of twenty-seven years to a reign. No. 4 has eight kings in 274 years, or an average of thirty-four years: and No. 6, six kings in 203 years, or thirty-four years also as the average of its reigns: filling up the same period as the long-reigned and named kings of the Thinitic line. And then comes the table, No. 7, of the Memphites, containing the seventy kings, whose destruction shews the beginning of evils: then,

again, No. 8, in which twenty-seven kings, reigning through a period of 146 years, give an average of about five years to each of their reigns: and, lastly, No. 11, in which the kings are numbered sixteen to a period of forty-three years; being something less than three years to a reign, and evidencing the same state of things towards the close of this dynasty, as is found in that of the Thinitic. The two series actually move on all-fours.

The elephantine tables shew the same results. The table, No. 5, contains nine named kings in 248 years, and, therefore, yields an average of twenty-eight years in the length of the reigns. No. 9, containing nineteen kings in 409 years, gives an average of twenty-one years; and the period again concurs with the close of the long reigns of the other two. But the next table, No. 9, shews nineteen kings to have reigned over 185 years, of which the average reigns will be nine and a-half years. The reigns in this dynasty do not, therefore, appear quite so much shortened as in the other toparchies: but if this dynasty continued to retain its strongholds in the elephantine district, as we have before surmised; the same security which brought a few years' later subjection to the new tyranny, as we have seen was probably the case, would have mitigated the operation of it, in comparison with those governments which lay more exposed to its fury.

Passing over the Shepherd dynasties as wholly anomalous, we come now to the consideration of the fourth sovereignty, or that which became eventually the Theban or supreme power of Egypt; and it is highly remarkable that in this succession also, under this arrangement of the tables, the same divisions into its long and short-reigning kings, and at the same epoch, is found to occur as in the other dynasties. It may be difficult to account for this time of universal distress through all the governments of this mysterious land; but to those who think the invasion of Jerusalem by Shishac, and the spoliation of its temple, such an impiety as might evoke a divine visitation, the change in affairs from a state of prosperity and glory to one of oracular suffering and disaffection—for Herodotus says, the 150 years' tyranny were the fulfilment of an oracle—may be sufficiently accounted for in that treacherous invasion. Perhaps King Shishac thought the new city of Tadmor and an extended territory, and the fleets at Elath and Ezion Geber, denoted an ambitious spirit in his father's old ally and well-esteemed friend; which his predecessor had injudiciously cherished, and he would chastise and humble. And, therefore, he and his people violated the old league of amity under which both kingdoms had flourished, and brought distress and anarchy into his own, as well

as the Jewish territory. It will not fail to occur to the reader, however, that the historical kings of this period must be of an order and kind wholly different from the short-lived monarchs of these tables. This is a mystery, but it does not, we think, affect the course of events marked out by these registered kings.

In setting forward upon this branch of our inquiry, for deducing the successions of the Theban throne, it must be again brought to mind that the monarchs of that throne who were of the race of Sesostridæ were certainly derived from Menes and the Thinitic line of kings : while it seems equally certain, that the first race of paramount sovereigns must have been from Horus, the immediate descendant of the Osirian founders ; whose line appears in the 18th table, and continued to the close of that table, where it ceased from some cause or other. Both Herodotus and Diodorus shew the descent of the Sesostrian kings from Menes ; and it was the descendants of that family who were found on the throne of Egypt when the usurper, Amasis, took it by force from Apries, its last legitimate inheritor. The precedence given to this race in the Egyptian annals, proceeds, therefore, from its being the last occupant of the supreme, and finally of the sole sovereignty of the country. It can hardly be doubted, that originally the Thinitic kingdom was one of the three subordinate toparchies, and that the Diospolitan throne, under Horus, was the supreme one. The same traditions which declare that "*Menes*" was the first man-king after the gods, says "*Horus*" was the first king after the same super-royal dynasty. The elevation of that line to the Theban throne, as paramount kings, would therefore have caused the double registry of its kings, in their local and imperial registers, as we have said. And that these double entries are evidently not merely of the same house, but of the same individuals for the first four successions after their ascendancy was established, is one great argument that the paramount throne was elective for many generations after the fall of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. For the kings of the 12th and 19th tables must have held their two sovereignties by two distinct titles : but if both were absolutely hereditary there would have been no ground for such a distinction ; and a case for duplicate entries could not have arisen. Whereas, if they had gained the throne by an original election, and in the succession to a course of elective kings, and retained it as a hereditary throne, with some element of an elective quality still subsisting in it, as was the case with the imperial throne of Rome under its Cæsars ; the two thrones would still have retained their separate archives as long

as that system lasted. After that formula of election had worn out, the Theban kings would probably have appointed members out of their own families to preside over the patrimonial toparchy; and that appears to have been the case from the foot of the 12th table. We judge, therefore, that from the eighteenth dynasty the supreme throne of Egypt was held by kings elected out of the two royal houses of Tanites and Bubastites, who occupy the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd tables; in a manner similar to what is related of the Ethiopian throne by Herodotus. For there, upon every demise of the throne, the future sovereign was elected by the priesthood, out of any one of the different families of the royal lineage. He who put a stop to this course of succession in Egypt, appears by the tables to have been that Sesochris who is the eighth king of the 2nd Thinitic table: and it is quite in keeping with this deduction, and very confirmatory of it, that Syncellus relates of this king that he was of great stature and heroic character: for this was the heroic age, and in that character Sesochris probably effected the elevation of his house to that throne; and stopped the elective system after it had prevailed for about three centuries.

This elective period, which answers to that of the Judges in the Holy Land, though wholly dark in the pages of history, did not, we think, pass away in Egypt without leaving fruits that were very influential upon the future destinies of the world: for it was assuredly out of that period and system that the race of Osirian Belidæ sprung up into existence from their Egyptian root: and from thence also proceeded that emanation of the heroic character, which produced the Hercules of Alcmena, and visited Greece with the offsets of Egyptian sovereignty and religion. These, it cannot be doubted, would have been fostered into their state of renown by an electoral disposition in the Theban throne; and by the high and constant competition and thirst of glory, which that would have excited among the princes of the electoral families.

The commencing epoch of this series of kings of the greater Diospolitan or Paramount Throne, will therefore date from the year of the Exodus; or, following the Arabian writers, who shew an intervening period of anarchy, from a few years after that event. Our computation, however, will follow the exact date, viz. :—

21st Dynasty : of Tanites.

Smedes and six other kings, all named, who reigned	Years 130
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22nd Dynasty : of Bubastites.

Sesonchis and eight other kings, three of whom only are named, } who reigned	120
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Part of the 23rd Dynasty : of Tanites.

Petubates, Osorcho, or Hercules, and Psammus, three kings, who } reigned.....	58
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Part of the 19th Dynasty : of Diospolites.

Sethos, who reigned	51	} 192
Rhapesaces	61	
Ammenephthes	20	
Rameses.....	60	

Total years..... 500

which 500 years, being deducted from the year of the Exodus B.C. 1491, will bring the end of these long reigns down to the year B.C. 991 ; being five years earlier than we have found them reach in the Thinitic tables, where they terminate in the year B.C. 986.

The series of short-reigned kings occur in this as in the other kingdoms, and follow the above in due succession, with the exception of him who answers to the Mycerinus of Herodotus, and offended the gods by attempting to cut short the period of calamity ; and who is clearly the fourth king of the twenty-third dynasty, named "*Zet*" in the Tables. They are as follows, viz. :—

Remainder of the 19th Dynasty.

Ammenemnes, who reigned	5	} 12
Thuoris, the Polybus of Homer	7	

20th Dynasty : of Diospolites.

Twelve kings—not named—who reigned	135
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Residue of 23rd Dynasty : of Tanites.

Zet, who reigned	31
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24th Dynasty : of one Saite.

Bocchoris, who reigned	6
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Part of 26th Dynasty : of Saïtes.

Stephinales, Necheptos, and Nechao I., who reigned	21
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Total years..... 205

which 205 years, being deducted from the year B.C. 991, will bring down the end of this race of kings to the year B.C. 786; which is within one year of the same termination as is found in the elephantine kingdom. So that the descents in the Theban throne essentially concur with the other three dynasties, both in their total periods, and in the point of division of the long and short reigns.

In order to test this arrangement yet further, we may consider it in this way: the Tables which come after the eighteenth dynasty, taken altogether without regard to any question of arrangement, counted down to the end of the twenty-sixth dynasty, must, if our arrangement is true, comprise the aggregate of the reigns of the Paramount or Theban kings from the time of the Exodus, down to the time of the Persian conquest, B.C. 525. That interval, from B.C. 1491, will comprehend 966 years, to which that section of the tables ought to conform; and if they do so by approximation only, it may be concluded with tolerable certainty, in connexion with the other demonstrations to the same effect, that the epoch is the true one, and the arrangement the true arrangement.

Thus, then, these tables yield in the total numbers of their years,—

	Years.
19th Dynasty of Diospolites.....	209
20th „ of Diospolites.....	135
21st „ of Tanites	130
22nd „ of Babastitis	120
23rd „ of Tanites	89
24th „ of one Saite	6
25th „ of Ethiopians.....	40
26th „ of Saïtes.....	150
Total years.....	879

The total number is 879 years, which is deficient from the required number, 966 years, by eighty-seven years: too great a difference, we confess, to be taken as a proximate concurrence with the required period.

But then there are certain omissions which can be traced historically in the later tables, when the families of the old dynasties were not in power; on which occasions, if the tables were mortuary or family tables, there could be no entries of them; a point very deserving of notice, as an argument that they were of that nature. Of these omitted periods we will briefly enumerate such as are appreciable. Thus the reign of

Psammeticus, fourth king of the 26th table, is pretty well authenticated as of the year B.C. 670, which is 145 years before the conquest of Cambyces. But the table shews only 129 years between those epochs; making a deficiency of sixteen years in that section of the 26th table; and this, we think, may be depended upon as a genuine error, since we find the difference in the accounts which Herodotus gives of those kings. For the table gives six years only to the reign of Nechao II., while Herodotus assigns sixteen years to that king; and to Apries the table allows only nineteen years, to whom the Greek historian ascribes the longer term of twenty-five years. So that these two omitted sums make the exact amount of the deficiency of the table; and as the other reigns of Herodotus concur with those of the Table, viz., fifty-four years to the reign of Psammeticus, six to that of Psammuthis, and forty-four to that of Amasis; there can be no question as to the correctness of this emendation.*

Again, before Psammeticus took the sovereign power, it had been held by twelve confederate chiefs for fifteen years; who took the government, after the death of Sethos, into their hands, and so it continued till Psammeticus got rid of his companions and seated himself on the throne. That fifteen years, therefore, is also omitted in the registered years of the tables. Sethos himself, who was a priest of Vulcan, and held the government twenty-five years, is not found in these registers, and the period of his power is also omitted there. He was the king who reigned in the same year that Sennacherib visited Jerusalem; for the miraculous deliverance of the Jews is ascribed, in another guise, to this ruler; and that was in the year B.C. 710, with which the years of the tables so computed do concur. For the forty years of these two omitted registers, added to the date of the accession of Psammeticus B.C. 670, which the tables give by counting back from the Persian con-

* Herodotus, Euterp., 159-161. In looking for these numbers in Herodotus, we chanced to note some particulars of the last unhappy monarch of his race, Apries; which seem to give great confirmation to the hypothesis of the mortuary character of these tables; though, at the same time, they negative the idea of the tombs being all to be found in any one locality. For Herodotus writes thus, "That when Amasis had taken Apries captive he conveyed him to the city of Sais, to his own palace there, which Amasis had converted to his own use. There the captive king was at first well treated by his conqueror, till the Egyptians began to clamour for his death: whereupon Amasis delivered him up to the people, and he was strangled. After his death, he was buried," continues the historian, "*in his own sepulchre, in the temple of the Saitic Minerva, for the Saites buried all their kings who were sprung from that name within that temple.*" The Saitic Tables are, therefore, clearly the registers of the Necropolis of "*all the family*" of *that name who were elevated to the throne.* (Euterp., 169.)

quest, would, of themselves, go back to that year, B.C. 710. But there was an interval of anarchy between the death of Sethos and the confederacy of the twelve chiefs, which Herodotus says lasted for two years; which forms also part of the omitted registration, and will carry back the commencement of the reign of Sethos to B.C. 712, or two years before the last invasion of Sennacherib.

Again, Herodotus relates that one of the dethroned kings, whom Sabaco had driven from his throne, and who dwelt in the marshes during that usurpation, came from his hiding place on the return of Sabaco into Ethiopia, and took the government of his ancestors. It is not stated how long this feeble power lasted, but this king was blind and must have been very old, and his imbecility was probably the cause of the priest of Vulcan taking the government upon himself. This period we cannot of course estimate, unless we may think he is the first king of the 26th table "*Stephinales*," whose reign was seven years. Lastly, the tables assign only forty years to the Ethiopian dynasty of Sabaco, while Herodotus says he reigned fifty years in Egypt, under the command of an oracle. There is an omission of ten years therefore in the Table, in the length of that dynasty; taking the authority of history as our guide.

These omissions, without any allowance for the reign of the blind king, will be found on casting them together to amount to sixty-eight years; which accounts for the deficiency above referred to within nineteen years. If we allow anything for the blind Anysis, or whether we do or not, the numbers may be taken to have a marvellous accordance to the chronological interval.

Undoubtedly, however, there is a good deal to undo in these tables from the very nature of this arrangement; and we will again, as briefly as may be, glance at the various anomalies that appear in them, and give their explication under the adjustment we have made. First among them, then, we find Thuoris, who is the sixth king of the 19th table, described as the "*Polybus*" of Homer, and so taken to be contemporary with the Trojan war. And, indeed, it is by counting back from this king, as being certainly of that date, that chronologists have computed the time of the Exodus and of the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds in the preceding eighteenth dynasty. But the position of the Egyptian Hercules in the 23rd table, four dynasties later than this 19th table, completely negatives the possibility of the kings of that 19th table having lived in the time of the Trojan war, under the existing or consecutive arrangement of the tables; for the Egyptian Hercules certainly lived shortly

before the Trojan war, and both those notices, therefore, cannot be correct. It is only by the adjustment we have made of these Tables that both these notices can be made capable of explanation, and the date of that Hercules be made to fall in its right place; and there is this to be said in favour of our arrangement, that these two notices prove that the commentator who inserted them could not have regarded the tables as at all classed in order of time; since, under any circumstances, the 23rd table must have been counted before the 19th in the course of succession, unless it could have been held that that Egyptian Hercules lived 430 years after the Trojan war; or about the middle of the eighth century B.C., and in an age that was perfectly historical. There can be no mistake about this Hercules, and that he was the same who was the friend of Philoctetes and the father of the Greek Heraclidæ, for the Greek Hercules was the son of Amphitryon and Alcmena, of whom Herodotus declares that the parentage was purely Egyptian. The Egyptians, he says, throughout declared that there was no Hercules of Greek origin, and that the name of Amphitryon, the son of Alcæus, as well as Alcmena, were both Egyptian names; and in effect they claimed the hero, who was the true Theban Hercules, as their own.*

Taking it for certain then, that these kings of the 23rd table were precursive to those of the 19th, it will follow necessarily that those of the 21st table, which bears the same title of "*Tanites*," must be so also; for both these tables are of the Tanitic family, and though we may conclude that tables of different families may be registered in an irregular course of succession, it cannot have happened that the 21st table of the Tanitic family should follow the 23rd of the same name; and as we find the name of "*Osorcho*" in the 21st table, which is the same name as is attributed to the Hercules of the 23rd; it will be evident that these tables must be in direct descent, and that both must have supplied kings to the Theban throne from the same stock, before the Sesostridæ of the 19th table came into power.

Of the 22nd table of Bubastites, whose position is between the above two tables of Tanitic kings, that position indicates a contemporary rota of succession in its kings with those of the two circumscribing tables of the Tanites. The arrangement of these electoral tables indicates, probably, that the succession was confined to princes chosen out of those two houses during that

* *Euterp.*, 43.

period. They were both, probably, branches of the Thinitic stock—the Yorks and Lancasters of the race of Menes.

The same necessity, then, which obliges us to assign a position to the 23rd table before the 19th, compels us also to place the 21st before and the 22nd concurrently with that 23rd; and it shews these three tables as the necessary sequents to the eighteenth dynasty. For the course of succession beyond the 23rd table is historically known, in connexion with the advent of the Ethiopian dynasty under Sabaco: so as to admit no place for the Sesostrian kings of the 19th and 20th tables, except at that very point where the 23rd table ends and the historical series begins. From this we must except the fourth king of that 23rd table, "*Zet*," who could not have followed in succession to the reign of Osorcho the Hercules; but whose place coincides in position and period with the "*Mycerinus*" of Herodotus, who attempted to shorten the period of oracular tyranny, when viewed in connexion with the succeeding kings; for that Mycerinus is shewn by Diodorus as the predecessor of Bocchoris and his father Guephactus, or the "*Necheptos*" of the 26th table. The place of the 19th table must, therefore, clearly be assigned between the "*Psammus*" and "*Zet*" of the 23rd dynasty; unless possibly between the two antecedent kings, "*Osorcho*" the Hercules, and "*Psammus*."

The position of the 19th table, therefore, so out of chronological order, must be ascribed to a sort of brevet rank, which it gained by resuming the hereditary title to the throne; or as the next by way of hereditary succession to the lost kings of the eighteenth dynasty; the elective kings of the three succeeding Tables being looked upon as interlopers, or supplementary to the inheritable succession. We do not wish our readers to take this conjecture for granted; of the correctness of the arrangement we have adopted, we think the tables afford intrinsic evidence; and the different orders of sovereigns may have produced the anomalies of this arrangement.

We come now to the consideration of this 19th table, and the race of Thinitic kings who are posted into the Theban dynasty from the local registers of that family, as we have stated.

Of these kings, the parallel entries will be recognized in the following order:—

*Parallels of Thinitic and Theban Kings.**Thinitic or Local Tables.**2nd Dynasty: of Thinites.*

No.	Years.
8. Sesochris reigned.....	48
9. Supposed Ammenemes from the 11th table...	16
12th Dynasty of Diospolites:	
1. Sesonchoris reigned.....	46
2. Ammanemes	38
3. Sesostriis	48

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*Theban or Paramount Tables.**19th Dynasty: of Diospolites.*

No.	Years.
1. Sethos, who reigned	51
2. Rhapsaces	61
3. Ammenphethes	20
4. Rameses	60

Total years 192

In this adjustment, the name of Ammenemes is taken from the 11th table, where it appears as a supplement to that register, and inserted in the vacant place at the close of the second dynasty, to whose race of kings it clearly belongs. It is impossible to conjecture why this king, the son of the probable founder of the Theban throne in its most glorious state, should have been excluded from his paternal register; but the same cause which excluded him from that Table probably was the occasion of his introduction at the foot of the eleventh dynasty: where, whatever other anomalies are manifested in that arrangement, it stands in regular antecedence to his son and successor, and probable supplanter, who is the first king of the 12th table. All we know of his history is from Manetho, who says that he was slain by his eunuchs.

His own and his sons' names are found, therefore, to make up together the same number of years in the local registers as is assigned to one sovereign who is called "*Rhapsaces*" in the paramount throne, and is the second king of the 19th table.

It is very observable that Sir Isaac Newton, in discussing the order of these successions, regards the two kings Ammenemes and Sesonchoris, who appear, the one in the 11th and the other in the 12th tables, as the same kings as are found in the second and third numbers of the 12th table, by the names of Ammenemes and Sesostriis.* We do not enter upon the argument of this great writer, for his system of interpretation differs so much from that which is here treated of, as prevents any discussion upon it in connexion with this paper. It is clear, however, that that great mind saw reasons for concluding, that in that period of the tables the entries were in some cases of a duplicate kind.

* 2 Chron. xii. 5.

In conclusion, we must beg excuse for again touching upon the date ascribed to the Egyptian Hercules, and that of the Trojan war; and the argument which is deduced from the coincidence of those dates with the Osorcho of the 23rd table, in support of our arrangement of these Tables. For the period of the three Dynasties, which lay between the end of the eighteenth Table, and the name of Osorcho in that 23rd Table, amounts to 290 years; viz., the 21st table, 130 years; the 22nd table, 120 years; and the first name of the 23rd table, the predecessor of Osorcho in that table, 40 years. And if we deduct that term of years from the date of the Exodus, B.C. 1491, that will bring the first year of that Hercules, in his Egyptian succession, to the year B.C. 1201—being just twenty years before the date of the Trojan war. We shall hardly be required, from such data, to bring it closer to the event.

Again, the succeeding reigns from that date, B.C. 1201, down to the end of the reign of Rameses of the 19th table—whom the parallel tables shew to be the same king as Sesostri of the 12th table, if we include the eight years assigned to the reign of Hercules himself on his Egyptian throne—amount altogether to 210 years, as the tables will shew by correcting the reigns; which period, being deducted from the B.C. 1201, will bring the end of the reign of Sesostri to the year B.C. 991, differing from the date of that event, as deduced from the Thinitic tables by five years; for these shew the end of the long reigns, which terminated with that Sesostri in the year B.C. 986. We deem this also a sufficient concurrence in the two series of Tables to justify our regarding it as an additional proof of the correctness of this arrangement.

Finally, the "*Thuoris*," who is the last king of the 19th Table, is said to be the "*Polybus*" of Homer, as we have already noticed; and therefore, it is urged, he must have been a contemporary of the Trojan war. That however is impossible, as we have shewn, if the date of the Theban Hercules is assignable to the successions of the 23rd table; whether we place that 23rd table after the 19th table or before it. But the period of this "*Thuoris*," a few years after the death of Sesostri, falls in with the age of Homer himself, whose date, according to Paterculus, was B.C. 970. May it not be, that the bard took the name of a king of his own time to celebrate as the hospitable monarch who entertained the fugitive Menelaus? The palpable ignorance of the poet about Egyptian and Syrian matters in their ancient phase, rather induces a belief that such may have been the case. The "*Polybus*" of the poet was a king of the poet's own time. We must leave the point to the

reader's own determination : only, we must observe, the entries cannot both be true in the order the tables stand ; that Polybus was a king in the time of the Trojan war, and that Osorcho was the Egyptian Hercules. And it is absolutely necessary to choose between the old arrangement and the one we have suggested.

But our legitimate space is more than exhausted, and we must leave this brief summary of our hypothesis and the outline of its proofs to the candid judgment of our readers. We will only observe, in conclusion, that to the 197 years of the race of the Sesostridæ, we think, may be ascribed the great period of Egyptian glory in the heroic age ; and that which gave its true traditional renown to the Egyptian name. It was a period and dispensation wholly distinct from the Osirian, which preceded it by 600 years. The Osiridæ were as the root of a power of which the Sesostridæ were, at that long interval, the flower and fruitage. In that line of the Sesostridæ, whose origin must be dated from about the time that Troy was destroyed, arose a new Dynasty, probably the successor to that power in the world ; and to them may be ascribed the greater part of the works and wonders of Egyptian art and science of the best kind ; not the barbaric pyramids, perhaps, which preceded them, and were probably the production of the elective monarchy. The end of this age of glory came with the death of the last great king of that line ; the Sesostris who was the friend of King David, and the Pharaoh who gave his daughter to Solomon. Upon that event, his son Shishac succeeded him, who bound his people in their decreed servitude, and shewed his hostility to all the good of his predecessors by quarrelling with his old allies. Of those, the Jewish king had been one, whose adversary Jeroboam fled to the King of Egypt, where he was cherished till the death of Solomon ; and then the man of a new spirit attacked the Holy City of his father's friend, and despoiled its Temple. The 200 years which followed were years of oppression and misrule, of which the concluding era is marked by the story of Mycerinus, as we have shewn ; and that time of suffering, as the æquiponderate to the former state of prosperity, was decreed to receive its fulfilment in the same tale and number of its years.

H. M. G.

Hitcham Rectory, 28th January, 1857.

DYNASTIES OF SANCHONIATHON.

TABLES OF FOUR KINGDOMS, FROM B.C. 1668 TO B.C. 985.

DIOSPOLIS.	THIS.	MEMPHIS.	ELEPHANTIS.
rt of 18th Dynasty.	1st Dynasty.	3rd Dynasty.	5th Dynasty.
he 14th year of } yrs.	1 Menes..... yrs.	1 Nechoerophes yrs.	This kingdom takes its
Horus..... 23	2 Athothis 62	2 Tosorthus 28	commencement after the
cherres 32	3 Cencenes 57	3 Tyris 7	death of Horus, being 23
athos 6	4 Vensphres 23	4 Mesochris 17	years after the epoch of
hebres 12	5 Usaphædus 4	5 Soiphis 16	Menes.
cherres II..... 12		6 Tosertasis 19	After Menes yrs.
rmeses 5		7 Achis 42	1 Userchoris 23
ammesses 68		8 Siphuris..... 19	2 Sephres 13
menoph 19			3 Nephhercheres 20
rs. of Table...177			4 Sisiria..... 7
			5 Cheres 20
			6 Rathuris 38
3. 1491. Exodus.	B.C. 1491—Exodus.	B.C. 1491. Exodus.	B.C. 1491. Exodus.
lected kings—Thebes.	5th year of Usaphædus.	20th year of Siphuris.	39th year of Rathuris.
4 Dynasty—Tanites.			
medes 23	5 ... (Continued) 16	8 ... (Continued) 11	6 ... (Continued) 6
usenes 46	6 Miebidus 26	9 Cerpheres 26	7 Mèrcheres 9
Nephelcheres 4	7 Semempsis 18		8 Tarcheres 44
Amenenophthis ... 9	8 Bienaches 26	Yrs. of Table...214	9 Obnus..... 33
Osorchor 6	Yrs. of Table...253	4th Dynasty—	Yrs. of Table...248
Pinaches 9	2nd Dynasty—	Memphites.	Yrs. of Horus... 23
usennes 30	Thinites.		
rs. of Table...130	1 Boethus 38	1 Soris 29	9th Dynasty—
	2 Ceacheos 39	2 Suphis 63	Heraclæots.
22nd Dynasty—	3 Binothis 47	3 Suphis 66	1 Achthoes 214
Bubastites.	4 Tlas 17	4 Mencheres 63	18 other kings not
Sesonchis 21	5 Sethenes 41	5 Rhateses 25	named } 214
Osoroth 15	6 Chæres 17	6 Bichares 22	
" 25	7 Nephhercheres ... 25	7 Sebercheres 8	
" 42	Defective enume- ration of the years of the Table } 9		
Facellotis 13			
" 42			
" 42			
rs. of Table...120			
rt of 23rd Dynasty—			
Tanites.			
Petubates 40			
Osorcho or Hercules 8			
Psammas 10			
rs. of Table ...58			
B.C. 1183. Trojan War.	B.C. 1183. Trojan war.	B.C. 1183. Trojan war.	B.C. 1183. Trojan war
	About the end of the	4th year of Sebercheres.	in the 215th year of
	reign of Nephhercheres.		this Series.
editary kings—Thebes.			
19th Dynasty—			
Diospolites.			
Sethos 51	8 Sesochris 48	7 ... (Continued) 4	The same series of } 185
	9 Amenemes, from } 16	8 Thamphthis 9	kings continued . }
	11th Dynasty . }	Yrs. of Table...274	
	Yrs. of Table...297		Yrs. of Table...409
Rhapsaces..... 61	12th Dynasty—	6th Dynasty—	
	Diospolites.	Memphites.	
	1 Sesonchoris 46	1 Athoes 53	
Ammenephtes ... 20	2 Ammanemes 38	2 Phius 53	
Rameses 60	3 Sesostris 48	3 Methusuphis 7	
robable deficiency } 6		4 Phiops 94	
two last entries }		5 Methusuphis 1	
		6 Nitocris..... 12	
Yrs. of Table...198	Yrs. of Table...132	Yrs. of Table...203	
1. 985. Death of Sesos-	B.C. 985. Death of Sesos-	B.C. 977. Age of Shishac.	B.C. 983. Age of Shichac.
tris.	tris.		

TABLES OF THE FOUR KINGDOMS, CONTINUED FROM B.C. 985 TO B.C. 775.

THEBES, or The Great Diospolis.	THEBES, or The Lesser Diospolis.	MEMPHIS.	ELEPHANTIS, or Heracleotis.
Residue of 19th Dynasty —Diospolites.	Residue of 19th Dynasty —Diospolites.	7th Dynasty— Memphites.	10th Dynasty— Heracleotis.
5 Ammenemes..... yrs. 5	4 Lechares 8	70 kings who reigned yrs.	19 kings who reigned yrs. 15
6 Thuoris, the Poly- bas of Homer... } 7	5 Ammeres 8	70 days.	
	6 Ammemes..... 8	8th Dynasty— Memphites.	
	7 Semlophris, his sister } 4	27 kings who reign- ed } 146	
30th Dynasty— Diospolites.	13th Dynasty— Diospolites.	11th Dynasty, called Diospolitan.	
12 kings who reigned..... } 135	60 kings who reigned 184	16 kings who reigned. 43	
Residue of 23rd Dynasty of Tanites.		After whom Amme- mes } 16	
4 Zet 31			
24th Dynasty—Saïtes.			
1 Bocchoris 6			
26th Dynasty—Saïtes.			
1 Stepbinites 7			
2 Nerepsus 6			
3 Necho I. 8			

B.C. 780. Conquest of
Sabbaco.

B.C. 775. Conquest of
Sabbaco.

B.C. 774. Conquest of
Sabbaco.

B.C. 772. Conquest of
Sabbaco.

HERE TERMINATE THE TABLES OF THESE THREE KINGDOMS.

26th Dynasty of Ethiopiæ.
1 Sabbaco 8
2 Sevechus 14
3 Tarcus 18

Continuation of 26th Dynasty—Saïtes.
4 Psammitichus 54
5 Necho II..... 6
6 Psammuthis 6
7 Vaphris 19
8 Amosis 44
9 Psammacherites ...

Conquest of Cambyces
B.C. 525.

N.B.—The Dynasties beyond the conquest of Cambyces are
comprehended in four tables, as under, viz. :—

27th Dynasty : of Persian.	Years.
Cambyces and seven other kings who reigned	124
28th Dynasty : of one Saite.	
Amyrteos, who reigned	6
29th Dynasty : of Mendesians.	
Nepherites and three other kings who reigned	20
30th Dynasty : of Princes of Sebennytus.	
Nectenebes and two other kings who reigned	38
Fifteen kings. Total years.....	268

Amosis and Psammacherites in the 26th Dynasty make seventeen kings
from Vaphres, whom Amosis deposed.

N.B. Any epochal year will be found, by adding all the antecedent "*years of the Tables*" together,
and deducting the sum from the year B.C. 1668.

**BRANDIS ON THE ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE
MODE OF INTERPRETING THEM.***

[The following essay is taken, with some abridgment, from a recent treatise "on the historical gain from the Deciphering of the Assyrian Inscriptions," by Dr. Brandis of the University of Bonn, of whose labours in this department honourable mention is made in the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1856. It has been translated, not only as furnishing an interesting view of the serious difficulties to be encountered in ascertaining the meaning of these ancient records, and the means employed to overcome them, but also as exhibiting the ground of the distrust with which many of the translations of Rawlinson and Hincks have been received in Germany.]

Not far from the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite to Mosul, rise two mounds, between which winds a small stream called the Khosser. Upon the northern mound, which is about fifty feet in height, and much larger and higher than the one on the south, stands the village of Koyunjik; upon the southern one, called Nebbi Yunus, stands a mosque [said to be] erected over the tomb of the prophet Jonah, and surrounded by dwellings. Both of these mounds are remains of artificially constructed terraces, on which palaces and temples of the Assyrian capital once stood. This extended, according to the testimony of antiquity, from the Great Zab, northward along the Tigris, in the form of a parallelogram, the circumference of which, as given by Ctesias, was 480 stadia, or sixty [geographical] miles. These mounds opposite to Mosul, therefore, can have occupied but *a part* of the area inclosed by the city wall; and the two points at which the most important remains have been discovered, viz., those where the villages of Khorsabad and Nimrud stand, were inclosed within the ancient city. The former is five hours north-east from Mosul; the latter, six hours below, on the Tigris. Here, at Nimrud, where the Zab empties into the Tigris, rises a pyramidal hill, which overlooks a terrace-formed summit, on which lies the village of Nimrud. It was this which arrested the attention of Xenophon, when he passed, with the Ten Thousand, by the ruins of the city, without dreaming what activity had existed here scarcely two hundred years before.

* By Professor George E. Day, Lane Theological Seminary. From the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1857.

At this period Layard, it is well known, commenced in the year 1845 his successful excavations, and brought out of the rubbish the ruins of four great palaces and several other edifices. Here, too, the most ancient and the most recent of the Assyrian buildings had stood side by side. When Nineveh was destroyed, the oldest of these palaces, as it seems, which occupied the north-west corner of the terrace, was already in ruins, and the materials of which it was constructed had been freely drawn from in the construction of the south-west palace. Hence, while all the others give evidence of destruction by fire, the former alone shews no trace of any such catastrophe. Botta, who as early as the year 1843 had discovered the first Assyrian palace at Khorsabad, was stimulated by the success of Layard to institute explorations in the mound of *Koyunjik*, but with no considerable results. It was reserved for Layard to exhume both these, and, at Nebbi Yunus several additional Assyrian buildings. In December, 1846, the first Assyrian sculptures were brought in the "Cormorant" to Europe. Since then, the Louvre and the British Museum have received numerous additional treasures from the excavations carried on in Mesopotamia by English and French funds; but, in consequence of the Turkish war, the activity of the Assyrian Fund Society has been recently suspended.^b

Besides Nineveh, there are numerous other places within and without the ancient Assyrian empire, in which written and sculptured monuments of the kings have been found. The most remarkable of these is the figure, in relief, of a king almost entirely covered with an inscription, which was discovered in Larnaka, the ancient Citium, in the island of Cyprus, and is now preserved in the Berlin Museum. Such commemorative tablets of Assyrian conquests have frequently been found, both in ancient and in modern times. One was seen by the attendants of Alexander near the Cilician city Anchiale, which, as the Assyrians told them, was placed there by Sardanapalus.^c This description agrees exactly with the ancient figures with which we are now acquainted.

^b In 1855, the works of the Assyrian Excavation Society were placed under the direction of the British Museum. To the members of that Society, Mr. Loftus, who was employed by them, and subsequently by Col. Rawlinson, and whose *Researches in Chaldea and Susiana* have been recently published, affirms that the British nation is indebted for the discovery and exhumation of a series of bas-reliefs which, for their artistic conception, bold relief, and delicacy of finish, are to be regarded as the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Assyrian art. They were obtained from the northern half of the mound of Koyunjik, which forms the centre of the ruins of Nineveh, and proves to be the great treasure-house of Assyrian antiquities. The excavations, at this point, were made in 1854; and the collection of marbles and antiquities, thus gained, was received by the British Museum in the early part of 1856.—*Tv*.

^c Arrian. *Exped. Alex.* II. 5.

A similar tablet still exists, hewn in the rocks, at Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beirût, together with a row of Babylonian and Egyptian sculptures, which were intended to immortalize the march of Rameses and the expeditions of Assyrian and Babylonian forces upon the great highway through Syria and along the coast of the Mediterranean, which connected Mesopotamia with Egypt.^d Further west than Nahr-el-Kelb, no trace of Assyrian sculpture has yet been found. On the east and north-east, the evidences of their power extend to Armenia, where the parts adjacent to Lake Van especially abound in them.

Notwithstanding, however, the evidence of the greatness of Nineveh, and the lively representations of Assyrian manners and customs furnished by these dead figures, they could furnish nothing beyond general historical results, so long as the inscriptions, designed to explain them, were not deciphered. For this we were not long to wait. Fortunately, before the Assyrian records were brought to light, the means for unravelling them had been obtained by the deciphering of the *old Persian* inscriptions. On inscriptions of Persepolis, Hamadan, Naksh-i-Rustan, etc., the Arian, or Indo-European text is accompanied with records in two other languages. These, it has been discovered, are *translated* in Tartar and Babylonian.^e Just as, at the present day, the edicts of the governors of Bagdad are published in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian; so, twenty-three centuries since, the kings of Persia found it necessary to make what they published intelligible to their subjects, by dialects of the same three families of languages. The key to the deciphering of the Persian cuneiform inscription, obtained by Grotefend in the names of Darius and Xerxes,^f was so diligently used by such men as Lassen, Burnouf, Westergaard, and Rawlinson, that now few words or phrases exist in respect to which any doubt is left. Thus, by means of the great number of names which the inscriptions of the Achæmenian princes contain, we are able to determine the value of

^d These tables were examined by Dr. Robinson in his recent tour, and are described in his *Later Bib. Researches*, pp. 419—23.—Tr.

^e Comp. the excellent treatises of Edwin Norris: *Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription*: London, 1853; and Martin Haug: *Ueber Schrift und Sprache der zweiten Keilgattung*: Göttingen, 1855.

^f Prof. Grotefend, with great acuteness, conjectured that the names of the three Persian monarchs, which are specially prominent in the Greek historians, viz.: Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Darius, would be contained on one of these Persian inscriptions. On selecting groups of characters, and comparing them with each other, it was found that the same character which stood *third* in the first of these names, stood *last* in the one of Darius, and *second* in that of Xerxes (xs=x). This gave the letter s; and as the other letters, in like manner, corresponded with each other, the conjecture was confirmed, and the alphabetic value of ten or twelve cuneiform characters was obtained.—Tr.

the signs in the two translations of the Arian text. All the three versions of these inscriptions are in the arrow-headed or wedge-character. Fortunately, the identification of the proper names amid the confusion of the arrow-headed characters, which are of the greatest variety in the Tartar, and still more in the Babylonian inscriptions, was greatly facilitated by a peculiarity which appears with minor variations in both. It consists in a *perpendicular wedge* placed before every proper name, while the names of nations and countries are distinguished by a different mark.^g The decipherers of the Babylonian and Assyrian, are under additional obligations to the scribes of Mesopotamia for never having ended a line with the fragment of a word, as the Persians and Tartars did. Whenever it was necessary, they completed the line by extending the letter, as was customary with the Semitic alphabets with which we are acquainted.

In the same year in which such rich treasures of Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions were received at Paris, the most important monument of the old Persian language was made known by Rawlinson's publication of the *inscription of Behistun*. Up to that time had been derived, from the Persian inscriptions, only the titles and genealogies of the kings and satraps, and utterances of rulers general in their nature, and historically worthless; but now was furnished a chronicle, rich in facts and names, of the first years of the reign of Darius. From these, which, with the exception of the usurpation of the Pseudo Smerdis, were before entirely unknown, it appears that a brief notice in Herodotus of an insurrection of the Medes against Darius, which had been supposed to refer to a rebellion under Darius Nothus, or even to be interpolated, relates to an insurrection headed by a native Mede named Phraortes. With the aid of this long inscription there was ground to hope for success in the attempt to decipher the two other far more complicated species of writing, especially when the discovery of the countless inscriptions in Nineveh, which all exhibit the same characters with the *third* kind of Achaemenian records, was made. If the value of these signs could be ascertained by comparison with the Persian text, there was room for the hope that the *language* also might be mastered, and the history of the Assyrian people be recovered from their own monuments. After various unsuccessful efforts by English, French, and German scholars, the genius of the indefatigable Rawlinson, who had attained an impression, on paper,

^g In the Tartar, the use of the mark for persons is extended to such words as father, son, family, men, people, nation, king, leader, satrap, magian, subject, rebel, elected; names of places, local designations generally, and many other terms, are indicated by a horizontal mark. Haug, p. 8.

of the whole of the Behistun inscription, by means of the incredible daring of the Kurds in climbing, had been so far successful as to render him certain of the *Semitic* character of the language; and, soon after, a comparison of the Assyrian inscriptions with the Babylonian of the age of Achaemenian monarchs, made it evident that not only were both written with the same characters, but were also composed on the whole in the same language.

After the publication, in the year 1850, of specimens of his results in deciphering inscriptions at Nineveh, and especially a translation on the black obelisk, he laid before the public in 1851 the Babylonian text of the Behistun inscription, with a translation and the first part of a commentary, followed by remarks upon the single characters.¹ Although this is but a fragment, it enables us to form a judgment of the numerous difficulties surmounted by Rawlinson's courageous investigations, and of the extent to which a cautious criticism may venture to follow him in his slippery path. The difficulty of deciphering the Babylonian-Assyrian it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. Of all the Asiatic nations which employed the arrow-headed character, the Persians were the last to rise to power, also the last to adopt this mode of writing. This alphabet thus obtained, which was simple, and consisted of about forty different characters, they adapted to their national language, as the Greeks adapted the Semitic letters to their own Indo-Germanic tongue. The Tartar nations, on the other hand, who used the *second* mode of writing on the Achaemenian monuments, had an alphabet of about a hundred characters. The cuneiform writing of the Babylonians was the earliest, as that of the Persians was the latest. In the remains of the Babylonian text of the Behistun inscription, which has unfortunately suffered from time and the weather, we have about 160 different characters. Rawlinson gives a list of 246 arrow-headed forms, which he has found, partly in Assyrian and partly in Babylonian records. It is certain, however, that this number might be easily increased by a comparison of all the Ninevite inscriptions. This variety becomes still greater in consequence of the multitude of variations, in which these characters appear in the different inscriptions. If after ages might commiserate the Babylonians and Assyrians for being obliged to use this multitude (as it would seem) of arbitrary forms, this pity must give place to speechless astonishment at the declaration of such men as Rawlinson and Hincks,² that the

¹ Memoirs on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv.

² His essays on the Khorsabad inscriptions; on the Assyro-Babylonian Phonetic

scholars of Mesopotamia may have used,—perhaps a fourth part of those figures—for *several* sounds entirely *different* from each other. Since, in the known written languages, the effort clearly appears to become intelligible and to avoid misunderstanding, as may be everywhere seen even in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is difficult for us to conceive of a system so entirely different; and we almost dread to think of the consequences involved in the liberty of reading a sign, for instance, which frequently occurs in the inscriptions, either *ta* or *kur* or *mat* or *shat* or *lat* or *nat* or *kimu* or *ekshu*. If such variations can be demonstrated, our efforts to decipher them must certainly be in vain; and we shall be obliged not merely to wonder at the boldness of the Assyrians in daring to tolerate them, but much more at their ability to read their own writing.

Rawlinson was first led to these views by observing that, in the inscription of Behistun, the names of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonedus are written *An. pa. sa. du. ach.* and *An. pa. ia.*, while in others, the name Nabopolassar is sometimes written *An. pa. ha. ach.* Next, so long as the ordinary phonetic value of the signs was adhered to, a series of words resisted all attempts to bring them into connexion with any known language. And finally, the great variety of variations in the names of the Assyrian kings, and in several other proper names, appeared to confirm his hypothesis. Once in possession of such a principle, it was natural that the work of deciphering should rapidly go forward; no difficulty was so great as not to be, in this manner, happily solved. A striking instance is furnished us in the treatment of the name of a king who styles himself Ruler of Assyria and Son of Sennacherib, and consequently can be no other than Assarhaddon. The first sign agrees with this, being the sign at Behistun to express the land of Assyria, and in the Ninevite inscriptions both this and the god Assar. But the last of the three characters which compose the name, is the same with the first. From this difficulty Hincks easily escapes: the initial character is to be read Assar, but in the end of the name perhaps *don!* credat Judæus Apella. Happily we are able to shew that no such violence was necessary; for the full name of the Assyrian monarch was *Assar don Assar*, *i. e.* Assar, lord of Assyria,^k and the abbreviated form was in use only among the people.^l Be

Characters; and on the Personal Pronouns of the Assyrian and other languages, are contained in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vols. xxii. and xxiii.

^k *Ezer* or *ezar*, at the end of Babylonian and Assyrian names, as Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmanezar, Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonassar, is simply the land of Assar, as the Assyrian orthography of this name shews.

^l By a similar abbreviation is the circumstance to be explained, that one of the

this as it may, the thing is so utterly incredible, as to render any other mode of solving such difficulties preferable to this. Neither hieroglyphics nor alphabetic writing furnishes the least analogy to such lawlessness. Nor is the manner in which Rawlinson seeks to explain the origin of the alleged polythong at all satisfactory. We may admit, without scruple, that the arrow-headed writing was originally derived from the hieroglyphic, although the phonetic part of the letter must have been, at the time, considerably developed, because in no other way can the use of generic signs, before the names of persons, countries, rivers, and the like, be accounted for: but that in Mesopotamia, the figure of an object was employed for all its various names, is opposed to all probability. Even among the Egyptians, each figure always retained its distinct phonetic value; and where, as a generic sign, it appears to have lost this property, it was not pronounced. Accordingly, we believe, and think we have proved in the second part of this essay, that, in a large number of arrow-groups a definite conventional law of formation may be traced. If this discovery is verified, it runs directly counter, it is plain, to that theory.

Finally, our distrust of this lawlessness is still more increased by the fact that so many important parts of the Ninevite inscriptions can be deciphered without assigning to the individual cuneiform characters more than *one* sound, which each has been proved to represent. It will never be possible, however, to escape from the confusion of contradictory statements, except by a rigid *separation of the orthography of Assyrian and Babylonian proper names from the orthography of all other names and words*. For, in the former, it is not only the wider use of ideographic and determinative signs which makes the determination of the arrow-groups specially difficult, but still more a singular mode of abbreviation, which, on account of being able to express the longest names by a few strokes, is of very frequent occurrence. This is governed by entirely different laws from those which are observed in writing other words, and reminds one of a rebus or riddle, more than of any thing else. In the name of nearly every king of Assyria or Babylon, an example is furnished of the various ways, longer or shorter, in which it was written. The name of Nebuchadnezzar is written Nebikudurrurzur, Anakkudiruzur, Anakkudirach, Anpasaduach; that of his father, Nabipaluzur, Anakhaach; that of Sargon, Sargana, Sardu, Mindu. In all these examples the steps can be traced from the longer

murderers of Sennacherib is called, in 2 Kings xix. 37, Sharezer, and in Abydenus (Arm. Eus. ed. Ancher I. p. 53), Nergillus, although the full name was probably Nergal-Sarezar. Cf. *Hitzig. Begr. d. Kritik*, p. 195 ff.

to the abbreviated form, though not, of course, with entire clearness except by inspection of the signs themselves. These abbreviations must have been occasioned by the rule already mentioned, according to which the end of a line must coincide with the end of a word. Hence we find the most extensive employment of these contractions on the brick temples. It must certainly be admitted that sometimes one arrow group is substituted for another, which expresses the same idea, but does not represent the same sound; and this it is which has induced Rawlinson to advance his theory and to suppose it to be everywhere verified. But such substitutions would never of course occur either in the orthography of foreign names, or of any other word when the scribe was anxious to make his work intelligible to himself and others.

Accordingly, in the Semitic records, the alphabetical apparatus, in particular that which has been obtained from the Behistun inscription, can be applied to the single characters of Assyrian and Babylonian proper names only when these names are expressed *in full*, and even then not to all, since into nearly every name generic and ideographic signs are interwoven. This is especially the case with the names of nearly all the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. These are consequently the most difficult to decipher, not only for this reason, but also because into the orthography of the name of a deity the signs of his attributes and surnames often enter, although they have no connexion with the pronunciation of the kings' names.*

From not observing this distinction, and improperly applying the laws which belong only to the contracted forms of these proper names to all words and names, the theory of various sounds for the same sign arose. That this is in fact restriction to the limits just described—if we may speak in query of a polythong of arrow-headed groups—is proved by the simple solution of many difficulties, which it has been believed could only be solved by the erroneous hypothesis already referred to.

It is not surprising, after all this, that the labours of the English scholars in this department have not been favourably regarded in Germany, and the greatest distrust of their translations of the Ninevite inscriptions has been expressed." A more careful examination, however, of the processes and results of Rawlinson and Hincks, shews, that if England has believed too much, we in

* Thus, the sign for the god Nebo, in the names of Nebuchadnezzar and Nebopolassar, is followed by one which does not represent the pronunciation of the name of the god or the king. So to the god *San*, in the name of Sanherib (Senacherib), is affixed his surname *don* or *adon*.

* Comp. Ewald, in the *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1851. S. 50 ff.

Germany have believed too little; and that, while firmly convinced of the impossibility of the wide ambiguity of signs which they maintain, we have reason to rejoice that their researches have already yielded much fruit.

From the more than eighty proper names found in the Achaemenian inscriptions, and which, as we have seen, could be easily distinguished, the means of fixing and certainly determining the phonetic value of nearly one hundred arrow-head signs was furnished. With this material it was, of course, possible to determine the sounds of those groups of arrow-heads which were composed of these signs. In this manner, the Semitic character of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions was discovered, and, though only a part of the words could be connected with known roots, yet a comparison of the same word in various inflections, gave about ten additional determinable signs, which the proper names did not contain.

Beyond this point, two difficulties prevented any rapid progress. In the first place, these one hundred and twenty signs were by no means sufficiently numerous to afford the means of deciphering the entire text of the Achaemenian inscriptions, and still less of the Ninevite ones. On the other hand, however, variants of the same text, *e. g.* standard inscriptions, which, like the figures in our carpets, are again and again repeated, in all the halls of a Ninevite palace, have given us the value of many signs before unknown. But great caution is here necessary, and also in availing ourselves of the aid offered by the characters in the Tartar translation of the Persian original. That these are borrowed from the Assyro-Babylonian alphabet is not to be doubted; and here and there their phonetic value is determined more certainly from the Tartar than from the Babylonian text; but, on the other hand, the pronunciation appears often to have been different.

The second difficulty, which cannot in all cases be at once overcome, is that of discovering the *Semitic roots* in the arrow-head form, the phonetic value of which has been decided. First of all we naturally resort to the vocabulary of the Aramæan dialects, although many words are, and will be, found which the dialects have lost, but which are preserved in other Semitic languages. Of the greatest importance, however, are the Semitic portions of two languages, viz. the Armenian and the Pehlevi, the latter of which was probably spoken in Southern Mesopotamia in the time of the Sassanides: for the Semitic parts of both languages could have been derived only from the Assyrian and Babylonian dialect. The brief but excellent treatise of

Haug,* therefore, on the leading features of the Pehlevi, is a valuable contribution to the helps for the deciphering of the Babylonian-Assyrian. For if we succeed in finding a root with a fitting signification in the Achaemenian inscriptions, we possess the surest pledge of the correctness of the discovery, if the same root can be discovered in the Pehlevi with the same or a cognate signification. Similar is the relation of the Armenian; but unfortunately its vocabulary has not yet been sifted, with this in view. To these difficulties must be added that which arises from the partial mutilation which the important inscriptions of Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustan has suffered. But happily, again, the same expressions, especially in the Behistun record, are very frequently repeated, so that many groups can be filled out by a careful comparison of different passages. In this manner, a whole series of words and expressions, in the third kind of the Achaemenian inscriptions has been perfectly deciphered, and this meaning, though in nearly every instance upon the basis of the Persian original, has been correctly determined.

Now the Assyro-Babylonian court-style, which had extended its influence even to the style of composition on the Persian records, was so settled that the Achaemenian inscriptions have not only much, as it respects form and complexion, in common with those at Nineveh of similar import; but even the same phrases frequently occur in both. Especially illustrative of this is the comparison of the black obelisk, already mentioned, with the inscription of Behistun; for, in the former, the builder of the central palace in Nimrud, recounts his exploits in the same words, frequently with those of Daniel in the latter, several centuries later. A more careful comparison, therefore, of both records, may lead to a more certain translation, in many places, of the older writing.

* *Ueber die Pehlevi Sprache und den Bundeheah. Aus den Gött. gel. Anzeigen.* Göttingen, 1851. [Also, Spiegel, *Grammatik der Huzvärer Sprache.* Wien, 1856. 8vo. p. 194.—Tr.]

[In this and the following article we have taken the liberty of leaving out a very large per-centage of the *commas*, introduced not to the explicating but to the marring of the sense. May we call the attention of our correspondents at home to the importance of making the pointing of their written compositions correspond with the natural rests in good conversation?—ED. J. S. L.]

DOES THE BIBLE NEED RE-TRANSLATING?^a

Is it expedient that the Bible should be re-translated? Is our present version so faulty, or at least so susceptible of emendation from an enlightened criticism, that the Herculean task of interpreting anew the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures into the vulgar Anglo-Saxon tongue ought to be immediately undertaken? And will christian unity be promoted, or the way of salvation be elucidated by the process? These are questions which at the present moment are violently agitating the religious public, which, as usual, is divided on the point. Of course, says the tyro in sacred literature, "let there be a new translation more in accordance with modern enlightenment. The *Westminster Review* is right, let the Bible be critically sifted, and if it can bear the test, well; but if not, let it lose its prestige." The deeply read linguist of orthodox views says, "I have no objection to the publication of an edition of the Bible, revised and corrected; I am not afraid to apply the touchstone of modern erudition to the sacred text; I should be sorry to allow the sceptic such a triumph, as to admit the possibility of danger to Christianity from a re-translation of the Scriptures, and though it would please me better to let King James' Version alone, yet I am too jealous for the reputation of God's word to allow myself to shrink from meeting the infidel in the fair field of criticism."

It is urged, on the other hand, by men of various religious sentiments, "No possible good can result from a new translation; deists and scoffers want to undermine the bulwarks of our creed, and think they can succeed best by throwing discredit on a book which has been prized as almost perfect in its accuracy in expressing the will of God. The men who are most prominent in this agitation are not believers in the inspiration of the volume they wish to criticize so minutely; and this makes us suspicious of their object. We are afraid that their aim is to bring the text into seeming harmony with their own views, and not to present us with more accurate readings of the original manuscripts, or more faithful renderings of the meaning of Scripture. No advocate for this re-translation presumes to say that man's salvation depends on an improve-

^a *Notes on the Revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures.* By William Selwyn, Canon of Ely. Cambridge: Deighton, Bill and Co. 2. *A Vindication of the Authorized Version of the English Bible.* By the Rev. S. C. Malan. 3. *The American Bible Union's Improved Version.* [This paper is reprinted from the *American Church Review*.—Ed. J. S. L.]

ment in our present version. The utmost that is urged, is the necessity of removing obsolete expressions, and some stumbling blocks which the antiquated style of the authorized version throws in the way of the ordinary reader. Now, any benefit derivable from such corrections will be more than counterbalanced by the vantage ground ceded to the unbeliever, who will be ready to say, 'The authorized version held its sway for two hundred and forty-five years; how long will the new one predominate? It is not to be expected that old superstitions should at once give way to true criticism, but now that the axe is laid to the root, the tree must eventually fall. The all but sacred associations which guarded the old version will be wanting in the new. We shall not have the same prejudices to encounter when we attempt to depreciate the new edition. We can bid the world prepare for another still newer, more enlightened, less inspired. And it will be strange indeed if the ordinary capacities, for whose special benefit the new version is prepared, be not greatly bewildered when the claims of rival editions are urged as a plea for disbelieving them all.' In order, therefore, to withhold from the unbeliever such aid as the publication of a new version must afford, we think it better to let well alone. We agree also (they say), with Lord Shaftesbury, 'in deprecating such a result as must ensue from a depreciation of the vast stock of Bibles in existence. Notwithstanding the immense exertions that have been made to print and circulate the Bible, it is computed that there are still seven hundred millions of human beings without a Bible. When the number of copies of the Scriptures (in all languages) is so disproportioned to the world's population, can we afford to render all the Bibles in existence worthless? It would take a century at least to supply the world with a sufficient number of copies of the new version, to make good the loss of those now in circulation.'"

The advocates and opponents of a new translation have much to plead in favour of their respective views, but we feel that the weight of argument rests with the opponents. We shall endeavour, therefore, to justify this conclusion, by showing that the advocates of the movement, supposing them to be sincere believers in Revelation, greatly overestimate the advantages derivable from a new translation. And, on the supposition that the advocates of a new version are sceptics, we infer that no translation will satisfy them except one which will confirm their scepticism; while *certain* ill results must be borne in order to obtain a very *uncertain* benefit for the Christian world, whether the promoters of the agitation be believers or infidels.

Now, in order to show that the advantages attendant on a new translation are greatly overrated, we would observe, that the greatest of them would be the rendering the meaning of the text more clear, by the substitution of modern phraseology for obsolete modes of expression. This, we contend, is the most important result that we can anticipate. The labours of new translators must be confined to examination of the structure of Scriptural phrases, and to the expression of the meaning of the sacred writers in language more intelligible to the modern ear, than that of King James' Version. We repeat, that all we can expect is such a revision as will make the true sense of each passage more clear to the men of this age, by the use of modern diction. But far more than this is expected by many. It is conjectured or assumed that the two centuries and a half which have elapsed since our present version was completed, have brought to light much valuable information regarding the *various readings* of the text of Scripture; much knowledge concerning the authenticity of this or that passage. No doubt such is the case, but still this fund of information will redound but little to the improvement of a new version. The "*variae lectiones*" of Mill, amounting to thirty thousand in the New Testament alone; the famous collation of five hundred and eighty MSS., by Dr. Kennicott; and the four quarto volumes of various readings published by De Rossi, A.D. 1786, contain an immense amount of philological research, of great use indeed to the scholar, but we suspect of little use to any body of translators. For we have no doubt that the authorized version would be assumed as the basis of any prospective version, in the same way as "the Bishops' Bible" was taken as the ground-work of our present version by the forty-seven translators commissioned by King James. We cannot believe that any body of men, authorized to revise our present version, would assume the responsibility of substituting for the reading adopted by the translators of 1607, any various reading recommended by a subsequent collation of manuscripts. They could not venture to do so without assigning their reasons and thus swelling the new translation into a size utterly useless to the generality of readers, by reason of the folios that must be written in the shape of notes.

Let us suppose for a moment that our newly commissioned translators should differ from their predecessors, and prefer to follow the vulgate, the Latin Fathers, and the Alexandrine MS., changing our present reading of St. Luke so as to read thus, "*Δόξα ἐν ὑψηλοῖς Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήμη ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδοκίας,*" would this alteration be received with quiet acquies-

cence by the Christian public? Would there not be a demand for the reason of the change? One or other of these alternatives would take place; either the translators would be obliged to enter into a learned and laborious disquisition in a note to the passage, which would perhaps be unintelligible to the majority; or they would not assign their reasons for changing the text, and consequently the proposed emendation would be suspected and disregarded. We say, then, that all those persons who are warmly advocating a re-translation with the idea that the "*textus receptus*" would be altered to suit their Socinianism, their Rationalism, or their widely differing theories of doctrine or discipline, would be sadly disappointed. The transfer of a various reading from the margin of our Bibles into the text may seem an easy one, but it becomes a Herculean task when the question is put, Why is the change made, or what new light has been reflected on us, which was denied to our fathers? The authority of any new board of translators must be incredibly great, if a change in the original text be made and received without good reasons being assigned. And the impossibility of assigning those reasons, so as to satisfy the mass of Christians, arising from the technical and abstruse nature of the enquiry, must deter from any such alteration. The work will be one, therefore, of improved translation merely; and that in some passages mis-translations are to be found, is undeniable, but the main business will be to make the sense of the sacred volume more intelligible by expressing it in more familiar English, and by the employment of paraphrase, or the substitution of some modern equivalent, get rid of obsolete idioms.

We said that there exist some mis-translations; but they are few and well known. It is scarcely necessary to sap the very foundations of the faith, by shaking confidence in the authorized version, in order to obviate the slight evil of a few trifling inaccuracies. We believe that the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis is mis-translated, and that the Israelites were not directed by Jehovah to *borrow* but to *demand* from the Egyptians jewels of silver and gold. But in order to correct a few sentences like these, is it expedient to take such a step as will throw discredit on the whole authorized version? To what end are we furnished with such multitudes of annotated Bibles, if the notes do not answer every purpose that a re-translation is expected to subserve? Had the readers of Scripture adhered to the old Protestant watchword, "The Bible without note or comment," then we might understand this outcry for as literal a translation as the wit of man can devise. But when Bibles with notes and paraphrases and references, are multiplied with-

out number, and every difficulty in the text is said to be lucidly smoothed down in the margin or notes, we confess that a change in the text itself seems quite unnecessary to edification or information.

But how stands the case with those passages in which the sense has not been perverted but obscured, owing to quaint or obsolete diction? Is it not advisable that such texts as this, "The Lord commended the unjust steward," should be rendered, "His Master commended," in order to avoid the semblance of encouragement to dishonesty? Or, should we not read, "Make to yourselves friends, *by means of* the mammon of unrighteousness?" There can be no question that sentences such as these are susceptible of improvement in translation; but we ask again, cannot the obscurity of the text be remedied by the teaching of sermons, commentaries and notes? Is the danger incurred by the publication of a *new* bible, at all proportioned to the good likely to accrue from increased clearness of meaning, in a few passages? We are aware that one of the benefits expected from a re-translation is the getting rid of many notes which (it is said) are now rendered necessary by the looseness of the authorized version. Now it is true that notes which are explanatory of passages, whose obscurity is owing to imperfect translation, would be unnecessary when the translation is perfected; but it is forgotten that forthwith a new class of notes becomes indispensable, as the authorities on which every change in the translation is made, must be given in order to satisfy the reader. Thus it is probable (should a revision take place) that "*παιδαγωγός*"^b and "*ἀνθύπατος*"^c would be translated more correctly "Guardian slave" and "Proconsul," instead of the present rendering, "Schoolmaster" and "Deputy." Notes, however, explaining the change in translation, as well as the terms themselves, must remain to perplex the unlearned many, for whose benefit, it is said, the re-translation is to be made. For these reasons we apprehend that no translation of the Holy Scriptures (except a copious paraphrase) can be achieved of such a character as to permit us to dispense with notes, and we therefore repeat the question, why not leave the task of explaining the more difficult and imperfectly translated passages of Scripture to an educated clergy, and an authorized edition of notes—authorized, we mean, by that same body, whoever they may be, to whom we look for a new translation? It seems to be assumed by the promoters of a re-translation, that the new version will be generally received by the Christian

^b Gal. iii. 24.

^c Acts xiii. 7.

public with tacit acquiescence, and deferential respect; why should not a volume of emendations and corrections of the authorized version, emanating from the same source from which a new translation is expected, be received with similar reverence and veneration?

It will, however, be replied, granting that notes will still be necessary, yet the great advantage that the revisionists expect is such a transformation of the phraseology generally, as will make the Word of God more clearly "understood of the people." Against any such change in the language of Scripture we would enter a solemn protest; warned as we are by example, the admonition of the great and learned, and the tendency of familiarity towards contempt. There have been many attempts to improve on our present translation, all of which have but served to enhance our estimation of it. In every instance dignity has been sacrificed to a rapid familiarity, and the personal dogmas of the translators offensively paraded. In Dr. Geddes' translation of the Pentateuch, we are quite at a loss to discover anything but a pert attempt at exactness, in his substitution of the word skip-offering for Passover. Indeed it is observable that in almost every attempt at individual translation, the grandeur and lofty tone of Scripture as now received, have been made to give way to modernized diction, however common-place, provided it will be expressive. Bishop Stock's rendering of Isaiah xxxii., 5, is an illustration of this propensity. He changes our authorized reading, "The vile person shall no more be called liberal," into "No more *shall* the *sneaking* man be called generous." Now the term "sneaking" may be more intelligible to ordinary readers than the term vile, but what scholar of taste or elegance would wish for many such substitutions in the Word of God?

The puerilities of the translation, published by the American Bible Union, are such as to warn us from attempting to degrade the style of the Bible to a level with the language of society. "Be on hand conveniently and inconveniently," 2 Tim. iv., 2, and "Now, Master, thou lettest thy servant depart in peace," are given to us by a grave and learned body as improvements to our present version! but it would be hard to say in what the improvement consisted, unless it be in the employment of a flippant method of expression approaching to slang.^d Even when this degradation of style is avoided, there is

^d It may not be known that this new version is designed not for Baptists alone. There is on the last page of the cover of *The Bible: Union Reporter*, the following notice:

"THE AMERICAN BIBLE UNION.—This institution was organized June 10th,

often to be apprehended, and in some instances to be found, a studied effort to make the text speak the language of this or that heresy, be it Anabaptism, Deism, or Popery. Who can read Wakefield's translation of the New Testament, without seeing that he was a Socinian, and wished the Bible to be Socinian too? The Douay Bible, again, bears on its face the impress of Roman Catholic translators; while the Baptist version is to make the Bible preach immersion in plain terms. But it is said, may not a translation be produced which will be free from the imputation of doctrinal partiality? We fear not; it is almost hopeless to expect any Board of Translators to enter upon the task under such favourable circumstances as King James' Commissioners. They laboured at their great undertaking with a strong antipathy, it is true, to Romanism, but with no intention of taking advantage of their position to attack Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Unitarianism, &c., to say nothing of the sects which have arisen since their day. These sectaries had not as yet assumed sufficient importance to make the translators pursue their task with an eye to their heresies. There was then no inducement (had they been base enough to yield to it) to act like the Independents when in power, who did not scruple to insert in Acts vi., 3, the word "*Ye*," in place of the true reading "*We*," in order to give countenance to their peculiar notions of Church Government and the Christian Ministry. The consequence has been that we now possess a translation singularly free from the least bias or partiality; one from which every denomination proves its own dogmas, and with which, in spite of all that has been written, we believe all but a few uneasy sectarists, restless sceptics, or ambitious Philologists, are perfectly satisfied.

But, if we refuse to be taught by the unsuccessful issues of attempted modern translations, let us defer in some measure to the authority of those great luminaries who have lived since the year 1611, and who, though possessing additional information, and the aid of newly found manuscripts, yet one and all bear willing testimony to the substantial accuracy, the majestic gravity, and musical rythm of our present version. Swift, a master and judge of terse, vigorous style, declared that "he

1850. Its object is to procure and circulate the most faithful versions of the sacred Scriptures, in *all languages*, throughout the world. The scholars in its employ, engaged in the revision of the English Scriptures, are ecclesiastically connected with the following denominations: Church of England, Old School Presbyterians, Disciples, or Reformers, Methodist Episcopal Church, Associate Reformed Presbyterians, Seventh Day Baptists, *American Protestant Episcopalians*, Baptists, German Reformed Church."

Who are these "Scholars of the American Protestant Episcopalians?"

thought the alterations introduced into the English language, since the completion of King James' Version, had added little to the beauty or strength of our mother tongue, and that our translators were masters of an English style much fitter for that work than any since that day, owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole. It would be a tedious operation to enumerate all the testimonies of such men as Monboddo, Selden, South, Adam Clarke, Horsley, the last of whom though himself a translator of Hosea, yet expressly stated that he had not the least wish that his version should supersede the authorized one in the public service of the Church. It requires, indeed, considerable presumption to disparage a work whose fidelity and beauty are eulogized by such a host of princes in Oriental learning, as Pocock and South; but the present age is not one likely to defer to authority.

The enlightenment of the times, is the idea that pervades almost all who come to the consideration of this question. It is said the translation of 1611 was indeed a wonderful work for the day in which it was accomplished, but it is out of date; accurate scholarship is the characteristic of modern Biblical critics, and it is absurd to suppose that there do not exist in the present day more excellent materials for the translation and revision of the text, than were to be found in the year 1611; numerous MSS. have been found; the Alexandrine, presented by Cyril to Charles the First, is in itself an inestimable treasure; these, and such like considerations, might be indefinitely extended, but the question recurs, has the collation of MSS., or modern acuteness in criticism and philology, proved the text used by our translators (as the basis of their great work), to be spurious or defective to such an extent, as to affect materially any article of belief necessary to salvation?

This, after all, is the grand question for practical men, and we think the answer must be in the negative. What new light has been thrown on the genuineness of the celebrated verse in St. John's First Epistle? Has any evidence of importance been elicited by modern research?

We return, then, to the point whence we started, in affirming that *translation* alone will be the business of any set of men who are commissioned to revise the Scriptures, and, in a few places, we have no hesitation in saying, that great improvement might be made, but that no benefit would accrue equivalent to the loss which would be sustained by the severance of those sacred ties with which our present version is bound up in our affections, and by the misgivings that would be aroused in the minds of multitudes who idolize the volume as their best friend.

If, indeed, we were sure that *mis*-translations alone would be corrected, and that ten thousand (what may be termed) minor faults would not be meddled with, we would have less cause of apprehending evil consequences from a new Bible, though, even with this proviso, we can see no manner of necessity to take so weighty a step to counteract the supposed ill-effects of a few mis-translations.

The rendering of the word *κρίμα* in St. Paul's account of the Holy Communion, is often urged as an instance of the mischief perpetrated by one wrong translation, and doubtless the passage would not have deterred so many from becoming communicants had it been thus: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh a judgment to himself;" but we are of opinion that the abstaining of such numbers of professing Christians from the communion, is much rather to be attributed to the neglect of the clergy in not explaining the true meaning of the text, and to the studious efforts of so many to represent the sacraments as privileges to be enjoyed only by persons of high attainments in piety, and not as means of grace to be thankfully received by the Christian who is struggling to do his duty. We are not now defending the translation "damnation," but even if it had been translated "judgment" or "condemnation," there would still have remained quite enough of alarming denunciation in the language to have affrighted multitudes, particularly as "judgment" would have been taken in connection with St. Paul's allusion to bodily afflictions, and thus deterred many from the communion by the threat of disease or death.

Let us now briefly glance at the ill-results that may be apprehended from lowering the lofty style of the Scriptures to the familiar phraseology of modern times; this is one of the most dangerous consequences that we foresee as likely to issue from a new translation. In proportion as the dialogue or didactic and historic portions of holy writ are modernized in their tone, so may we dread the prevalence of contemptuous disregard for their teaching. We need not be told how injuriously falls on the ear of any congregation, the sermon which would, in the language of every day life, paraphrase some solemn text of scripture. Why not fear the same result from the familiarizing of Scriptural language which would inevitably arise from the substitution of modern, homely phrases, for the grave diction of Milton or Shakespeare? In an age of sneering ribaldry, can we afford to lose any of those artificial helps to solemnity, which sometimes, in the absence of holier motives, operate advantageously? Is the anxious enquirer, or the fasti-

dious sceptic, likely to be attracted by the language of the Bible, because it is common-place or vulgar, instead of sublime and peculiar? We think not; the language in which the awful truths of Christianity are expressed cannot be too dignified or too emphatic, and we cannot help imagining that any attempt to interpret the mysterious revelations of the Bible in the language of the day must be positively injurious.

We hasten now to consider some replies to the arguments on which we base our opposition to a new translation. One very plausible excuse is contained in the following considerations: "The changes made in the version cannot be supposed likely to bewilder or undermine the faith of the people half as much as constantly hearing from the pulpit multitudes of tyros in sacred literature, taking upon them to correct our present version for the information of congregations who have neither inclination nor opportunity of testing the proposed amendments." To this apology we reply, that we can never hope for any version so perfectly satisfactory and so universally received as perfect, as will prevent preachers from seeing imperfections, and from proposing improvements in its structure. Besides which, the foregoing argument rests chiefly on the assumption that mis-translations are numerous (a position which we refuse to take for granted till proved), and that the clergy are in the habit of speaking in their discourses as if the present rendering of many texts was absolutely false. This we cannot believe; it is very natural indeed for a preacher who wishes to impress deeply some tenet on the minds of his hearers, to show how such and such a text *might have been more forcibly or emphatically rendered*; he may show how, by exact attention to the Greek article, according to Bishop Middleton's rules, the sense of a passage may be more accurately brought out, even to proving more satisfactorily the divinity of the Saviour; but this we hold to be a very different procedure from affirming to a congregation that such a paragraph or line is *falsely* rendered, an assertion to which we should hope but few teachers often commit themselves. The effect, moreover, on an audience, of *contradicting* a reading, would differ from that produced by proposing an emendation, as much as the mental uneasiness caused by the discovery of a flaw in a title deed would differ from the feelings aroused on ascertaining a mistake in its grammar or punctuation. Let us not then have any tampering with translation, founded on the doubts and perplexities raised by pulpit corrections of the text; these latter are improvements of a trivial nature, consisting generally of striking substitutions of expression, and not of total changes in the meaning, and the shock given to the public mind by such

elucidations of the clergy bears no comparison to that which would be inflicted, were a new edition of the Bible "revised and re-translated," to be published for the express purpose of superseding a version received for two hundred and forty-five years, as "containing all things necessary to salvation."

We are aware that it is said in reply, "we have not to consider results, but our duty to perfect the translation as far as possible; the Christian religion will survive any such shock; and let it be remembered that when the authorized version was published, there were three editions of the Bible in existence besides Wickliffe's, yet they gradually fell into disuse, until our present Bible obtained undisputed authority." But the two periods in Church history are so widely dissimilar that we cannot conceive any argument based on an analogy between them. When the authorized version was made, the number of copies of the Geneva, Episcopal, or Tyndal edition in existence must have been very small, while the proportion of persons able to read them was very inconsiderable also. Very many copies of the Bible had been destroyed by the Papal party, so that any version, provided it were in the vulgar tongue, would be gladly welcomed. Add to which, that the people had (with few exceptions) entire confidence in the translators, the Romish controversy being the great point then in agitation, and that the Commissioners would faithfully perform their task with a view to it, the nation had but little doubt. Bearing these considerations in mind, it does seem unreasonable to argue from the quiet supremacy obtained by the authorized over preceding versions, to the certainty of a re-translation with equal ease, acquiring supremacy in its turn over the hearts and consciences of the present generation. An age which was only too thankful to be furnished with *any* version of the Scriptures, affords us no precedent for estimating the probable reception that a new translation would meet with in the present day, when men are so fastidious as to demand the *best* that can be had. Widely-spread schisms have originated in far less provocation than a re-translation would furnish, and we fear that ere long we should find the list of sects augmented by the addition of "the new and old versionists."

Everything seemed to have combined to render the time in which our authorized version was made the most suitable that we can imagine. Everything seems to mark the present day as the most unsuitable for making the attempt of revision. The period in which our present version was published was the turning point in our Church History, when that greatest of all reforms, the translation of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue

was *the* desideratum. It was the Augustan age of English literature. Providence seems to have raised up at that time a band of classical and oriental scholars, such as would do no discredit to the present day, notwithstanding the loud assumptions of superior progress in sacred literature. Classical learning, such as would be requisite for a re-translation, is certainly more diffused now-a-days, and perhaps the smattering of such learning that multitudes possess is the cause of our so constantly hearing of a boasted superiority over the knowledge of King James' translation. It is the number of scholars in the present day of which we may be proud; but this should not cause us to forget that quality, not quantity, must be sought for in translators, and that though the number of qualified men were comparatively few at the date of our authorized version, yet that they were truly giants in the knowledge of language.* No parallel, then, can be drawn between the two epochs which will not, on investigation, tend to show a marked superintending Providence in the time, the men, the manner of our translation, which was made at a *time* when men were not disposed to look for blemishes, but to accept the boon with gratitude; by *men* who seemed specially raised up for the great occasion, and in a *manner* which no eulogy has hitherto been found adequately to express.

If the good results issuing from an attempt to re-translate the Bible will be by no means proportioned to the hazard incurred, we would strongly dissuade from the enterprise, but we feel more confident in deprecating the undertaking when we consider who they are who have forced this question on public

* It was well said lately, by a fine scholar, in behalf of our present version: "The full effect of the revival of the study of the Greek language was at that very day at its highest point—the very ladies of that day were many of them rare Greek scholars. Lady Jane Grey was absorbed in reading Plato in the original Greek when she was summoned to the tribunal that condemned her to death. Queen Elizabeth was well versed in Greek literature; it was the golden age of classical attainments; they had all the classical authors which we have now, but the study of them had a freshness and interest, enhanced by the scarcity of other works in the vernacular, and the fashion of the times—both which causes of fitness for such a work cannot be said of these times.

"The English tongue in those days was eminently fitted for the purpose. It had emerged from the harshness of the Anglo-Saxon, but still retained in its structure and phrase that robust, honest tongue for its ground work and sub-structure. The language may not have attained to the redundancy and excess of fertility which, while it may subserve some of the purposes of literature, has actually detracted from its strength and distinctness. It may have now more scientific terms, but this is not wanted, for the Bible is not a book of science; it may have more latinity and more slang, but not the same power of expression. I appeal to Bacon, Shakespeare, Sir Philip Sydney, Ben Johnson, Sir Thomas More, and Sir Matthew Hale, and I may add Milton, against Carlyle and Dickens, and Moore and Macaulay."

attention. Is it not notorious, that the Christian world was (with the exception of a few learned philologists) contented with our present version, until the cavils and sneers of the *Westminster Review*, and the prevailing influence of German criticism made some persons dissatisfied with the text of Scripture as it stands? Was not the motion for a revision made in the English Parliament, by Mr. Heywood, who spoke of the sacred volume as an exploded fable, and of the Pentateuch as not having been written by Moses at all? The adage is a good one, "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*;" and if the great mass of practical Christian people can see any blessing as likely to accrue to them from the intended boon of English sceptics and German rationalists, they must either be simplicity itself, or be possessed of incredible foresight. And not only is pressure from sceptics of the school of Germany to be expected, owing to the adoption of German editions of the classics in the Universities, but even in the Anglican Church itself are to be found men more or less tinged with rationalism, such as Jowett, McNaught, Hampden, claimed as allies by the *Westminster Review*, and dangerous to the faith in proportion to their acknowledged learning and ability. But suppose the revision to be accomplished in a manner satisfactory to the orthodox believer, and by a band of scholars competent for the work and above suspicion; then our position will be precisely this; the great mass of Christian people who had been troubled with no scruples about the authorized version, will be just in the position they had been before the revision, while the new edition will be still a mark for the critical sneers of the discontented, who can then make their attacks emboldened by their success in having shaken faith in one version (at least) of the Scriptures.

Until then stronger reasons than any we have seen assigned are given, we say NO, to any re-translation of the Scriptures. We will suggest a substitute for revision; one which we think possesses all the advantages of a re-translation of ancient idioms into modern dialect, while also it will supply what a new version never of itself can, a means whereby the *sense* of the sacred penman's language may be presented to the mind. We would then, in all humility, suggest to those accurate Scholiasts whose critical taste is offended by any the least barbarism in translation, and to all those talented enquirers into the blemishes of the authorized version, that they would devote the talent that God had given them, to the very necessary task of calling public attention to the prejudiced manner in which the Bible is read by almost all Christians, and of exposing to men's view the artificial, unsuspected hindrances which stand in the way of a

clear interpretation of God's Word. That is our substitute for re-translation. For it seems to us incredible that any revision of Scripture, no matter how perfect, can bring men into a unity of spirit regarding the meaning of God's revelation, so long as there exist such prejudices and hindrances as do avowedly warp our views and distort the meaning of Scripture. Indeed, it must occur to the mind of any one versed in literary criticism, that a wide difference exists between the method adopted by commentators on Scripture, and that pursued by editors of uninspired writings. To arrive at the meaning in the author's mind at the time he wrote, is the aim of every expositor of the classics. To discover from the words of an inspired writer a plausible pretext for some theory of their own, seems the object in view when the Bible is examined by critics, or read by the Christian public. In the one case, the words are examined and compared in order to ascertain the sense; in the other, the sense is, for the most part, presumed, and then adapted to the words. The causes of such a contrast are numerous. The Bible is much more interwoven with the worldly interests of its votaries than the works of Horace or Homer ever can be. While the verses of Virgil are criticized only by a few, the Bible is discussed by thousands, and in proportion to the number of persons familiar with Scripture, is the anxiety not to appear singular, by gaining some acquaintance with a book which is in the hands of every one. Next follows the desire to maintain by argument the views which such slight acquaintance has imparted, since pride and the wish to retain the character of consistency often concur in strengthening the determination to hold to tenets men have once avowed. Biblical interpretation is, besides, often hereditary; oftener the result of education, but most frequently has no stronger foundation than hearsay. It is not surprising that a pious son should look for his father's opinions on religious matters in the Bible, and his filial affection will quickly find a warrant for some doctrine which (though he knew it not) he was *resolved* to prove from Scripture. The student of some cherished and revered Alma Mater will exercise his ingenuity in adapting the Bible to the tenets with which his youth was indoctrinated by men who appeared to him giants in erudition. The persevering attendant on the ministrations of a popular preacher will mould the Scriptures into perfect harmony with the expositions which so often delighted him. That such a practice exists of accommodating Biblical texts to suit preconceived views, no thoughtful religionist will deny. Nor is it less self-evident that men who would scorn to be thought partial, dwell especially on those texts which seem to establish their

opinions to the exclusion of passages which throw a different light on those views, and greatly modify them. The Bible, in short, is studied now-a-days rather to corroborate than to correct religious prejudices. Practically, at least, such is the result, for omitting the case of multitudes whose interest and opinions go together, or whose pride leads them to act as champions of paradoxes, there are vast numbers of well-intentioned, religious men, who are quite unaware of the many temptations and artificial stumbling blocks with which they are impeded in their search after truth. The power of these obstacles to hide or distort the meaning of Scripture, depends, in great part, on the fact that they are unsuspected. They require only to be known and their influence ceases, but so long as they continue unobserved, there is great danger that men will be "ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth."

The danger we are speaking of lies not so much in the number or strength of the preconceptions with which men strive to make Scripture square, but in the existence of any preconception at all; because, if we admit that Christianity is a *system* of religion, nothing is more certain than that a false view of one part of the plan affects the whole. The effect of the architecture is lost when the parts are viewed in a false light, or through differing mediums. The Biblical reader who begins his labour with a preconception of any doctrine, will resemble one who, in travelling, has diverged from the right road; all his future energy is expended in vain, and his very efforts to advance will lead him farther and farther from his destination. It is not, therefore, the number of false impressions with which we approach the study of Scripture that requires to be guarded against, because the existence of *one* is fatal; if one false step be taken, one groundless notion be entertained, a single untenable theory be adopted, all future efforts are frustrated by the first erroneous idea, and the little leaven of bigotry, prejudice, or mistake, will leaven the whole scheme of divine revelation. What may be termed the natural causes of the failure which so many are doomed to meet with in the investigation of Scriptural truth, are, strange to say, more readily seen and more easily overcome, than those artificial ones to which allusion has been made, and for this reason, that the latter are supposed to be helps to the attainment of the meaning, and we seldom suspect impediments from the means devised to assist our progress.

Thus it is much more easy to convince a student of the Bible, that his education, or the undue influence of authority, may have insensibly modified his researches, than to make him believe that the division of the Scriptures into chapters and

verses may have served as an obstacle to the right understanding of them. And yet the latter is no less the fact. For, not to mention the interruption in the narrative caused by the division into chapters, often leading to a sacrifice of the sense for the sake of convenient points for commencing and ending our reading, the system of chapter and verse has, in many other ways, proved a real stumbling stone to the generality of readers. It may not be generally known that the division into chapters was borrowed by the Jews from the Christians, and the subdivision of chapters into verses by the Christians from the Jews. Cardinal Hugo is said to have been the first publisher of the whole Scriptures in chapters; and Robert Stephanus was the arbitrary inventor of our present verses, A.D. 1550. This arbitrary distribution of the sacred language was adopted for the purpose of facilitating reference from concordances, which both Hugo and Stephanus were then busily engaged in perfecting; but without the smallest intention of assisting the reader to understand the sense of Scripture. This is not generally reflected on, to the great detriment of the Biblical student. The generality of readers naturally conjecture that such care and trouble would not have been undergone unless for the express purpose of penciling out the text in such a way as to make it appear as intelligible as possible. This idea, however, never entered the minds of the inventors. Indeed, the numbers of the verses were at first placed in the margin, so as to interfere but little with the flow of the narrative, but by degrees they were introduced into the body of the text. And it is as absurd to suppose this versification to be an aid to the reader, as it would be to imagine that the division of a county into townships and lots was made for the purpose of facilitating travelling, and not for the convenience of reference and description. The system of verses, thus originally adopted for the facility of reference, has since proved a source of much misapprehension; every verse being regarded as equally important with another (each being as much as the word of God as another), becomes a maxim or a proverb; and should it contain either a command or admonition, is quoted as positive authority, without reference to its position in the context, or its modification by other verses. That most popular verse, "Search the Scriptures," would be unhesitatingly adduced by nine-tenths of the Christian world as inculcating the duty of reading our Bibles. Now, though this is, to a certain extent, a perversion of the passage, and that, too, to a good and useful purpose, yet nothing is more dangerous than to strain a text of Scripture beyond its legitimate bearing. All the evil consequences which follow from an argument which *proves too much*, are sure to

follow; and when the discovery is made that the text does not prove all that the reader so long supposed it did, a reaction sets in, and the text which was once used to prove, and which in reality does prove, a great deal, is thrown aside as proving nothing. The text alluded to above is an instance in point. It is generally quoted in complete forgetfulness of the facts, that the words were addressed to *Jews*, that they might obtain testimony to the Messiahship of Christ, and that "the Scriptures" meant the Old Testament only. Had St. John's Gospel been printed without division into verses, the text would most probably have been applied to its legitimate object; it would have been regarded with a view to the circumstances under which it was uttered, but as it now stands, the Christian world regard it as a pithy sententious declaration of God's will concerning our obligation to examine the whole Bible.

The imperceptible influence which the verse system exercises on most readers is strengthened by the fact, that rules of universal application, and plain, decisive assertions, *are*, for the most part, given in detached verses. "As ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them;" "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth;" these, and such like texts, are of universal application, independent of the context. The Bible abounds with so many of these passages, which become familiar to the mind, assuming the character of proverbs, that the superficial reader begins to attach to every verse the same oracular and independent import. Verses come to be considered, not as dependent sentences in the history or discourse, but as so many distinct by-laws of the sacred authors. It is also worth considering how far the love of being able to produce a laconic reply in support or refutation of some Scriptural topic, may combine with the distaste felt by so many to follow out a chain of reasoning, and thus tempt men to rest contented with an armoury of texts, instead of a treasury of ideas. It is this temptation which prompts some persons to base the claims of the Christian Sabbath on the first clause of the Fourth Commandment. The words, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," is such a succinct, definite, and authoritative verse, that it is much easier to quote it than to follow the line of argument, by which we may prove from Scripture that the Christian Sabbath has the sanction of inspiration. And thus the Fourth Commandment will be urged as the law under which we observe Sunday, even by those who admit that we neither keep the same day, nor the same description of Sabbath, that was prescribed to the Jews. Again, from childhood, Christians are instructed by means of verses; nor perhaps can this be

avoided; but unfortunately verses learned in childhood by rote, insensibly obtain an oracular power over the mind of the adult. Many of these texts operate beneficially, but others injuriously; chiefly those which relate to matters of doctrine; so that we cannot be too careful in our selection of those verses which we oblige the young to commit to memory.

It would be almost needless to prove how much the meaning of Scripture is affected by punctuation. Now, though the words of the Bible in the original tongue are the offspring of inspiration, the punctuation, which is often the key-stone to the sense, is the work of uninspired men, and of comparatively recent invention. The early MSS. contain no such marks as our commas and colons, which did not come into use until the eighth century. When, then, we consider that the chapters are divided into so many separate verses, without much attention to punctuation, while each verse is made to commence with a capital letter, can we wonder if multitudes of superficial readers can either mistake the sense, or regard every verse as an independent law, having no more connexion with its neighbour than one of the commandments has with the other nine. We have a remarkable instance of the manner in which the verse system has caused complete misapprehension of the writer's meaning, in Col. ii. 21; the words, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," have been often quoted as forbidding the indulgence of the senses of touch and taste on inspired authority; whereas the words are used by the apostle to exemplify those ordinances which the Colossians were *not* to regard. Had those words been included in the foregoing verse, or had a (viz.) been inserted, there could have been no difficulty in ascertaining the meaning. Again, in the twelfth verse of the same chapter, the words "Buried with him in baptism" are as closely connected with the preceding verse as can possibly be, but as the verses now stand, many fail to see the analogy drawn by the apostle between baptism and circumcision, and lose the force of the argument in favour of infant baptism, which may be derived from the fact that St. Paul calls baptism, *Christian circumcision*.

But the number of places in which the context is mystified or altogether ignored on account of the false impressions excited by the verse system, are so great that it would be a tedious task to enumerate them, though he would render theology a valuable service who should give to the world a complete list of those passages. It was, probably, the convenience of having at hand such short themes for sermons, such as verses supply, that induced the clergy originally to take single verses for the subject of consideration in their discourses, but unquestionably the habit

of founding long addresses on single texts has, besides other evils, propagated the error of attaching undue importance to isolated sentences of the inspired volume. The mass of Christians having been taught to consider all Scripture as given by inspiration of God, by which they understand every verse, one equally with another, and perceiving that the clergy almost invariably use but one verse to inculcate or forbid any subject in hand, at last begin to think any one verse, without reference to its connexion, as decisive authority. Should a person possessed of this idea, get hold of a verse which seems to him a plain command or admonition, or which, by a little accommodation he can make such, there is at once a foundation laid for undying prejudice, verses which explain or modify the text in question being perhaps unlooked for, or unheeded. Again, the influence exercised by proverbs on the mind of man is great and lasting. Now, if Scripture verses, through repetition, or any of those causes alluded to above, become proverbial, how great is the danger lest those texts be selected for the purpose which derive their meaning from, or are, in a great degree, neutralized by other texts. Unless the signification of the verse is complete, "*in se teres atque rotundus*," it will produce all the bad effects of a false proverb. And when, besides this danger, we reflect on the tendency of human nature to select one-sided assertions, and the great probability that the same texts will not become favourites with all, or even a majority, in any Christian family or congregation, it seems absolutely necessary to call attention to the influential character of verses, as such; and to warn the reader of the Bible against the mistake of practically interpreting St. Paul's epistles after the same manner as the Proverbs of Solomon.

We conscientiously believe, that reform, such as we have suggested, in the *printing*, and not in the translation of the Bible, is the one thing needful; and that no perfection in textual revision, or translation, will be satisfactory, so long as the Bible continues to be arbitrarily divided into sentences without regard to the meaning. For these reasons we hail with pleasure the publication of Annotated Paragraph Bibles, such as are now constantly issuing from the English press; and we feel convinced that they will do much to supply the Christian community with every advantage that its advocates expect to derive from a re-translation.

* * * Some remarks on the above paper will be found in the department of *Intelligence*.—ED. J. S. L.

RECENT RESEARCHES IN CHALDÆA AND SUSIANA.^a

IN the last number of this Journal there appeared a brief notice of the valuable work of Mr. Loftus, and a hope was then expressed that we might be able to enter somewhat more fully into the bearing of his researches upon ancient history, and more especially in relation to the Holy Scriptures. To this subject we propose to devote the present paper.

The vast plain of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf, abounds in associations and monuments which render it peculiarly worthy of investigation. Those who are familiar with the pages of Herodotus, Xenophon, Arrian, and other ancient writers, will remember the numerous allusions and records which relate to this extraordinary district. By the Greeks and Romans, the annals of its inhabitants were regarded as of immense antiquity; it was considered to be the source of European nations, and as the cradle and nursery of many of the arts of civilized life. The gods themselves were often associated with it. Marvellous tales were told of the kingdoms which had flourished there, of the gigantic cities which had been built there, and of their commerce, wealth, and glory. All these and many other things are sure to make it a desirable and attractive study.

If from secular we turn to sacred literature, it is still the same. In the region alluded to, Scripture places the first kingdoms and cities which existed after the flood. The families by which the earth was repopled went forth from it. It was the original dwelling of the patriarch Abraham, the progenitor of the chosen people of God. No small prominence is given in the Bible to Babylon, Nineveh, and the mighty kingdoms of Assyrian and Chaldean kings. There too we have the most striking predictions and narratives of the overthrow of all this greatness, as well as a host of passages which relate to the pursuits and peculiar circumstances of the people, and to the productions and commerce of the territory. Hence, perhaps, the subject is still more attractive and important to the Biblical student.

For a long lapse of ages this remarkable country was but little visited and known by Europeans, and only in modern times has much been done to reveal it. The obscurity in which it lay

^a *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana.* By William Kennett Loftus, F.G.S. London: Nisbet and Co. 1857.

was owing not merely to the decline of its own glory, but partly to the decline of the great empire of Rome, and the growth of those Mohammedan powers which waged incessant war with European Christians. Recently, however, much has been done to explore these ancient lands, and in consequence great light has been thrown upon many passages of Scripture and of the classics.

It will be unnecessary, however, now to enumerate either the discoverers or their discoveries in Mesopotamia and the adjacent regions, because it has been a prominent feature in this Journal to record such things as they occur.

Among the many forms which a laudable curiosity may take is that in which it seeks to discover and identify the sites of those ancient cities which have long since perished from the earth, but which occupy a more or less distinguished place in Holy Scripture. The volume of Mr. Loftus contributes to this end, as well as to the elucidation of some passages of the Bible, which will now be read with all the more interest, as they will be better understood.

In order not to protract this paper to an improper length, we shall confine our attention to two or three only of the places most prominently set forth by Mr. Loftus, and which have reference to Scripture passages. We will commence with *Niffar*, which is supposed to represent the ancient

CALNEH.

Respecting Calneh very little is known. The earliest mention of it is to be found in the book of Genesis, where it is spoken of as one of the cities of the kingdom of Nimrod, "Calneh in the land of Shinar." The Septuagint calls it "Chalanne in the land of Senaar," and the Vulgate also calls it Chalane. In the Syriac Peshito it is termed Chelyo; but the Chaldee Targum describes it as "Calneh in the land of Babel." The Ethiopic agrees with the Vulgate. Shinar is ordinarily understood of the country round Babylon, but the term appears to have a more extensive application. Calneh is not mentioned elsewhere in Scripture, except in Amos vi. 2, in connection with Hamath and Gath; but the same place appears to be meant in Isaiah x. 9, where we read of Calno, and again along with Hamath.^b This latter city, as is well known, was in Syria, on the Orontes, and the Greek Epiphaneia. If we are required to suppose that Calneh was near to Hamath, we cannot look for it at Niffar,

^b In Ezek. xxvii. 23, we read of *Canneh*, which is probably the same with Calneh.

which is much too far south, but we are not aware that the occurrence of the names together requires this conclusion. Jerome, Eusebius, and other old writers look for Calneh at Ctesiphon, opposite Seleucia, on the Tigris. The reason for this is mainly because a province thereabout was termed Chalunitis, as we may learn from Strabo, Polybius, Dionysius, and others. The statement of Ammianus Marcellinus: "Ctesiphon, quam Vardanes priscis temporibus instituit, posteaque rex Pacorus incolarum viribus amplificatam et mœnibus, Græco indito nomine Peraïdis effecit specimen summum;" seems to be not correct; and even if it were, would merely shew that the place had changed its name. Bochart, however, thinks that the city originally called Calneh was afterwards called Ctesiphon, and in this opinion he has been followed by many subsequent writers. If Calneh was Ctesiphon it was the chief city of Chalunitis, and of the Parthians.

Basil, Cyril, and others of the fathers, supposed that here stood the tower of Babel, because the Septuagint of Isaiah x. 9 speaks of "the country above Babylon and Chalane, where the tower was built." Hence Eustathius says, "men were said to be called *μέρονες*, because of the separation (*ἀπὸ τοῦ μερισμοῦ*) which took place after the tower was erected at Chalane. It would be easy to shew, as Bochart has done, that the origin of this notion is founded upon an evident mistranslation of the Septuagint.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has suggested that the true site of Calneh is to be looked for at Niffar, a suggestion which Mr. Loftus is disposed to entertain. The opinions of Sir Henry are thus referred to by Mr. Loftus:—

"It may not be uninteresting at this point to state the opinion of Sir Henry Rawlinson on the important ruins of Niffar. He considers that 'the names of the eight primeval cities, preserved in the tenth chapter of Genesis, are not intended to denote capitals then actually built and named, but rather to point out the localities where the first colonies were established by titles which became famous under the empire, and which were thus alone familiar to the Jews.' He regards the site of Niffar as the primitive Calneh—the capital of the whole region. It was dedicated to Belus, and was called the city of Belus. Hence he concludes that this was the true site of the Tower of Babel; and that from it originated the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar, on the banks of the Euphrates, at Hillah. The existing remains were built by the earliest king of whom we have any cuneiform monuments, about 2300 B.C., but whose name cannot be read

^c Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxiii., cap. vi. Pacorus died at the beginning of the second century, A.D. Polybius, who expressly refers to Ctesiphon (lib. v.), died about 122 B.C.

with certainty. It was then called Tel Anu, from the god Anu, our scriptural Noah, who was worshipped there under the form of the Fish God Oannes, of whom we have representations on the bas-reliefs of Nineveh; the name Niffar was subsequently given to it. The old titles were retained when the Talmud was composed, the writers of which say that Calneh was Niffar, and they call the place Nineveh; but the Nineveh of Assyria was certainly at Mosul—'Out of that land went forth Ashur and builded Nineveh.'

Before making any remarks upon this passage, we shall quote Mr. Loftus's general description of the ruins:—

"The present aspect of Niffar is that of a lofty platform of earth and rubbish, divided into two nearly equal parts by a deep channel—apparently the bed of a river—about 120 feet wide. Nearly in the centre of the eastern portion of this platform are the remains of a brick tower of early construction, the *débris* of which constitutes a conical mound rising seventy feet above the plain. This is a conspicuous object in the distance, and exhibits, where the brick-work is exposed, oblong perforations similar to those seen at the Bîrs Nimrûd, and other edifices of the Babylonian age. The western division of the platform has no remarkable feature, except that it is strewed with fragments of pottery, and other relics of a later period than the tower above alluded to. At the distance of a few hundred yards on the east of the ruins, may be distinctly traced a low continuous mound—the remains, probably, of the external wall of the ancient city."

The existence of the ruins of an ancient city in this place, and the difficulty of identifying them with any other place mentioned in Scripture, certainly favour the supposition that here was Calneh: but we see no good reason for fixing upon this as the site of the original Tower of Babel. We naturally look for the four cities mentioned in Genesis x., in the plain between the two rivers, and expect to find them, if not at equal, yet at considerable distances from each other. Niffar is within the supposed limits, and its central position between Babylon and Warka, or Erech, is in favour of its being Calneh. That it was not the original Babel seems to follow necessarily from Genesis x. 10, compared with xi. 9, inasmuch as it is distinguished from it. Upon this careful distinction of the two places in the sacred text we are most disposed to rely, in rejecting the theory that the Tower of Babel stood at Calneh. Still, in the absence of any historical evidence to the contrary, we are inclined to think that the ruins at Niffar are those of Calneh.

ERECH.

It was the opinion of many ancient writers that Erech was Edessa, called by the Syrians ܐܪܝܫܐ, i.e., *Urhoi*. But in the

Peshito, Erech is called Oroch, and it most probably was not so far north as Edessa. The idea of Bochart is far more tenable; he supposes it to be the Arecca of Ptolemy, and the Arecha of Ammianus Marcellinus, with which the *Areccæi campi* of Tiberius no doubt agree. Ardericca, which Herodotus places at 210 stadia from Susa, may be the same, although he speaks of it as so situated that those who sail up the Euphrates approach it three times on as many different days, owing to the sinuosities of the river. But it is certain, that whatever may be the references contained in these passages, there exist at Warka ancient remains of such magnitude, that Mr. Loftus says, "of all the ruins in Chaldæa these alone are worthy to rank with those of Nineveh and Babylon."

Soon after his first visit to Warka, Mr. Loftus obtained permission to return, and spent a few weeks in exploring the ruins. On a subsequent occasion he met with better success. This time he not only obtained a more complete knowledge of the place, but reaped a rich harvest of antiquities. As we cannot enter much into detail, we will only observe that Warka is situated about 120 miles S.E. of Babylon. Its ruins shew that it was a large and populous city; and its name at once suggests the Erech of the book of Genesis. Mr. Loftus supposes it to be the Orchoë alluded to by Pliny and Strabo.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has sought to identify Warka with Ur of the Chaldees, by means of a Jewish tradition. This is scarcely tenable; and the same authority has supposed that Ur is to be looked for at Mugeyer, another ruin on the other side of the Euphrates, farther south, and almost at the junction of the two rivers. We do not think either of these places accords with the conditions required by the biblical narrative, and would much rather seek for Ur at Edessa.

In reference, however, to Warka, we feel no difficulty in admitting its claim to be the Erech of the inspired narrative.

We proceed to give Mr. Loftus's sketch of the ruins:—

"They stand in latitude about $31^{\circ} 19'$ N. and in longitude about $45^{\circ} 40'$ E., and are distant four miles from the nearest point on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. An elevated tract of desert soil, ten miles in breadth, is slightly raised above a series of inundations and marshes caused by the annual overflowing of the Euphrates. Upon this are situated not only Warka, but Sinkara, Tel Ede, and Hammam—all unapproachable, except from November to March, during which months the river assumes its lowest level, and occasionally admits of access. This belt of elevated soil extends from a few miles south of Warka, in a N.E. direction, to the meres of the Affej already mentioned. Towards the south and east the land of Chaldæa is swallowed up in a chain of marshes,

through which, at long intervals, an island or an ancient mound appears above the horizon of waters. This character of the district appears from historical evidence to have obtained from the earliest times, and is duly represented in the Nineveh sculptures during the period of Sennacherib. While the inundation prevails, reeds and coarse grass skirt the border of the water, and a few stunted tamarisk bushes flourish for a time at a little higher level; but with the retiring of the water vegetation rapidly dies, and in a few short weeks nothing but dried rushes and leafless twigs are to be seen on a parched sandy desert.

"The desolation and solitude of Warka are even more striking than the scene which is presented at Babylon itself. There is no life for miles around. No river glides in grandeur at the base of its mounds; no green date groves flourish near its ruins. The jackal and the hyæna appear to shun the dull aspect of its tombs. The king of birds never hovers over the deserted waste. A blade of grass or an insect finds no existence there. The shrivelled lichen alone, clinging to the weathered surface of the broken brick, seems to glory in its universal dominion upon those barren walls. Of all the desolate pictures which I have ever beheld, that of Warka incomparably surpasses all. There are, it is true, lofty and imposing structures towering from the surrounding piles of earth, sand, and broken pottery, but all form or plan is lost in masses of fallen brickwork and rubbish. These only serve to impress the mind more fully with the complete ruin and desertion which have overtaken the city. Its ancient name even is lost to the modern tribes, and little is known with certainty of its past history. Nineveh, Babylon, and Susa have their peculiar traditions, but ancient Warka and its sanctity are forgotten as though they had possessed no previous existence.

"Standing upon the summit of the principal edifice called the Bu-wáriyya, in the centre of the ruins, the beholder is struck with astonishment at the enormous accumulation of mounds and ancient relics at his feet. An irregular circle, nearly six miles in circumference, is defined by the traces of an earthen rampart, in some places forty feet high. An extensive platform of undulating mounds, brown and scorched by the burning sun, and cut up by innumerable channels and ravines, extends, in a general direction north and south, almost up to the wall, and occupies the greatest part of the enclosed area. As at Niffar, a wide channel divides the platform into two unequal parts, which vary in height from twenty to fifty feet; upon it are situated the principal edifices of Warka. On the western edge of the northern portion rise, in solemn grandeur, masses of bricks which have accumulated around the lower stories of two rectangular buildings and their various offices, supposed to be temples, or perhaps royal tombs. The bleached and lichen-covered aspect of the surface attests the long lapse of ages which has passed since the enterprising hand of man reared them from above the surrounding level desert. Detached from the principal mass of platform are several irregularly-shaped low mounds between it and the walls, some of which are thickly strewed with lumps of black scoria, as though buildings on their summits had been destroyed by fire. At the extreme north of the platform, close to the wall, a conical mound rears its head from the surrounding waste of

ruins—the barrow probably of some ancient Scyth. Warka, in the days of her greatness, was not, however, confined within the limit of her walls; her suburbs may be traced by ruined buildings, mounds, and pottery, fully three miles beyond the ramparts into the eastern desert. Due north, at the distance of two miles from the Buwáriyya, is the dome-shaped pile of Nuffayjî, which rivals the central ruin itself in height, and stands the advanced guard of the city. Near it several smaller barrows are strewn around without apparent order or design. On the north-east is another large mound, resembling, but smaller than, Nuffayjî.

“Forlorn splendour and unbroken solitude reign undisturbed on the ruins. With the exception of the Tuweyba tribe, the Arabs shun a site which is held to be the abode of evil spirits, and none will dare to pass a night upon the doleful spot.

“The view of the surrounding horizon is not more cheering than that of the desolate scene within the walls. During seasons of drought (for I have visited Warka at no other time), seldom is an Arab tent or herd of cattle discernible on any side. In the clear sky of morning or evening it is only possible to make out a few spots which mark the winding course of the Euphrates at the junction of the Hillah and Semáva streams, El-Khithr trees and Kála's Dúrájî—old settlements casually inhabited.

“Tel Ede on the north-north-east, Sinkara on the east-south-east, and a few date-trees on the marshes of the Káhr, are all that the eye finds to dwell upon in the opposite direction. The intervening space is a dry, barren, and dismal desert, void of water, vegetation, and inhabitants. The prophecy of the coming desolation of Babylon is equally applicable to Warka:—‘It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.’ For probably eighteen centuries, Warka has stood deserted and in ruins as she now appears. No wonder therefore, that her history is lost in the oblivion of the past!

“The external walls of sun-dried brick enclosing the main portion of the ruins may be traced without much difficulty throughout their entire circuit. They assume the form of an irregular circle five-and-a-half miles in circumference, with slightly perceptible angles towards the cardinal points.

“They attain their highest elevation on the north-east side, where they are between forty and fifty feet above the plain, but the great quantity of rubbish lying at their base proves that their original height was considerably more. The width may have been perhaps twenty feet.

“From this point they trend away towards the south, gradually decreasing in height until they become level with the desert, exhibiting at intervals traces of the brick-work itself. For the most part, however, they have long since lost all marks of their origin, and cannot be distinguished from a simple earthen rampart. Many breaks occur along this portion of the walls, some of which were undoubtedly entrances.

“From south to west the course of the wall is only discernible from the desert itself by the darker colour of the soil and the remains of semi-oval turrets, fifty feet apart. These were open towards the city, and possessed walls from four to five-and-a-half feet in thickness.

"Towards the north-west the wall may be followed over several large mounds, covered with black slag and scoria, like the refuse of a glass factory. It is not improbable that this was the site of the furnaces where the glazed pottery hereafter alluded to was made. Pottery, vitrified and inscribed bricks, scoria, and glass, are elsewhere found in abundance on the surface of the ruins."

The preceding description will serve to shew the magnitude and importance of these remains. And the details subsequently given by the author fully justify this general account. The antiquarian relics brought to light were very numerous and curious. Among them may be mentioned the ruins of edifices, which exhibited very striking architectural peculiarities. But, perhaps, the sepulchral remains were the most extraordinary, both for their number and their character. Coffins and vases of a singular kind were found; some in the form of a child's top, others in that of a dish-cover, and others again fashioned like a slipper, all of earthenware. Other objects, including ornaments, tablets with inscriptions upon them, etc., were also discovered. The entire account of the explorations will be read with intense interest, and with all the more by the Biblical student, who believes them to refer to one of the cities of Nimrod.

SINKHARA.

Fifteen miles S.E. of Warka are the ruins of Sinkhara, which are thus described:—

"The ruins of Sinkara, situated fifteen miles south-east of Warka, stand on the extreme verge of the broad desert ridge, which, as before mentioned, intervenes between the inundations of the Euphrates on the west, and the marshes of the Shat-el-Káhr on the east. In ordinary seasons, the waters of the Káhr extend close up to the eastern base of the ruins. These consist of a low circular platform, about four and a half miles in circumference, rising gradually from the level of the plain to a central mound, the highest point of which is seventy feet, and is distinctly visible from Warka and the Euphrates. Adjoining this principal pile on the north-west, is a low extensive ruin, apparently consisting of a series of brick walls and pavements. At four hundred paces, on the north-east of the great ruin, is a high mound of large, half-baked red bricks, at the base of which is traceable, by the colour of the soil, the outline of an ancient square enclosure, and small chambers between thick walls. The south-east edge of the whole platform is occupied by an undulating ruin of considerable extent, composed of mud bricks, and known to the Arabs by the name of 'Jemel,' or the camel, from the peculiar hump which rises from its centre.

"The surface of the rest of the ruins is covered with pavements, varying from thirty to forty feet square, elevated a few feet above the

general debris, and constructed of small rough bricks; on the north-east these pavements are of very frequent occurrence.

"It is evident, from the first inspection of these ruins, that they all belong to one period, and that no later races of different origin have built upon the edifices erected by the ancient people. There are no coins, no glass, no glazed pottery, as at Warka; but a uniform dull brown hue pervades everything about the place: the fine dust, the bricks, the pottery, are of the same sombre colour; the only relief being presented in the north-east mound, whose deep red bricks afford a pleasing contrast to the general dingy aspect of the place. The soil on the surface of the mounds at Warka was soft and yielding, but that of Sinkara was infinitely more impalpable."

Although there is no biblical city whose name corresponds with Sinkhara, we direct attention to it here, because we think it is probably the site of one of the ancient cities mentioned in the Bible. Mention is made by Ammianus Marcellinus, Pliny, and other ancient writers, of Singara, and by Ptolemy of Sinkar; but this was not far to the south-west of Nineveh, and was, therefore, not the site of the ruins referred to by Mr. Loftus. The Singara, which was besieged by Shapor, is represented by *Sinjar*. What then is Sinkhara? If we may venture to make a suggestion, it would be that it was Accad, called Arcad in the Septuagint version of Genesis x. 10, and Ochor in the Syriac. Bochart was inclined to look for Accad at Sittace, others have sought for it at Nisibis, and Colonel Taylor thought he found it at *Akker-Koof*, about nine miles from the Euphrates, where it approaches nearest to the Tigris, in the old province of Sittacene. It has been remarked that Sittace contains some of the elements of the name Accad, or Accar, as many suppose it to have been originally called. But if, as Sir H. Rawlinson says, Sinkhara was formerly called Sikkara, its name contains the whole of the radical letters of the name Accar, with a sibilant prefixed, a modification which often occurs in proper names, as well as in other words, both in Hebrew and Aramaean.^d

The previous remarks must suffice for the present, and we can only express a hope that some one will be led to turn his attention to the subject, and we shall be glad if any satisfactory conclusion is reached.

SHUSHAN.

To the east of the Tigris, towards its junction with the

^d It is worthy of notice that Accad is only once mentioned in the inspired volume, and may therefore not have attained to any great celebrity in subsequent ages. While, however, this renders the probability of its identification less, it does not prove its impossibility; and, then, the name of the place may have been altered at a very early period.

Euphrates, was the ancient province of Susiana, which is celebrated alike in the Scriptures and in classic authors. Our space will forbid our doing justice to the latter, and we shall therefore confine our remarks almost entirely to the references in the former. The canonical books of Daniel, Nehemiah, and Esther, frequently refer to Shushan, or, as the Greeks called it, Susa, and indeed the events recorded in the book of Esther occurred at this city. The natural derivation of the name is from Shushan, *a lily*, because, as Athenæus and others have thought, the neighbourhood was productive of that flower. The first mention of Shushan in history is about 650 B.C.* After attaining great splendour and magnitude, Shushan fell into decay, and such obscurity, that modern writers have been divided in opinion as to its true situation. The researches of Mr. Loftus clear up all obscurity, and henceforth no doubt can remain.†

The following passages will suffice for a general description of the present aspect of the place:—

“The principal existing remains consist of four spacious artificial platforms, distinctly separated from each other. Of these the western mound is the smallest in superficial extent, but considerably the most lofty and important. According to the trigonometrical measurement of my friend, Lieutenant Glascott, R.N., the northern and highest point is 119 feet above the level of the Shâour at the ford. In form it is an irregular, obtuse-angled triangle, with its corners rounded off, and its base facing nearly due east. It is apparently constructed of earth, gravel, and sun-dried brick, sections being exposed in numerous ravines produced by the rains of winter. The sides are so perpendicular as to be inaccessible to a horseman except at three places. The measurement round the summit is about 2850 feet. In the centre is a deep circular depression, probably a large court, surrounded by elevated piles of building, the fall of which has given the present configuration to the surface. Here and there are exposed, in the ravines, traces of brick walls, which shew that the present elevation of the mound has been attained by much subsequent superposition.

“About half-way down the slope of the south-west side lies a large fragment of cherty-fracturing blue limestone, which appears to have been

* Herodotus speaks of Susa, i., 188; and alludes, v., 54, to the tradition which ascribes its foundation to Memnon. Milton, whose classic lore was very extensive, says:—

“Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Susa, his *Memnonian* palace high,
Came to the sea.”

Paradise Lost, x., 307-9.

† As is well known, some modern, as well as older, geographers, have looked for Susa at Shuster, another place in the same district as Shush, where Mr. Loftus conducted his operations. After the discoveries of that gentleman, all the claims of Shuster must be surrendered.

part of an obelisk. The upper side bears thirty-three lines of complicated character in a Scythic dialect of the cuneiform, not at present deciphered, although Sir Henry Rawlinson has succeeded in reading upon it the name of an early king called Susra. Other blocks of similar stone, and another of sandstone, lie upon the plain below.

"Separated from the citadel on the west by a channel or ravine, the bottom of which is on a level with the external desert, is the central great platform, covering upwards of sixty acres. The highest point is on the south side, where it presents generally a perpendicular escarpment to the plain, and rises to an elevation of about seventy feet; on the east and north it does not exceed forty or fifty feet. The eastern face measures three thousand feet in length. Enormous ravines penetrate to the very heart of the mound.

"The north mound, a considerable square mass, seems to have been added at the north-west, and a smaller mass at the south-east corner of this mound. A slight hollow occurs between the north block and the main portion of this great platform, and was perhaps an ancient road-way.

"The eastern platform, called upon the plan the ruins of the city, is very extensive, but its limits are less easily defined, because its edges sink gradually into the plain.

"There are no traces of walls for the protection of the city, and although Strabo alludes to them, it is probable that Susa depended much more upon its natural defences, the rivers of its province, than upon earthen ramparts.

"Upon the extensive series of low mounds, extending to the Dizfúl river, are two tombs, Imáms 'Abbás and Ibráhím-el-Kháílí, which, like that of Daniel, are built of bricks and small capitals of white marble from the ruins."

Undoubtedly one of the most splendid discoveries made in these times is that of the 'palace' so often named in Scripture in connexion with Shushan. Successive excavations enabled the explorers to complete the ground-plan of this extraordinary edifice:—

"The Great Hall at Susa consisted of several magnificent groups of columns, together having a frontage of three hundred and forty-three feet nine inches, and a depth of two hundred and forty-four feet. These groups were arranged into a central phalanx of thirty-six columns (six rows of six each), flanked on the west, north, and east, by an equal number, disposed in double rows of six each, and distant from them sixty-four feet two inches.

"Of the inner phalanx the positions of twenty-one columns were determined, and many others doubtless might be discovered by excavation; but, as it was necessary to make the utmost use of my funds, I was obliged to rest satisfied with ascertaining the actual plan of the edifice.

"Of the external groups, there remained on the west three of the

inner row—the original discovery of Colonel Williams,—and a large fragment of another among the debris upon the slope of the mound. It doubtless belonged to the outer row of the same group.

“Three large basement slabs of the inner row alone remained of the northern series;—but, of the eastern group, the positions of two in each row were ascertained; the rest are either still buried, or had long since fallen down the slope of the mound.

“It was in consequence of the outer rows being destroyed in the western and northern groups, that neither Colonel Williams nor myself at first succeeded in finding the rest of the columns. We might have dug holes all over the mounds at twenty-seven feet three inches apart, commencing from our separate starting points, and neither of us would by this means have discovered another column! As another instance of the luck attending excavations, I may mention that Colonel Williams actually dug two trenches between the rows of columns; whereas a few feet deviation from the straight line must have inevitably revealed one of them!”

We particularly direct attention to the peculiarity observable in the form of the bases of the columns referred to. They resemble an inverted flower, and very little imagination is required to see in it the common white garden lily. In any case, it is well known that the word *perw*—Shushan, though regularly translated *lily*, was used to designate other flowers; and in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, we have the lotus figured under the head of ‘Shushan.’ We mention this, because Mr. Loftus calls the flower at the base of the columns a lotus. There is very probably some connexion between this peculiarity in the Susian architecture and the name of the place; at any rate the coincidence is very remarkable.

It appears from the account of Mr. Loftus, that the principal hall or court of the palace at Shushan consisted of thirty-six columns in parallel rows of six each. This central hall, of a hundred and forty feet in length and the same in width, was flanked on three sides, east, west, and north, by three colonnades of six rows of pillars, two in each row, parallel with three of its sides, making in all seventy-two pillars. Behind this, which is called “the court of the garden of the king's palace,” towards the south, stood the private and domestic apartments of the king and his household.⁹ A reference to the ground-plan of the Per-

⁹ The references in classic authors to the palace at Shushan and to the city as the (winter) residence of the Persian kings, are so numerous, that we have not deemed it necessary to give them: it may be enough to mention Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Dio, Max. Tyrius, etc., down to Ammianus Marcellinus. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi., 27), in allusion to this celebrated palace, ascribes its foundation to the son of Darius Hystaspes. He also speaks of the citadel of Susa, and of a famous temple of Diana, on the banks of the river Eulæus.

Susa was captured by the followers of Mohammed about A.D. 640, and very little

sepolitan ruins will be sufficient to shew that the arrangements there and at Susa were the same. The number and position of the columns, as well as the general plan of the other parts of the palace, appear to correspond exactly. In both also the grand central hall faced the north. Prior to the discoveries of Mr. Loftus, it was supposed from the references in the book of Esther that there was a resemblance; and in his notes on this book, in his *Pictorial Bible*, Dr. Kitto makes full use of the details respecting Persepolis. The knowledge we have of the arrangements at Persepolis may be of assistance to future explorers of Shushan; and we have no doubt that the coincidences already traced between the plan and architecture of the two palaces will be multiplied.

The discovery of the palace, and of the plan of it, furnishes a most interesting illustration of the passages in Esther which refer to Shushan. The inspired narrative corresponds with Mr. Loftus's description of the place, as far as it is possible. The vast court, with its marble pillars and pavement, are no longer a mystery.

Mr. Loftus also succeeded in identifying the river Ulai of the book of Daniel, and the Eulæus of the Greeks, with the ancient channel of a river that once flowed near the palace.* The particulars are given in the following quotation:—

"My first inquiries were directed to Sheikh Mohammed, whose age and constant migrations over the adjoining plains seemed most likely to afford the required information. I was not long in ascertaining that his authority was valuable. He told me that, many years ago, a bifurcation of the Kerkhah took place near Páí Púl, soon after issuing from the mountains; that the eastern branch of the river flowed about two miles eastward of the great mound at Shúsh; and that after absorbing the Sháour at a point below a ford, now called Umm-et-timmen, it flowed to its junction with the Kárún at Ahwáz.

"A few days subsequent to this conversation, during a ride to Dizfúl, soon after passing the last of the undulating low mounds which extend in that direction, I noticed a considerable depression, and immediately pronounced it to be the eastern and extinct branch of the Kerkhah, to which Mohammed had alluded. Its width is not less than nine hundred feet,

has been heard of it since that time. If Benjamin of Tudela is to be trusted, he visited Shushan in the twelfth century of the Christian era, and found there "very large and handsome buildings of ancient date" (Bohn's Ed., p. 105); or as the Latin translation has it: "In cujus ruinis est Schusan metropolis, regis Assueri quondam regia; ubi *magnum et elegans Edificium* inde a priscis diebus remanet"—וְיָשָׁב בָּנָה בְּיָמָיו הַהֵם כְּמֵתֵם קְרִיסְטוֹסִיָּם. He adds that there were there 7000 Jews, and fourteen synagogues, and tells an amusing story about the tomb of the prophet Daniel, which is still shewn there. The capture of Susa is related by Gibbon, chap. li.

* In old maps the river Eulæus is represented as falling into the Persian Gulf.

and its depth, drifted up with sand, varies from twelve to twenty feet. This depth of channel below the level of the plain completely established in my mind its importance as the bed of a once-navigable stream ; while the numerous remains of irrigating canals with high embankments, which diverge from it on either side, proved it to have been a main artery. The Arabs of the locality call it the 'Shat átik,' or 'ancient river.' In corroboration of this fact, a small runner of water from the Kerkhah flows along the course of the old channel, and is exhausted in the cultivation of the lands on the eastern side of the ruins. It is the last water-course crossed on the road from Dizfûl to Susa.

"I subsequently crossed this old channel at several different points, and observed that it everywhere retained the same character. Nothing would have afforded me greater pleasure than tracing its entire course, but other duties claimed my attention, and obliged me unwillingly to quit the plains of Susa.

"The existence of this ancient channel being once established, and its identity with the historical Eulæus admitted, it is no difficult matter to reconcile all the apparent discrepancies of the early geographers. We can fully understand how, in consequence of its connecting the Kerkhah and the Kárûn, its name might be applied indiscriminately to either of them, and *vice versa*, by persons not intimately acquainted with the minute features of the country."

The conclusion arrived at, is supported by one of the Kouyunjik sculptures now in this country. This is interesting from the manner in which it illustrates a passage of the book of Daniel, chap. viii. 2 : "And I saw in a vision, and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam ; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai." A glance at Mr. Loftus's plan shews us the palace not far from the river, and explains at once how Daniel could be in the palace and yet by the river. Minute and undesigned coincidences like these furnish the most striking confirmations of Scripture. In the face of them, it is, for example, difficult to maintain the theory of the modern origin of the book of Daniel.

The discoveries of a lesser character, which were made at Shushan or Shush, were numerous and curious. They include

¹ The river which flowed past Susa is called by Herodotus, Choaspes, but more generally Eulæus. The difficulty may be resolved by supposing either that there were two rivers near the city, or that the one river had two names, which is most likely. Pliny says of it : "Ipse in magna cæremonia. Siquidem reges non ex alio bibunt, et ob id, in longinqua portant." He probably has in mind the similar account of Herodotus in his first book. Milton, to whom we have already alluded, improves upon this statement :—

"There Susa by Choaspes' amber stream,
The drink of none but kings."

Paradise Regained, iii., 287-8.

a number of images of the goddess Tanaitis or Venus ; a quantity of Kufic coins (p. 399), and of Parthian (p. 405) ; a Greek inscription, the characters of which were turned upside down ; and other objects, which we need not particularize.

We cannot but believe that the discoveries detailed by Mr. Loftus will prove gratifying to all the friends of biblical learning and research, and we trust that further explorations will be followed by valuable and important results, if not by results so novel and striking. The thanks of those who are interested in the illustration and confirmation of the Holy Scriptures will be freely tendered to such a man as Mr. Loftus, and his book will secure him an honourable name among those who have thrown light upon the geography of the Bible.

And surely, such researches do more than satisfy our curiosity ; they strengthen our faith ; they shew the historic and minute accuracy of the sacred records, which are thus removed farther continually from the carping and questioning of scepticism. Already they have received a measure of verification such as no other ancient documents can ever expect. Nothing has occurred to shake our confidence in them, but everything in the history of modern research in Bible lands strengthens it. We know not why, but it seems as if the greatest discoveries to establish the veracity of the Scriptures have been reserved for the age which, if it most needs them, can, we think, appreciate them most, and use them best. So sure are we of the results, that we earnestly hope research may go on until every province and every ruin, which at all relates to the Bible, has been thoroughly investigated.

B. H. C.

ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. v., vi.

(Continued from No. VIII., p. 344.)

Verse 1, "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals." From John seeing in the *right hand* of him that sat on the throne, a book, we may conclude, that although the seer refrains from describing him farther than by comparing him to a jasper and a sardine stone, he must yet have appeared in human shape. This circumstance shews that the mind of

man is incapable of forming a conception of him who created all things, except through the medium of a human form. It may be further inferred that this form was no other than that of Christ, through whom alone the Father is made manifest.

: By "a book" we must of course understand a *double roll*, such as were all the books of the ancient Hebrews, the parchments being wound on two rollers, by separating which, and unrolling each portion in succession, the volume could be read.

This book is called "a volume written within and on the back, sealed with seven seals." In the edition of Griesbach, there is a variation on the reading of this passage given in a note, making it stand thus :—"a book written within, and at the back sealed with seven seals." But he gives no authority for this punctuation, of which the arrangement of the words in the original will scarcely admit. Had this been the true meaning, the arrangement would probable have been, "a book written within, and sealed on the back with seven seals." Besides, it is known that the ancients did sometimes write on both sides of the parchment, which was then called "*opisthographos*" or "back-written." It therefore appears more probable, that this roll was of that kind. It would be rash, however, to conclude that the *entire* parchments composing the roll were continuously written on both sides throughout their whole length. The description here given would be exactly satisfied by supposing, that only the *exterior volute* of the roll was written on the back—that, in fact, this outer writing was a mere indorsation bearing only a small proportion to what was written within. The importance of this point will appear hereafter.

The seven seals attached to the book were evidently for the purpose of joining the two rollers, and preventing their being separated, so as to admit of what was written on the *inner* surface of the parchments being read, until the whole seven seals were broken. Such being the case, we should err were we to conclude that, on the breaking of each seal, a portion of what was written on the *inside* of the roll was revealed. We ought rather to infer, that no part of the mysteries contained in the interior of the volume was revealed until the whole seven seals were broken, so as to admit of the unrolling of the parchments. With the writing on the back, however, it was quite otherwise. It could be all read while the seals were in the course of being broken; that is, supposing the back-writing to have extended no farther than to the outer volute of the roll.

The circumstance of there being seven seals may farther typify the sevenfold character of the mysteries sealed up in the book, of which we have examples in the seven trumpets and the

seven vials. These numerous seals may also signify the extreme difficulty attending the opening and reading of the volume—an idea further developed in the sequel.

Why is the angel whom John saw proclaiming with a loud voice, described as “a strong angel?” Seemingly, in order that his voice might reach to the uttermost bounds of the habitable universe—a notion further implied in his proclaiming with a loud voice. The same idea appears involved in its being said, that John “saw” the angel proclaiming, from which it may be inferred that the apostle saw him turn in every direction to make his proclamation. His being called a strong angel may have this farther signification, that mere physical strength or intellectual power was unavailing to enable any created being to open and read the book: for if such could have availed, this powerful angel should have been able to open it himself. This idea appears to be farther developed in the words of the proclamation, which begins—not “who is *able*?” or who is strong enough? but “who is *worthy* to open the book:” shewing that *merit*, not mere *power*, was required for this purpose.

The circumstance however, that all the persons and things introduced into this vision have a symbolical or representative character, renders it highly probable that this mighty angel who challenges heaven and earth to produce one worthy to open the book, has a similar representative character—that he is not any individual of the angelic host, possessing great power, but the emblem of an idea. To understand this point, it is necessary to bear in mind that, in reference to the mysteries of redemption, it is affirmed that “these things the angels desire to look into.” It thus appears that they participate in that desire to pry into the mysteries of God which is so vehement in the human mind. Indeed, this thirst for knowledge, and more especially for a knowledge of the future, is inherent in every created intelligence. There hence arises a strong probability that it is this spirit of inquiry which is personified by this mighty angel, who manifests so great an anxiety to find some one worthy to open and reveal the contents of the sealed volume. His being called a *strong* angel may therefore indicate the strength of this spirit of curiosity in the created mind; while the loudness of his voice may denote the anxiety both of angels and men to obtain a glimpse of the yet unfulfilled designs of the Deity with respect to the human race.

“And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.” It is to be regretted that our translators have given this turn to the expression here used, the proper rendering being “no one

in heaven :” thus embracing all intelligent created beings, not men alone. It is remarkable that John speaks of intelligent beings not only in heaven and earth, but also *under* the earth. This seems to imply, that there may be regions in the interior of the earth, which are the abodes of intelligent beings. What are we to understand by the word “heaven” here employed? Is it the vast expanse of ether, or the countless orbs floating in that expanse? Is it conceivable that there can be intelligent beings living in the pure ether, or have we any grounds for such a supposition? It is surely much more reasonable to suppose that the orbs of heaven are all or nearly all inhabited, and that the heaven here mentioned comprehends all those habitable orbs. We thus have here designated three regions, containing intelligent creatures—namely, the orbs of heaven, the surface of the earth, and some unknown region in the interior of the earth.

It is worthy of note, as indicating that the outer writing of the book was capable of being read without breaking the seals, that it is here affirmed, not only that no one was found able to open the book, but that none was able even to look upon it, so as to read what was written on the back.

The absence of any intelligent being in the universe worthy to open the book, shews it to have been necessary for one such to be created on purpose. The sorrow of the apostle on finding that there was no one worthy to open the book, may represent the unhappiness in which the human race would have remained had no one been provided to unfold the mysteries of redemption.

On the supposition that the twenty-four elders represent twenty-four virtues, may not the elder who spoke to John be he who represented brotherly kindness, and who was touched with compassion on seeing the distress of the apostle?

The titles, “Lion of the tribe of Judah” and “Root of David,” point clearly to the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, as being he who had prevailed to open the book. This expression “prevailed” further confirms the idea of the extreme difficulty attending the opening of the book; while the ascription of worthiness which follows shews that it was by merit, not by might, that the Messiah prevailed to open the mysterious volume.

The lamb, now for the first time seen by John, must be regarded as a type of the humanity of Christ, viewed apart from his divinity. This circumstance clearly indicates that the *human* nature of Christ, including of course his human soul, was not eternal, but introduced into the universe for the express purpose of unfolding the mysteries of redemption. The appear-

ance of the lamb in the midst of the throne seems to imply, not only the high dignity of the Messiah, but also his intimate union with the divine nature, typified by him that sat on the throne. His being in the midst of the four living beings may import, that he was made a partaker of the divine attributes which these beings represent; while his being surrounded by the twenty-four elders may signify that he possessed, in perfection, all the virtues which these symbolize.

Seeing the Greek word here rendered "slain" is that usually applied to victims slain in sacrifice, it may be hence fairly inferred, that this lamb appeared as if it had been sacrificed. In the selection of a slain lamb, for this emblem, there is an obvious allusion to the scriptural declaration, that Christ was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Ought we not then to understand, by this expression, that the lamb slain at the first institution of sacrifice, at the foundation of human society, was a symbol of the true "Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world."

From the circumstance of a separate emblem being introduced to symbolize the human nature of Christ, and that emblem being a Lamb slain in sacrifice, we may gather that it was the human nature of Christ alone that was made a sacrifice for sin, and that suffered unto death; not the divine nature which dwelt in him in all its fulness bodily, and which is symbolized by him that sat on the throne.

Seeing the Lamb appeared not prepared to be sacrificed, but as if it had been already sacrificed, we are taught thereby, that at the time of the vision the promised Messiah had already been offered in sacrifice; and further, that the sacrifice having been once made is now complete, and needs no renewal. The having been slain in sacrifice being the first and most striking characteristic of this type of Christ's humanity, it may be hence inferred that his sacrificial death was the primary end of Christ's mission—that it is the fundamental part of the scheme of redemption, and was that which specially rendered him worthy to open the book.

The seven horns and the seven eyes of the Lamb are said to be "the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth." Why have we this double type, and what is meant by these seven spirits? The horn is uniformly employed in Scripture as an emblem of power: we may therefore regard the seven horns as representing the seven species of miraculous power exercised by Christ, and conferred on his disciples, namely, healing, tongues, prophecy, perception of other men's thoughts, casting out devils, raising the dead, controlling the elements. The

seven eyes must likewise be regarded as metaphysical symbols. Even in common language we speak of "an eye of pity," "an eye of love," etc. The seven eyes of the Lamb may therefore signify, when regarded as turned towards man, the seven following, namely, love, compassion, mercy, forbearance, faithfulness, justice, desire to save; and regarded as turned towards God, love, admiration, gratitude, confidence, hope, gladness, serenity. These may be styled "spirits of God," because they are produced by the influence of the Spirit of God; while their being sent forth into all the earth, may import the communication of these to the followers of Christ.

What are we to understand by the Lamb coming and taking the book out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne? This action may be explained by the opening verse of the first chapter of the Apocalypse, namely, "The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants." This appears to imply that the human nature of Christ symbolized by the Lamb obtained leave from the divine nature, symbolized by him that sat on the throne, to disclose to his servants the mysteries contained in the book, as man would communicate with man. We may accordingly understand, by this emblem, the permission given by the Deity to unfold those mysteries to John.

Here a difficulty of no small magnitude presents itself, arising out of the apparent incongruity between the form of the Lamb and the acts of taking hold of the sealed book, breaking the seals, and unrolling the volumes—acts seeming to require, for their due performance, the facilities of the human frame. Let any one picture to himself those actions being performed by a lamb, and he will at once perceive this incongruity. The difficulty may be surmounted in two ways. We may suppose, that the emblematic form had only the head of a lamb with seven horns and seven eyes, the rest of the figure being human, thus resembling some of the other symbolical forms in the vision. Or we may suppose the whole figure, when first seen by the apostle, to have been that of a lamb, but that after he had contemplated it awhile, and understood the meaning of the type, the form passed into that of the crucified Saviour, thus shadowing forth more clearly the connexion between the ancient sacrificial lamb and the human nature of Christ sacrificed for sin. If such a transformation occurred before the symbolical form went and took hold of the book and opened the seals, all incongruity would be avoided; and John might still designate the figure as the lamb, from recognizing its identity with the original form of the emblem. Either of these two suppositions

would remove this difficulty; but it does not appear to be admissible to suppose, that what John saw had no resemblance to a lamb at all—that it was simply the human form of Christ bearing the marks of his crucifixion, and that the apostle merely calls him a lamb from recognizing in him “the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.” The description is far too precise and specific to allow of such an explanation, more particularly as respects the seven horns and the seven eyes. It cannot be imagined that John saw nothing corresponding to these features, but that he resorts to such bold metaphors to designate the powers and qualities which he recognized in the Saviour. We might, with the same propriety, suppose that he saw nothing corresponding to the compound forms of the four living beings, or of the great red dragon, or of the leopard-like beast; but that, in all these cases, what he saw were human forms, and that, from having a perception of certain qualities possessed by the persons whom these human forms represented, he described these qualities under the bold metaphors of animal resemblances. It is surely much more reasonable to suppose that, in each case, John describes what he saw, and that the metaphysical idea was conveyed to him by the symbolization rather than that he directly apprehended the metaphysical idea, and invented the symbolization to express it. There seems therefore no reason to doubt that John saw the symbolical form of a lamb, such as he here describes.

What are we to gather from the act of adoration paid by the four living beings and the twenty-four elders to the lamb? This symbol appears designed to teach us, that it is the will of God that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father—that the man Christ is to be worshipped as God, because he is divine, and the sole medium of personal manifestation of the Deity to men.

Ought we to understand, that the four living beings as well as the twenty-four elders had harps and golden vials? From the forms assigned to the living beings, it seems more probable that the harps and vials were held only by the elders. Seeing the odours contained in the golden vials are stated to be symbolical of prayer, we must doubtless understand the harps to be emblems of praise. The explanation of the emblem being given only in the case of the odours may be owing to the greater clearness of the one symbol than of the other—the harp being a more obvious emblem of praise than are the odours of prayers. The selection of the emblem of odours for prayers may involve a reference to the beautiful simile in Psalm cxli. 2, “Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense.” The circumstance

of the harps and the vials being made of gold may denote the excellence of the praises and prayers which these symbolize.

It is worthy of remark that we have every now and then an explanation given of the emblems employed in this revelation. We may hence learn, that the symbolical method of communication was resorted to for the purpose, not of concealment, but of conveying a more vivid impression to the mind of John. It may accordingly be inferred, that in those cases where the emblem is not explained, it was of such a nature as to be obvious to the apostle, accustomed, as he must have been, to the interpretation of such types. We may, therefore, take encouragement from this circumstance in our endeavours to penetrate the meaning of the unexplained symbols.

Our translators appear to have erred in omitting the definite article before the word "saints," seeing it occurs in the Greek. We ought therefore to read here, "the prayers of *the* saints," and understand the whole emblematical worship as signifying the presentation to the Lamb of the praises and prayers of every saint.

The circumstance that these vials full of odours are represented as being held in the hands of the elders, is probably not without a peculiar and important significance. For, be it observed, these odours symbolize the prayers, not of mankind at large, but only of *the saints*, which may be expected to be distinguished by some peculiarities of character. Their being placed in the hands of these impersonations of the Christian graces and virtues, then, may denote that the essence of the prayers of the saints is a strong desire that these virtues and graces may be enthroned in their hearts. The prayers being typified by incense in their hands may denote, that these aspirations are most acceptable to God when they assume the form of a constant *effort* to fulfil every Christian duty, and still more when the prayers proceed from those who have the Christian graces actually embodied in their character and conduct; for the incense symbolizes acceptableness and the hand active exertion. Farther, the act of the elders kneeling before the Lamb in order to present these vials full of odours, may indicate that the prayers of the saints are most agreeable to the divine mind—most nearly resembling the fragrance of incense when presented through the medium of the Lamb, and when accompanied by an ardent feeling of gratitude towards him for having redeemed them to God by his blood. This action may also denote an acknowledgment by the saints, that all the Christian graces and virtues personified by the elders derive their rule over the mind from the Lamb, in whose reign they participate.

Who sing the new song which follows? Was it the four living beings and the twenty-four elders, or was it the saints themselves? On looking at the terms of the song, it is evidently that of the redeemed saints; but as no assemblage of those saints appears in the field of the vision, we must conclude that it was sung by the elders in their name, and as their proxies—an idea confirmed by the circumstance of their holding the golden harps, the symbols of the praises of the saints, of which the words of their song may be regarded as the substance. That the twenty-four elders only, and not the four living beings, sung this song, becomes evident from the sequel, in which the part taken by the four living beings in this act of homage is separately specified.

There is a beautiful propriety and fitness in these elders—the impersonations of all the virtues which ought to adorn the Christian character, thus acting as proxies in hymning this noble anthem of praise to the Lamb. For this circumstance conveys to us the important lesson, that the saints, while on earth, can best express their gratitude to Christ for the redemption of their souls through the medium of those virtues which these elders symbolize—that is, by carrying into practice all the sublime precepts of moral duty, both to God and man, which Christ inculcated upon his disciples.

The opening words of this song of the saints, "Thou art worthy to take the book," confirm the idea that it was *merit*, not power, that was the requisite qualification; while the succeeding words, "for thou wast slain," etc. shew us wherein the merit of Christ consisted—that it was his sacrificial death, his redeeming his people to God by his blood, that constituted the peculiar merit which rendered Christ worthy to unroll the volume. These words also very clearly teach the sacrificial nature of Christ's death, and, moreover, that the sacrifice, the act of redemption, is already completed, and consequently admits of no sort of repetition.

The phrase, "redeemed us out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation," shews plainly that this song is that of the redeemed saints, consequently that the twenty-four elders sung this anthem, as representatives of the saints. In the expression, "redeemed us to God," there seems to be involved the idea that the saints were previously alienated from God, and were brought nigh only by the blood of Christ; also the further idea, that the redemption of the saints was purchased by Christ, and is therefore due to him as the reward of his sufferings. It hence follows, that their forgiveness and reception into fellowship with God, constitute an act of *justice* on the part of the

Deity, and not of mere mercy, so that perfect justice is thus completely reconciled with the forgiveness of sin, and God is still just while he justifies the ungodly, who repent and rely for salvation upon Christ alone.

In the expression, "every kindred, and people, and tongue, and nation," we have a cheering view of the universality of the redemption purchased by Christ, shewing us that it is not confined to a favoured few, or to any particular country or people, but extends to *all*, who, submitting themselves to the guidance of the Spirit of God, become the adopted sons of God.

In the words, "made us unto our God kings and priests," there appears to be an allusion to what is stated in St. Peter's first Epistle, chap. ii. 5—9, namely, that all true Christians are a royal priesthood, privileged to offer spiritual sacrifices to God. We may hence learn, that all the redeemed have a priestly character and an immediate access to God through the one Mediator Jesus Christ, and that all idea of a priesthood closely analogous to that of the Levitical order, under the Mosaic dispensation, is excluded from the Christian system.

The words, "and we shall reign on the earth," seem to refer to the influence which Christians exercise over the hearts and minds of men, so participating in the dominion exercised by Christ himself. They may also bear reference to the final dominion of the saints upon the earth in the future state, more especially seeing that the verb "reign" is used in the future tense.

While it cannot be doubted that the elders here act as proxies for the redeemed saints in singing this hymn of praise, yet regarding them as impersonations of the Christian graces and virtues, there may be involved in this action a yet more recondite idea. The graces and virtues thus personified may be here represented as thanking the Lamb for having redeemed *them* to God by his blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and made them to their God kings and priests, so that they should reign on the earth. For apart from Christ, these graces and virtues have in themselves little or no real excellence. Their practice may spring from wrong or unworthy motives; as, for instance, from a desire to win the applause and favour of man, or to propitiate some false or imaginary object of worship. But Christ redeems them to the true God, by leading the saints to practise every virtue as an act of filial duty to their heavenly Father, and after having done all, to own themselves but unprofitable servants. Moreover, it is by Christ that these graces and virtues are raised to the rank of kings and priests to God, so that they shall reign on the earth. It is he that causes them to have dominion over the human mind, and

to him therefore they owe their kingship, their thrones, and their crowns. By him also do they become priests to God; for the practice of the Christian graces and virtues is, of all sacrifices, the most pleasing to the Deity. And they are truly *sacrificing* priests; for wherever they bear rule in the mind, they sacrifice every selfish and evil principle before God on the altar of an enlightened and sanctified conscience. Thus while this song is that of the redeemed saints, it is also that of the redeemed virtues personified by the elders themselves returning thanks to God for the dominion they have acquired over the minds of men, out of every people, and kindred, and nation, and tongue.

"And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne." From the words, "I beheld," it may be inferred that John saw these angels with his mental eye, and that they were now, for the first time, introduced upon the visionary scene. Who were those angels, and whence came they? From the very name of "messengers," and from their being mentally visible to John, it may be legitimately concluded that each had a limited presence defined by a visible form. Whence it follows, that their presence must have appeared to be limited by material boundaries. Seeing the great ocean of ether is an uniform medium, it is plain that it could not of itself constitute the material limits of the presence of each angelic mind: and we must therefore conclude, that those angels were not inhabitants of the great ethereal medium. Now, as we know of no other regions of the universe except the great ethereal medium, and the orbs floating in it, we are forced to conclude that these angels represented inhabitants of those orbs. From these intelligences being called angels or messengers, and seeing they are described as *many*; not as *all* the angels, it may be fairly inferred that these represented ambassadors sent from the heavenly orbs, each angel acting as proxy for the inhabitants of some one of those distant worlds, being commissioned to render, in their name, this act of homage to the Lamb.

What are we to understand by their number being stated as "myriads of myriads, and thousands of thousands?" It should be here noted, that there is a discrepancy among the manuscripts as regards this passage. Some manuscripts omit the words, "and the number of them was myriads of myriads," leaving only the words, "even thousands of thousands." The manuscript followed by our translators has the more enlarged reading; but there is a slight error in the translation in making the number only "*one* myriad of myriads;" for it should be "myriads of myriads." The indefinite nature of this expression

seems to indicate, that it is intended to denote in general terms a very great number, without specifying any particular limit. This statement may accordingly be regarded as intended to convey an idea of the number—not of the inhabitants of some particular region in the heavens, but of the orbs inhabited by intelligent beings; and we may understand the specification as importing, that the number of orbs in the universe inhabited by intelligent beings is several hundred and some odd millions. Or we may regard it as merely intimating that the number of these is very enormous. In judging of this question, it is to be taken into consideration that, amidst such a profusion of orbs as are scattered throughout the ether, there may be only a comparatively small portion inhabited by intelligent beings—the others being either inhabited by beings possessed of life, but not of intelligence, or else quite destitute of living creatures of any kind, as appears to be the case with our moon. It is therefore possible, that the number of orbs inhabited by intelligent beings may be under a thousand millions, while the number of the orbs themselves may very greatly exceed that amount.

From the circumstance of these angels assembling round the throne, it may be fairly inferred that they were the highest intelligences that each orb could furnish who are here represented as coming to pay homage to the Lamb. Seeing the act of adoration is said to have been paid by those angels “to the Lamb *that was slain*,” it may be concluded that the scheme of man’s redemption, by the sacrificial death of Christ, is made known to all worlds throughout the universe inhabited by intelligent beings, and is to them a theme of wonder, admiration, and praise. This fact may be also gathered from the circumstance, that messengers from other habitable worlds were sent to this globe to celebrate the birth of Christ, to minister to him in his agony, to testify to his resurrection, and to console his disciples on his ascension, with the assurance of his return. From these angels rendering divine honours to the Lamb—the representative of the human nature of Christ—the only-begotten Son of the Father, it may be concluded, that the human nature of Christ is a legitimate object of worship to every intelligent being. This part of the vision may thus be regarded as a confirmation of the statement of St. Paul (Heb. i. 6), “And again, when he bringeth the first-born into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.”

From the terms of this angelic anthem we may farther gather, that these angels understood it to have been the sacrificial death of Christ which rendered him worthy to receive honour, and glory, and blessing. Again, from their saying,

“Worthy is the Lamb to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing;” it may be concluded that these were not *inherently possessed* by the human nature of Christ, but that the right to them was *acquired* by his meritorious death. It is most necessary, at this point, again to guard the mind against imbibing the impression that the description of the apostle is intended to convey the idea of there having been any actual assemblage of angelic hosts on this occasion. These angels are quite as much emblems as were the seven golden candlesticks, the seven lamps, the glassy sea, the twenty-four elders, and the four living beings. The apostle saw them in *imagination* only; and the design of their having been thus exhibited to his mental eye was obviously to impart to him the knowledge that the inhabitants of the other orbs of heaven are acquainted with the scheme of man’s redemption by the sacrificial death of Christ—that they take a lively interest in its development and success, that they admire the marvellous wisdom which it displays, and acknowledge the merits of him through whom the world was reconciled to God.

What is meant by the phrase, “every creature,” in the next verse? The apostle had heard glory given to the Lamb by all the orders of intelligent beings in the universe; and he now specifies, as distinct from these, and in addition to them, “every creature.” Ought we not, therefore, to understand by the term “creature” something different from an intelligent being? In considering this point, it is necessary to bear in mind that, in every living organic frame, there is a creature or being which possesses the property of life. That life is not an *inherent* property of matter is evident; for if it were, then every particle of matter, or at least every association of such particles, would have life. Neither is it an *accidental* property of matter; for, if it were, then we should be able, by placing the material elements in certain relations, to produce the phenomenon of life; and this we cannot do. It is also impossible to regard life as itself a *being*. It is a *property* shared by various orders of being; and it would be quite as conceivable that gravitation or resistance should exist, without some being or substance in which these properties reside, as that life could exist as a mere abstraction, without some *being* by which that property is possessed. Now those beings endowed with life are characterized by certain peculiarities, which distinguish them from other creations of God. The universe is a material *plenum*. There is no part of space of which it can be affirmed that it is devoid of material substance. The subtle ether is universally diffused. There is, moreover, no example of the extinction of even a single atom of

matter. Its particles may alter their combinations and relations; but not one of them is ever annihilated.

The beings possessing the property of life differ from matter in both of these particulars. So far from being universally diffused, their distribution is very limited—confined to the orbs, floating in the vast ocean of ether, and to definite regions of those orbs; while their number, though enormous in itself, must, in comparison with that of the material atoms, be utterly insignificant. With respect to duration, again, so far from being indestructible, like the material atoms, a large proportion of them are every instant subjected to absolute annihilation. When a living organism undergoes that process which we call death, the material atoms of which its frame is composed do not cease to be; they merely enter into new combinations. But with respect to the being possessing the principle of life which formed that organic structure, it is far otherwise. The individual becomes absolutely extinct. Before it suffers this annihilation it may, or it may not, have transmitted to other individuals like itself the principle of life. But such a transmission, if it do take place, prolongs the existence of the species only, and not of the individual; the latter entirely ceases to be. Nay, we have many examples of the utter extinction of whole species, genera, and even orders of such beings, of whose existence we have no other evidence than the mutilated remains of the organic structures they have left behind. This peculiarity of utter destructibility which distinguishes from material atoms the beings possessed of life, but not of moral intelligence, is attended by another, namely, the continuous creation of new individuals. Although the formation of new organic structures, and the transmission of the vital principle, be a result of certain vital and organic processes, regulated by determinate laws, yet we cannot fail to perceive, that the individual being to which the principle of life is transmitted by the parent is, in each case, as much a new creation as if its parent had never existed; it is merely the property of life, and not absolute existence, which is thus transmitted from the parent to the offspring. The latter must be brought into existence before it can receive the communicated property; consequently each individual must be created, and is, therefore, in a peculiar sense a creature of God, as contradistinguished from the material atoms which have a continuous existence.

These beings, besides having the common properties of life, have other generic and specific peculiarities. They have the power to act in a determinate manner upon the material atoms to cause them to enter into peculiar chemical relations, and to

construct out of them certain definite forms. But the organic structure must never be confounded with the *being* by which it is constructed, and which, in the case of animals at least, and in some if not in all vegetables, is farther characterized by certain habits and instincts which are indubitably the peculiar properties of the being possessed of life, and not of the mere organic structures; although the latter be adapted to those habits and instincts, and these mutually modify each other.

When the apostle, then, speaks of "every creature," we ought to understand him as referring to those creatures of a day which possess the property of life, and not to the material atoms, which have a continuous existence. From his making mention of the sea, we may infer that he excludes morally intelligent beings; and the more so, as he had previously introduced these, rendering adoration to the Lamb. His specifying "every creature in the heaven, and in the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea," may be taken as a mode of expressing the entire universe, wherever living creatures are found. The phrase, "*and all that are in them,*" would have been better translated, "*even all that are in them.*" The intention of this clause seems to be merely to shew that there were none of the living beings in the universe that did not participate in this act of homage.

This passage may be regarded as bearing reference to the prophecy contained in Psalm. viii. 6, 7, 8, "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet: all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the sea."

Seeing these creatures are not morally intelligent beings, we must understand their hymn of praise in a figurative sense, as implying that the Lamb or human nature of Christ, being intimately united to the everlasting divine nature of the Father, participates in all that homage paid to the Creator by every living creature which he calls into being, and which glorifies him not in words, but in the performance of those functions with which it is endowed, and by its fulfilment of those ends in the great plan of the universe, which it was designed to fulfil. This idea appears to be confirmed by the circumstance, that while the intelligent beings are represented as rendering homage to the Lamb alone because of his meritorious death, these creatures are represented as rendering their homage "unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." We may hence learn, that it is in virtue of his union with him that sitteth upon the throne, or the divine nature, that

the Lamb, or human nature of Christ, receives this homage from every creature.

The four living beings surrounding the throne, and the twenty-four elders, are, in the concluding verse of this chapter, again introduced, the former as saying "Amen," and the latter as falling down and worshipping him that liveth for ever and ever. It hence appears that, after having, as proxies for the saints, sung a song of thanksgiving for the blessings of redemption given in the ninth and tenth verses, the four-and-twenty elders prostrated themselves before the throne, while the anthems of the angels and of every creature were being sung—thus shewing, that the possessors of the Christian graces, which these elders impersonate, admire and concur in this universal adoration.

There is great sublimity in the idea that, while all the created beings in the universe were thus uniting in celebrating the praises of him that sat upon the throne and of the Lamb, the four symbolical living beings simply said "Amen." This circumstance confirms the conclusion, that these symbolical beings represent the divine attributes, which are thus introduced as giving their assent to the praises of the creatures, so teaching us, not only that all the divine attributes tend by their exercise to magnify and glorify the Deity, but that, by reason of their being imparted in all their fulness to Christ, they all contribute to render him worthy of universal homage, and that, in the worship thus rendered to Christ by the whole creatures of God, there is nothing inconsistent with the perfection of the divine attributes which say to that act of homage "Amen."

The entire purpose of this scene appears to have been to picture to the mind of the apostle, and through him to mankind at large, the exaltation of the Saviour—to shew, that "God has highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

CHAPTER VI.

Before proceeding to analyze the emblems exhibited to the apostle while the seven seals were in the course of being opened, it is most necessary to endeavour to ascertain what portion it was of the writing on the rolled parchments whose substance was thus symbolically conveyed to the mind of John. The

question is, was it a small portion of what was written *inside* the roll, or was it the whole of what was indorsed on the back?

Now this question is not very difficult of decision. Let us consider the construction of the volume. There can be no doubt that, like all the books in use among the Hebrews in the days of the apostle, it consisted of two rollers, one on which the parchment was wound, the other being for the purpose of again winding up each successive portion of the parchment after it had been read. Now, suppose one were ordered to make such a book, and to seal it with seven seals, in order to prevent it from being opened and read by any person not duly authorized, where would he place the seals? Surely the most natural mode of proceeding would be this. On attaching the parchment to the outer roller, the end would be made to project a little way, so as to leave a small portion of the length of the parchment free along the entire length of the roller; this projecting portion would then be brought round so as to meet the exterior volute, and completely envelope the outer roller. The seven seals would then be applied at equal distances along the length of the roll, so as to fasten the projecting portion of the parchment to the exterior volute—thus rendering the extrication of the outer roller impossible until the last seal should be broken. Such would doubtless be the natural mode of proceeding; and such would be the construction of the volume which would best answer the description before us.

Now it is quite evident, that if this were truly the construction of the book seen in the vision, it would be physically impossible for any portion of the writing on the *inside* of the parchment to be read, until the last of the seven seals was broken; consequently we must conclude, that what was read, or rather exhibited in symbol, during the opening of the seals, was what was endorsed on the back. The very precise terms in which the apostle describes the book when first seen by him, as being "sealed with seven seals," shew that the whole seven seals were so disposed as to be visible before any of them were opened. This circumstance quite excludes the supposition that the volume consisted of seven distinct rolls of parchment wound one upon another, and each sealed with a single seal; for according to this construction, each of the six inner seals would be covered by the outer rolls, and only the outermost seal would have been visible when the book was first observed by the apostle.

The only other conceivable mode of sealing the volume which would admit of a small portion of what was written on the inside of the parchment being read, as each seal was broken,

is to suppose, that slits were made at certain distances on the edge of the parchment—that tapes were passed through these slips, and that the tapes were then sealed, so as to attach two of the volutes of the roll together, and prevent their separation until the seal was broken. But this is obviously a far-fetched and clumsy idea, such as could never be suggested to the mind by the simple description in the context. It is a mere invention, for the purpose of overcoming the difficulty of explaining how a portion of the inner writing might be read on the breaking of each seal, a difficulty arising entirely out of the vulgar error of supposing that it was the inner, and not the outer writing, that was read during the breaking of the seals.

But this supposition leaves unexplained a still greater difficulty. If these seals were placed at the edges of the parchment, why was so very small a portion of the inner writing thus partitioned off, and guarded by these seven seals? Had the intention of the seals been merely to divide the inner writing into distinct portions, to be successively revealed on each seal being broken, the natural supposition would be, that the roll was thus partitioned off into seven nearly equal portions. We find, however, that the portion read during the breaking of the seals is perfectly insignificant, compared with what was read after the last of the seals was opened. For this disproportion it is impossible to account, on the supposition that part of the inner writing was read on the opening of each seal; whereas, by the supposition that what was read during the breaking of the seals was merely the writing on the back of the outer volute, this disproportion is at once satisfactorily explained.

Again, the statement that there was writing on the back of the roll, renders it evident that the substance of this outer writing must have been communicated to John at some part of the vision; else why mention it at all. Now, if we search the remainder of the revelation, we shall find there is absolutely no point, save here, at which there is the smallest indication of the writing, whose substance was symbolically communicated to John, being that on the back; whereas the indication given at this point is perfectly clear; for surely the most natural time to impart to the apostle the substance of the endorsement was while access was in course of being obtained to the inner writing, by the breaking of the successive seals. Nor does the fact, that the opening of each seal was followed by a new vision, militate against the supposition that these emblems were the substance of successive portions of the outer writing, for if this endorsement were naturally divisible into seven distinct parts, the breaking of the seals formed a very natural mode of indicating the

divisions, and the order of the occurrences shadowed forth; while it was thus rendered evident that the emblems portray, not contemporaneous, but successive events.

A due consideration of all these circumstances will force every unprejudiced mind to conclude, that, of the two suppositions discussed, the probability rests entirely with that of the emblems exhibited during the breaking of the seals being the substance of all that was written on the back of the roll, and not of a small portion of what was written on the inside of the parchment. This conclusion, be it observed, is quite independent of the meaning to be attached to those emblems; for whatever may be the interpretation given to them, it will still remain more probable that they were the substance of the outer rather than of the inner writing of the book.

The converse of this proposition, however, is far from being equally true; for if the mind be once fairly impressed with the conviction that it was the outer writing which was read during the opening of the seals, it will then be urged to the further inquiry, why was this writing endorsed on the back, instead of being, like the rest, written on the inner surface of the parchment? while, by the result of this inquiry, our views in regard to the interpretation of the symbols may be greatly swayed. To give the argument its full force, however, it is necessary to throw aside, for the moment, all consideration of the time when the indorsed writing was read, and to entertain the question in the more general form, why was there any portion of the contents of the book written on the back, rather than on the inside? The idea that this was only to denote the abundance of matter contained in the volume, in other words, that a part was written on the back, for want of space on the inner surface of the parchment to contain it, is too childish to detain us for an instant. The writing of a portion on the outside of the roll has an obvious and far different symbolical meaning. It plainly indicates, that what was written on the outside was already open and patent—that it was the substance of an already existing prophecy. But here an objection presents itself arising out of the statement, that none was able to read, or so much as look on even the outside writing, except the Lamb. This objection, however, may be at once removed, by supposing the outside writing to have been the substance of a prophecy already uttered by Christ the Lamb of God himself, while he sojourned on earth.

There will then remain this farther question. Supposing the outer writing to be the substance of a prophecy uttered by Christ, why was it endorsed on this volume? The answer is

obvious ; simply because it related to the same subject, as did the writing on the inside of the roll to that subject, which, in the eye of God, is of all others the most important to mankind, namely, the rise, progress, and final issue of the religion of Christ. This will be found, on farther examination, to be the main burden of the entire volume.

We are thus led to the conclusion, that the writing on the outside of the roll was the substance of a prophecy uttered by Christ himself while on earth, in regard to the rise, progress, and final issue of his religion.

But it will be observed that this outer writing is described as being on the *back* part of the roll. To understand this expression, we must bear in mind the physical structure of the volume ; that the seven seals were placed along the length of the outer roller, and fastened the end of the parchment to the outer volute. They would thus occupy only a narrow slip on the roll ; and accordingly, in order to the seals being rendered visible to the apostle, it was necessary that the sealed side of the volume should be turned towards him. He would thus regard the sealed side as the front, and the averted side as the back of the roll. But when the seals came to be broken, he that opened them would naturally turn the sealed side of the roll next to himself, and the written side next to the apostle. John, however, described the book as it first appeared to him ; and seeing the outer writing probably occupied the whole of the exterior volute, a portion of it would appear in front, although the main part of it was on the back, as he afterwards more fully ascertained, when the back was turned towards him. He therefore describes it as being written within and on the back. A due consideration of this circumstance will render it evident that the mode of pointing the context already noticed, which would make it appear that the seals were on the back, is inadmissible ; for had this been the case, there would have been no necessity for turning round the volume when the seals came to be opened, so as to change the sides exposed to the apostle's view, and thus he would not have seen the seals at all.

Now this circumstance of the writing being described as not merely on the outside, but on the back of the roll, may not be without its separate symbolical meaning. It may denote that the substance of the outer writing was, in part at least, retrospective—that the events foretold in the prophecy had been partly fulfilled. To this view an objection arises, out of the terms of the invitation given to the apostle at the outset of the vision : “Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter ;” but this phraseology might indicate merely,

that the larger proportion of what was to be shewn to John related to future events, not the whole. That the emblems exhibited in the course of the subsequent visions did not symbolize futurities exclusively, we have the evidence of the record itself; for in explaining the emblem of the seven-headed beast, the angel declares that the seven heads symbolized seven sovereign powers, of which five had fallen, one was subsisting, and one was not yet come.

Now if the past were thus involved in one of the emblems, it may be involved in more; while we have in the circumstance that the writing in the volume was partly on the inside and partly on the back, a clear line of demarcation, which indicates that there was some decided difference between the subjects of the two writings. It seems to shew that, while the matters involved in the inner writing were yet wrapped in the womb of futurity, the matters to which the back writing referred had already emerged into the light of realization—at least this inference is not without a considerable amount of probability.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion, that the writing on the back of the volume was, in all probability, the substance of a prophecy which had already been uttered by Christ himself, relating to the same subject as that contained in the inner writing, and that, not improbably, the events foretold in that prediction had been partly, if not wholly, fulfilled. This conclusion, it will be observed, has been reached irrespective of all consideration of the time at which the outer writing was read in symbol; and it rests on quite independent grounds.

But a further question will now naturally present itself to the mind. If the outer writing were the substance of a prophecy already uttered by Christ, and more especially if that prediction were either wholly, or in part, already fulfilled; whence the necessity, that this verbal prophecy should be repeated to the apostle in symbol? The answer to this question will greatly depend on the idea we may have formed as to the time when the outer writing was thus shadowed forth in emblems. If it were so exhibited after part of the inner writing had been similarly represented—an interruption of which we have no indication in any portion of the prophetic symbolizations which follow the breaking of the seventh seal—then it would be found very difficult, indeed, to assign any reason whatever for this repetition in symbol of a prophecy already existing in words. But grant that the substance of the outer writing was thus represented by emblems before any part of the inner writing was similarly shadowed forth, and the reason for this procedure becomes perfectly clear. It was obviously to educate the mind of the apostle,

to prepare it for the reception and understanding of the prophecies which did not already exist in words, and which were to be imparted to him by similar scenic representations. In order to fulfil this end, it would only be requisite that the symbolization of the already-uttered prophecy should be such as clearly to indicate the particular prediction of our Lord, which it represented; and the lesson would be all the more forcible and easy of apprehension, if the prophecy thus reduced to the emblematical form were in part already fulfilled. Nor would this latter circumstance be without its separate and important significance; for if the apostle were given to understand that this first series of emblems represented a succession of events which had been foretold by Christ and already fulfilled, this fulfilment would impress his mind with the certainty, that the predictions to be evolved from the inner writing of the sealed volume would be as certainly fulfilled in their due time—fulfilled, moreover, in a manner resembling that in which the previous emblems had been realized; thus guarding his mind from understanding those emblems in any other than a metaphysical or metaphorical sense.

It will now be perceived how beautifully the two conclusions at which we have arrived harmonize with each other, and how perfect is the consistency of the whole argument which has been pursued, and which has led us to the following results, namely—that the writing on the back of the volume was most probably the substance of a prophecy already uttered by Christ relative to the rise, progress, and final issue of the religion which he introduced—that not improbably the events foretold in this prophecy were already in part, if not wholly, fulfilled; that the substance of this outer writing was represented to the apostle in symbol while the seven seals were in the course of being broken, and before access was obtained to any portion of the inner writing of the volume, and that this repetition in symbol of a prophecy already existing in words, was designed to prepare the mind of the seer for the reception, in a similar form, of the prophecies contained in the inner writing, and which were for the most part entirely new.

These conclusions, it is evident, must very seriously affect the interpretation to be put on the emblems exhibited during the breaking of the seven seals; but in order to give them their full force it is better to throw them aside for awhile, proceeding to investigate the meaning of the emblems on independent grounds. We shall then be able to form a more impartial judgment of the accordance of the meaning of the emblems with the conclusions already attained.

To proceed—the apostle says, “And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see.” John here uses a Hebraism, which frequently occurs in the course of this prophecy, and which it is necessary to note. He uses the cardinal number “one” instead of the ordinal number “first.” “When the Lamb had opened *one* of the seals,” instead of “the *first* of the seals,” as a native Greek would have written. In like manner, when he says, that one of the living beings before described spoke to him, we must understand him to mean the first, namely, that which resembled a lion. The circumstance of this lion-like being calling the attention of the apostle to the emblem about to appear, may accordingly indicate that it was designed to symbolize an event displaying, in a remarkable manner, the power of the Deity, of which the lion-like being is a type.

The seer proceeds to say (verse 2), “And I beheld, and lo, a white horse, and his rider holding a bow; and there was given to him a crown, and he went forth conquering, and that he might conquer.”

It is of the utmost importance accurately to determine the meaning of this emblem, because upon its interpretation will depend that of the whole series which follows in this vision; while the conclusion at which we arrive on this point may seriously affect our views of all the remaining emblems evolved from the sealed book.

The first thing to be ascertained is the precise meaning of the symbol of a horse; and as it recurs not only in this vision, but several times afterwards in the course of the future visions, it is necessary, in order to preserve the unity of interpretation, that the meaning we attach to it shall be such as may be applicable to every case in which it is introduced. Fortunately, the signification of this type is not difficult of discovery. The horse is, to his rider, simply an instrument of progression; so that the most obvious interpretation of the symbol of a horse is “progress;” while his colour, or some other peculiarity in his appearance, may symbolize the characteristics of that whose progress he denotes. Now, if this idea be found applicable to all the cases in which the emblem of the horse occurs in the course of these prophecies (as will be made evident in the sequel), it ought to be preferred, because of its being the most simple and clear.

The white colour of the horse in this vision, then, will denote the perfect purity of that whose progress it indicates. That the whiteness does not signify mere success, or prosperity, is evident

from there being a separate symbol for these, as will presently appear; while, that the white colour does really signify purity, is made manifest by its frequent use in that sense in the course of these prophecies. We have the white throne to denote the purity of the judgment exercised by its occupant—the white robes to denote personal righteousness; while this very emblem of the white horse subsequently recurs in such a connexion, as to remove all doubt of its being a symbol of the progress of purity and holiness.

The description of the rider on this horse is so indefinite, as to make it highly improbable that any individual man, or succession of men, is indicated. It is much more like the impersonation of some abstract idea. The rider is, in short, the emblem of that whose progress is denoted by the horse. He is said to have had given to him “a crown.” There are two words used in the Revelation, both of which our translators have unhappily rendered “crown.” The one that occurs here is *stephanos*, which means the victor’s crown, and was a simple chaplet, or wreath of laurel leaves, bound with a fillet round the head. It is obviously an emblem of victorious success. The other is the *diadema*, or kingly crown, which is plainly an emblem of sovereign power.

As to the meaning of the chaplet given to the rider on the white horse, we are not left to conjecture; for it is explained by the words which follow: “And he went forth conquering and to conquer.” This, which is the rendering of the Authorized Version, scarcely conveys the idea of the original, which means that he went forth conquering at the very outset of his career, and destined to achieve still farther conquests. It is therefore plain that the laurel wreath was given to him as a token and pledge of success. This circumstance strengthens our previous conclusion, that the white colour of the horse does not signify prosperity or success; for we should thus have two emblems for the same idea. The whiteness of the horse must accordingly be regarded as symbolizing the purity of that whose progress it denotes; while the laurel wreath symbolizes the success of the advance.

What then is the nature of the conquests which this rider is to achieve? If any unprejudiced mind will compare this emblem with those which follow the breaking of the other seals, it cannot fail to be struck with the contrast these present. In the emblem which accompanies the opening of the second seal, in particular, we have a striking portraiture of war and bloodshed; but on the pure white of the first horse, there is no red stain to denote the shedding of even a drop of blood, no black spot to

symbolize a single pang of sorrow. Hence it is evident, that the conquests of his rider are not to be acquired by bloodshed, or by any means which can inflict upon the vanquished injury or distress.

This conclusion, which is almost self evident, absolutely excludes the idea that the rider on the white horse can represent any earthly warrior, or sovereign, or dynasty. For the conquests of all such are won either by bloody war or by deceitful craft. Whatever may be the halo or false glory which they may shed around the conqueror, or his native land, they are purchased with blood, and entail upon the vanquished survivors oppression and woe.

Of such conquest the red horse and his rider armed with a sword are the fit emblems. The white horse, on the other hand, can symbolize nothing save the progress of those bloodless conquests which purity and holiness achieve over depravity and vice.

What then are the means by which these victories are gained? They are here typified, not by a sword, but by the bow, held in the hand of the rider. Now when the apostle, whose mind must have been fully stored with prophetic lore, first beheld this emblem, his memory could not fail to recall the beautiful prediction concerning the Messiah contained in the forty-fifth Psalm: "My heart is inditing a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made touching the king: my tongue is the pen of a ready writer: thou art fairer than the children of men; grace is poured into thy lips, therefore God hath blessed thee for ever. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty. And in thy majesty ride prosperously because of truth and meekness and righteousness; and thy right-hand shall teach thee terrible things. Thine arrows are sharp in the heart of the king's enemies; whereby the people fall under thee."

Now what sort of arrows are those here indicated as being sharp in the heart of the king's enemies? Not surely physical arrows, designed for the shedding of human blood, but the metaphysical arrows of conviction shot from the unerring bow of divine truth. Here, then, we have a clear explanation of the bow held in the hands of the rider of the white horse. The conquests to be won by this rider being not physical or political, but moral and spiritual, can be achieved only by moral and spiritual weapons; and of these no finer symbol could be presented than that unerring bow from which are sped the arrows, that are sharp in the hearts of the king's enemies, the bow of divine truth, that shoots the arrows of conviction, which, while they penetrate the heart, draw not a drop of blood.

How wide then of the mark must be any conjecture as to this bow being a physical weapon, designating the means by which bloody victories are gained, or a sort of heraldic symbol, denoting the birthplace or some other peculiarity distinguishing the warrior or sovereign by whom it is held. So low and material an idea is itself but a devious arrow shot from an erring bow.

Who, then, is this spiritual archer whose arrows are sharp in the hearts of the king's enemies, whose brow is wreathed with laurel as a token of success, who goes forth achieving and destined to achieve moral and spiritual conquests, and whose progress is distinguished by purity and holiness? There can be only one reply, CHRISTIANITY. For this rider is not a portrait; there are no lineaments given by which the individual may be recognized. It is an impersonation of an abstract idea; and no other idea whatever will exactly correspond with the emblem in every particular save Christianity alone. To give it a lower interpretation, to see in it nothing but the type of a great earthly warrior or sovereign, or any succession of such going forth to achieve material conquests by physical weapons and bloody wars, were to debase its sublimity, to violate its propriety, and to falsify its truth.

It is of the more importance accurately to fix the meaning of this emblem, because of its being, as it were, the title page of the volume. It indicates the principal subject to which all the rest of the prophecies relate. And what subject more likely to be made the burden of these beautiful scenic predictions than the origin, progress, and final development of that great design which is nearest to the heart of its Almighty framer, whose object is to redeem mankind from sin and misery, and gather to himself all those who are willing to become his obedient sons. Compared with these, all other subjects dwindle into utter insignificance. Battles may be lost and won; empires and kingdoms may rise and fall; cities may flourish and decay; but what are all those things when laid in the balance with the religion of Christ? "Behold! the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; all nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing and vanity." "He bringeth the princes to nothing: he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity." Not so with the Christian religion. It is the stone cut out without hands, which is cast into the earth, which is to supersede all worldly dominions, and which is ultimately to become a great mountain, filling the whole earth. It is the spiritual house founded upon the rock Christ, of which every true member is a

Peter, or stone cut from the rock, and built into that holy temple which is to stand for ever, and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.

Surely then it is far more probable, that the principal subject of these prophecies should be the history of this divine kingdom rather than of any earthly monarchy—that the emblems presented to the eye of the seer should prefigure events connected with the rise and progress of Christianity; its struggles to maintain the cause of purity and truth against the corruption and deceitfulness of human nature; its gradual acquisition of sway, first over one, then over another of the kingdoms of this world, until it bring the whole dominions of the earth under its influence, and its final triumph in the future state, rather than that these scenic representations should symbolize the rise and fall of sovereigns and dynasties, kingdoms and empires, the conflicts of martial hosts, and the overthrow of mighty cities. Not but that there may be incidental allusions to such events, as bearing upon the general history of Christianity. Indeed, the record itself clearly shews that some of the events symbolized are partly of a natural, and partly of a political character. But wherever their meaning is not thus defined by explanations given in the course of the narrative, we ought to regard the emblems as purely metaphysical—as symbolizing events connected with the spiritual, moral, and intellectual history of the human race, and in a special manner with the progress and development of Christian faith.

The apostle next proceeds to describe the phenomena which accompanied the breaking of the second seal, verses 3, 4: “And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword.”

The circumstance of the second living being, which resembled a young steer, calling attention to this emblem, appears to indicate that it symbolizes an event, or series of events, which should call forth the endurance of labour and travail on the part of man, and of long-suffering and forbearance on the part of God—the laborious ox being an obvious emblem of those ideas.

With regard to the red horse and his rider, both the symbol and the accompanying description are so clear, as to remove all doubt concerning the ideas which it is designed to portray. It will be particularly noted, that this rider has no crown, neither chaplet nor diadem; and there is no description given of his person. It is therefore evident that he does not represent any

sovereign, or dynasty, or any victorious warrior. He is simply a personification of the abstract idea of war. Indeed, the explanatory words which accompany the appearance of this rider take away all room for conjecture. "Power was given to him to take peace from the earth, and to cause men to kill one another; and there was given to him a great sword." These words shew, not only that the rider is an impersonation of war, but that this spirit of strife was permitted by Divine Providence for the accomplishment of some great moral end, to visit the earth, and deprive it of peace. The red horse is plainly a type of the progress of bloodshed. The phrase, "and that they should kill one another," appears to involve the idea of internecine warfare. The *great* sword obviously implies the vastness of the scale on which these wars were to be conducted.

This emblem is so easy of explanation that it need not detain us longer.

The next presents some greater difficulties. It is thus described by the apostle, verses 5, 6: "And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine."

We are here informed that, when the third seal was broken, the third living being, which was human-headed, invited John's attention to what was about to appear. We may hence gather, that this emblem represents a state of things, calling forth the exercise of reason and judgment. The interpretation of this symbol will much depend upon our understanding of the terms of the proclamation which accompanied the appearance of this horseman. It will be observed, that the voice which proclaims is not that of the rider, but proceeds from the midst of the four symbolical living beings. This circumstance indicates, that the events which the emblem symbolizes did not arise from human agency, and that the command to the rider did not proceed from human authority, but that both came from the Deity in the exercise of all his attributes.

The most important part of the proclamation is the first clause: "A measure of wheat for a penny." The measure here mentioned was somewhat more than a quart, and was considered a day's allowance of wheat for a man. The Roman penny, again, was about sevenpence three farthings of our money, and was the accustomed daily wage of a labourer, as we learn from our Lord's parable of the labourers hired to work in the vineyard,

who received every man a penny. The proclamation is therefore equivalent to "a day's food for a day's wage." Fully to understand the extreme dearth which this state of the market indicates, we must reduce both the day's wage and the price to the standards of modern times. Now, taking the average daily wage of an agricultural labourer to be one shilling, and the measure here mentioned as equivalent to about $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ th part of a quarter of wheat; the price here indicated would be equal to wheat at 235 shillings per quarter at the present time—a price far beyond the limits of modern experience, and denoting a dearth of extreme severity. This, accordingly, is the impression which these words must have conveyed to the mind of the apostle, who could have gathered from them no other idea than that of a great famine; for it is evident that such a price would place wheat entirely beyond the reach of the labouring class.

That this scarcity of wheat was not produced by any fiscal regulations—by any alteration in the usual standard value of the penny, or in the accustomed capacity of the measure, is rendered evident by the accompanying price of barley. For had the standard value of the penny or the capacity of the measure been altered, the price of barley would have been affected in exactly equivalent proportion to that of wheat. But this is not the case; for the usual relative proportion of the price of wheat to that of barley is somewhat less than double; whereas it appears, by this proclamation, to have been treble—thus indicating a proportionably greater scarcity of wheat than of barley. Now, this circumstance plainly shews, that the scarcity of wheat arose not from fiscal but from natural causes—from an actual deficiency in the wheat crop—the result partly of untoward seasons, and partly of the ravages of war, desolating the more fertile and wheat-growing districts of the land. Barley being a much hardier plant than wheat, does not in general suffer to the same extent from unfavourable seasons; and as it grows on upland and inferior soils, which are less liable to become the theatre of war than rich and fertile plains, the barley crop is less apt to be affected by warlike operations than that of wheat. These considerations explain the unusual disparity between the prices of wheat and barley.*

* We may attain to a more thorough appreciation of the unusual dearness of provisions here indicated by comparing these prices with some of the recorded states of the market in ancient times. Thus Polybius, who died about B.C. 124, in the eighty-second year of his age, states (book ii., page 103) that, in his days, the Sicilian *medimnus* of wheat was commonly sold in Italy for four *oboli*, and the same quantity of barley for two *oboli*—thus indicating the usual proportion of the price of wheat to

This comparatively lower price of barley, however, would be but a small alleviation of the miseries produced by a great scarcity of wheat. The quantity of barley required for daily food is double that of wheat, owing to the difference in the nutritious qualities of those two grains; and it is well known to physiologists, that the restriction to barley food has an injurious effect upon the constitution, particularly in warm climates, inducing a liability to disease. The being obliged to subsist upon this inferior food, therefore, could not fail to operate as a great hardship upon the mass of mankind; while the price, although comparatively lower than that of wheat, was still high, seeing it would be necessary for a labourer to give two-thirds of his daily wage to purchase a day's food in barley, leaving but a small margin for other purposes. Reduced to the standard of modern times, as before, this price of barley is equivalent to about seventy-eight shillings per quarter, which we should reckon very high even for wheat.

But what of the oil and the wine? Some misconception on this point is apt to be engendered by the peculiar turn of our translation. "See thou *hurt* not the oil and the wine."

be only double that of barley. The Sicilian *medimnus* was one-sixth less than the Attic measure of the same name, which latter contained forty-eight of the measures mentioned in the text; so that the Sicilian *medimnus* was forty of those measures, and its price (four *oboli*) was equal to sixpence halfpenny of our money; thus bearing very nearly the same proportion to the Roman *denarius*, or penny, that the Sicilian measure bears to the Attic measure. Hence about forty-eight measures of wheat and ninety-six measures of barley might have been obtained for the Roman *denarius* in the days of Polybius. Thus the prices mentioned in the text are, for wheat, nearly forty-eight times, and for barley nearly thirty-two times greater than those which ranged at that period.

Again, we have the prices of corn mentioned in the days of Cicero, who died n.c. 43, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. That eminent orator, in his speech against Verres, states that there were two sorts of corn in Sicily, the *decumanum* and the *imperatum*, and that the former could be bought in Sicily for three *sestertii*, and the latter for four *sestertii*, the Roman *modius*. The *modius* was equal to eight of the measures mentioned in the text; and four *sestertii* were equal to the *denarius*, so that the best of the above qualities of wheat could, in the days of Cicero, be procured for one-eighth of the price mentioned in the text.

Lastly, to come to the apostles' own time, it is mentioned by Tacitus, in his *Annals*, that the Emperor Nero, after the burning of Rome, reduced the price of corn to three *nummi* or *sestertii*, the same price as was paid for the inferior kind of wheat in Cicero's time; so that the general price was probably the same at both periods. The statement made by Tacitus, however, shews that the price had previously been higher.

These low prices of grain were not due to any scarcity of the precious metals; for it is well known that, in those days, money was very abundant among the Romans, many of whom were possessed of great wealth. They were also coincident with very high prices given for articles of luxury.

It may accordingly be concluded, that the price of wheat mentioned in the text was about eight times, and the price of barley about five times, greater than the average prices of those days.

This phrase might be misinterpreted to mean, that although the wheat and barley were to be scarce, there was to be an average supply of oil and wine. But had such been the purport of the proclamation, the phraseology would undoubtedly have been "See thou hurt not the olive and the vine." The application of the verb to the manufactured articles, the oil and the wine, however, shews that it ought to be here understood in its more strictly liberal sense, "*deal not unjustly* by the oil and the wine;" do not adulterate it; do not give deficient measure; and be careful to waste not a drop. Thus understood, the proclamation implies a scarcity of oil and wine, though not perhaps equal in degree to that of wheat and barley. What we are to gather, then, from the proclamation is, that this emblem viewed in its integrity, represents a period of extreme dearth, amounting to absolute famine. The black colour of the horse must, therefore, indicate the progress of mourning and woe, disease and death, consequent upon the scarcity.

But what does the rider represent? He is plainly not an individual, or a type of a class, but, like his two forerunners, a personification of an abstract idea. Now, it is to the rider that the proclamation is addressed; and its terms exclude the notion of his being a personification of famine; for then the command would have been, "Go forth, and rust the wheat and blight the barley; corrupt the olive, and shrivel the grape." But the injunction, "*deal not unjustly* by the oil and the wine," implies quite a contrary idea. The rider must, accordingly, be regarded as an impersonation of that spirit of rigid economy and watchful exactness in dealing which is called forth by the prevalence of famine. Every man is stinted in his allowance; every buyer watches that he receives exact measure for his money; every seller that he gets the correct value of what he sells. All these ideas are clearly involved in the proclamation; and seeing it is addressed to the rider, he must be held to represent that spirit in man which these words would be calculated to arouse.

The nature of the object which this rider held in his hand is doubtful; for the Greek word means "yoke" more frequently than "balance." If it was a yoke, the meaning of the symbol would be, that the strict economy which the rider personifies would impose a heavy burden upon the people, would be like placing a yoke upon their necks. But the ideas of mensuration and bargain involved in the proclamation rather favour the conclusion, that what the rider held was a balance. It would be an error, however, to suppose this balance to indicate that the corn would, owing to the scarcity, be sold by weight instead of measure; for in the proclamation it is expressly declared, that

the grain is to be sold by the small measure here mentioned—an intimation which in itself indicates extreme scarcity; as shewing, that only a day's food could, in general, be purchased at a time. The purpose of the balance is obviously to weigh the coin received in exchange for the measure of grain, a circumstance which still more forcibly illustrates the severity of the famine, as intimating that, in the sale of food, the penny would not be taken at its nominal value, but would be carefully weighed, and that a portion would be taken out of the measure of grain, corresponding to any deficiency in the weight of the coin. Perhaps the Greek word, with the double meaning, "yoke and balance," may have been selected for the purpose of suggesting both ideas, the heavy burden imposed by the scarcity, and the scrupulous exactness in dealing which it would call forth.

This emblem, viewed in its integrity, portrays in so clear and forcible a manner a great famine, and the progress of those calamities which uniformly attend a dearth of food, that it may appear almost superfluous to reargue any other supposition. But this famine is so important in a chronological point of view, that it may not be amiss to shew the utter groundlessness of any other interpretation; as, for instance, that this emblem indicates, not a natural famine but a state of pecuniary distress, induced by the lowering of the money standard, and heavy taxation. Now, that it was not induced by the lowering of the standard of the current coin, is evident from the inequality with which the price of commodities was affected—that of wheat rising so much more in proportion to that of barley, or of oil and wine; for although the proclamation intimates that these last would be so scarce as to call forth great economy and exactness in dealing, yet it does not imply a scarcity so extreme as that indicated by the price of wheat. The balance in the hand of the rider, moreover, shews, that the seller would, by weighing the coins, take care that he obtained the full value in brass for what he sold in food; so that a general debasement of the current coin, unaccompanied by any authorized lowering of the standard, would only aggravate the state of famine, but could not cause the high prices, which are evidently fixed according to the standard value of the Roman penny.

The supposition, again, that this emblem indicates merely a heavy pressure of taxation, is quite untenable. For suppose the taxes exigible in money, and commuted into grain, or other country produce, it would rather be a relief to the tax-payer to hear it announced that he had to give only one measure of wheat, or three of barley, instead of a penny in money; while, on the

other hand, the terms of the proclamation are inconsistent with the idea that the tax was legally exigible in produce, but that, by an arbitrary fiscal regulation, or by the rapacity of provincial governors, a penny was exacted for every measure of wheat, and every three measures of barley, leviable in kind. Had such been the meaning, the terms of the proclamation would have been reversed. They would have been, "A penny for a measure of wheat, and a penny for three measures of barley." Besides, the injunction of exact dealing in regard to the oil and wine, is quite irreconcilable with such a mode of interpretation. Equally untenable is the supposition, that the measure here mentioned is not to be understood as the ordinary measure known by this name in the days of the apostle, but that the proclamation refers to a measure of much larger capacity, introduced at a long subsequent period, but to which the same name was applied. For, in the first place, this would make the terms of the proclamation convey a false impression to the mind of the apostle, who would understand by the measure here named only that with which he was himself acquainted; and, in the second place, if the measure were enlarged to such an extent, as to make the prices here mentioned moderate, or even cheap, whence the necessity for this solemn proclamation of a state of prices differing little from the ordinary range of the markets, and whence the sorrow and distress of which the black horse is so strikingly an emblem?

It is accordingly impossible, by any ingenuity, to explain away the obvious meaning of this striking emblem, as symbolizing a dearth of extraordinary severity, the direct visitation of Divine Providence, inflicted, doubtless, for the furtherance of God's great moral designs.

P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

. The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

REMARKS ON HEBREWS v. 7.

SIR,—In the Correspondence of the last number of your valuable Journal there is contained an interesting criticism, by the Rev. William Tait, Rugby, on the text Heb. v. 7, in which the writer, after a careful analysis of the passage, proposed to render it in such a manner as, if correct, would lead to the substitution of the words “out of death,” for the words “from death,” of our English version. As it does not appear to me that Mr. Tait has successfully made out his point, and as it is always a matter of the deepest satisfaction to the biblical critic, a satisfaction which Mr. Tait will fully share, when he can receive, as correct, any rendering of our English Bible, I trust that I may be allowed to set forth, as shortly as possible, the reasons which induce me to prefer the translation “from death,” to the proposed emendation, “out of death.”

(1.) Although it is perfectly true that innumerable passages can be quoted, both from Scripture and from profane writers, where the preposition *ἐκ* is to be translated out of, and although even *ἐκ θανάτου* may be frequently rendered in that way, it is worthy of note that, according to Scripture usage, when any one is said to be saved *ἐκ* a particular state, he is spoken of as having been already in, or is supposed at the moment to be in, that state. Thus, Jude v. “Having saved the people out of the land of Egypt,” *ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σώσας*. John v. 24, “Is passed from death unto life,” *ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*. John xii. 27, “Father, save me from this hour,” *σώσον με ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης*. So also, 1 John iii. 14; 1 Pet. ii. 9; 2 Cor. i. 10.^a There is, indeed, one passage, James v. 20, where, at first sight, the death spoken of might seem to be only future, but a moment’s consideration will shew to us that *θάνατος* is not there to be understood of the grave, but of that spiritual death, involving indeed physical death as a consequence, which is so commonly represented in Scripture by the term *θάνατος*, an interpretation rendered clear by the use of the word in the same epistle, i. 15, and by the clause which immediately follows in the passage to which we more especially refer, “and shall cover a multitude of sins.” To refer here the language of the apostle, language precisely similar to what we find in Heb. v. 7, to the resurrection, except in so far as that doctrine is involved in the very idea of true spiritual life, is what no one would think of. Had, then, the Saviour either

^a Numerous examples of the same usage, from the classical writers, will be found in *Bleek Hebræer. Brief, in loco*.

been in the grave before he used these words, before he addressed the Father as one who could save him *ἐκ θανάτου*, or were he to be thought of, if such a thought were possible, as being in the grave at the time he used them, then he might express the fact of the resurrection by the phrase *σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου*, but not otherwise. No doubt it may be said that he threw himself forward, that he imagined himself in the grave, and then prayed for the deliverance which he thus anticipated; but it is not desirable to resort to such an idea unless it is necessary to do so, and we shall immediately see that so far from being necessary, it is rather opposed to any other intimations upon the point contained in Scripture. On the other hand, if we understand *ἐκ θανάτου*, "from death," as a parallel passage to the *ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης* of John xii. 27, we immediately see how appropriately it would express the Redeemer's feelings, when all the terrors of his last sufferings, when even death itself, was immediately present to his mind.

(2.) The force of this observation, however, would be materially diminished if we were to understand the description here given of God, *ὁ δυνάμενος σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου*, as a description of the apostle's own view of God, instead of a description of that light in which Jesus looked to the Father. Arguing backwards from a known result, the apostle might then well speak of God as one able "to save out of death." But not to say that the whole bearing of the passage evidently implies that these words are intended to be descriptive of the mind of Jesus when he prayed, it is enough to observe that Mr. Tait himself, pp. 156, 157, clearly takes this view of them. We may, therefore, without hesitation, assume that the reason why we find God thus spoken of is, that we have here the subject of the Redeemer's prayer. He prayed *σωθῆναι ἐκ θανάτου*. But we do not find the slightest intimation, in the whole history of Christ, that he ever prayed to be raised from the dead. He rejoiced, verse 16, in the assurance that he would be so; he frequently told his disciples that he would rise again; he looked forward, with the most confident assurance, to his own resurrection. It is inconsistent with this firm, this, from the very first, rejoicing confidence that he would rise again, to represent him here as praying for it. But this inconsistency is rendered more striking when we further observe, that he not only prayed for the deliverance, whatever it was, spoken of in the passage, but that he did so with "strong crying and tears." Is it conceivable that, in the anguish of mind which these words describe, he could pray to be raised again? One may certainly pray for that which he is assured is to be, but it will be with feelings corresponding to the nature of the request. If the thing is a source of the highest and most exalting joy, it will not be with other feelings than those of joy that we pray for it. It cannot be said, in reply to this, Christ knew that he was to die, and how then could he pray against it? For it is at once obvious to answer, that it is a fact that he thus did pray; and, further, that his thus praying is most strikingly illustrative of that human frailty which he shared with us, and that that prayer, taken in connexion with the other words uttered by him at the same time, most appropriately illustrates the particular point which the apostle has in view in this passage. In any case, to represent Christ as praying that he might be delivered

"out of death," not only finds no countenance in the Gospel narrative, but is rather opposed to it.

(3.) The force of this will be seen to be still greater if we attend to the time at which it is said that our Lord thus prayed. It was *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*. Mr. Tait, following Stuart, rightly interprets this to mean, although I would limit the remark by saying, to mean in the main, "during his mental condition or state," whilst he dwelt on earth as the "Logos incarnate;" and, again, "he is evidently referring to something *habitual*." Was it, then, an habitual part of our Lord's prayers to his Father, during the whole course of his mortal condition or state, that he might be raised from the dead? It is quite impossible to suppose this. We know that, long before the scene in Gethsemane, the thought of the trials which he had to undergo when the latter end of his ministry should arrive, was an object to him of pain and sinless dread. Matt. xvi. 21. "From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples," etc. He makes mention, indeed, here of the resurrection, but if we refer the words *ἀπὸ τότε* to the time when Peter made his striking confession immediately before, we cannot doubt that it was precisely because of the strength and glorious character of that confession, that Jesus would now unfold to him and his fellow apostles the nature of those mysterious sufferings which awaited him. Considering the imperfect notions which these apostles still had of the mission of Christ, it was all the more needful to strip their expectations of those earthly elements which still clung to them, and especially when these expectations were expressed in language which referred to his glory rather than his humiliation. We can hardly be wrong, therefore, in saying that, although in this verse the resurrection is mentioned, yet it was the sufferings, the death, upon which Jesus laid peculiar stress. And Peter felt it to be so, for (verse 22) he immediately "took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee;" which leads our Lord still further to dwell upon his sufferings as the peculiar appointment of God, with which they had all then to do. Again, Matt. xvii. 22, "And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of man shall be betrayed," etc. Here, also, the resurrection is mentioned, but it was the sufferings and death which had formed the main topic of the Saviour's words, for of the disciples it is immediately added, "they were exceeding sorry." Similar observations might be made on Luke xii. 50; Matt. xx. 17; xxi. 12, till at last we come to the days immediately preceding the agony in the garden (John xii. 27), "Now is my soul troubled: Father, save me from this hour," to the institution of the supper, and to the agony in the garden. In short, throughout almost all, perhaps all the Saviour's life, though that is not expressly revealed, the thought of his sufferings and death was the thought most present to his mind, as a thought too which troubled him, for which consolation was doubtless afforded by the transfiguration, until at last that trouble reaches its height in the agony in Gethsemane. We are well entitled, therefore, to suppose that, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*, prayer to Him who was able to save from that death, or to strengthen him for its endurance, was a common thing. To give *σῶζειν ἐκ θανάτου* this meaning, and to translate *ἐν τ. ἡ. σ. αὐτοῦ* as referring to his "habitual"

prayers, harmonizes well with the narratives in the Gospels; whereas, to make the latter phrase refer to something habitual, and then to suppose that deliverance "out of death" was a constant subject of our Lord's petitions, appears inconsistent with the accounts which we have received of Christ's earthly history.

This much on the supposition that ἐν τ. ᾧ. τ. σ. αὐτοῦ refers only to our Lord's whole life. That, however, cannot be conceded to Mr. Tait. The scene in Gethsemane is too strikingly reproduced in Heb. v. 7, to render such a concession possible. Why should the common view be objected to on the ground that "it would make the apostle refer to New Testament authority?" Such a supposition is not necessary. The fact that he speaks of "tears," which are not mentioned in the account in the Gospels, renders any such allusion improbable. Let it be that the object of the epistle is "to demonstrate Christian verities from the law of Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets." Did not some passages in these very Psalms, in all probability, refer, by anticipation, to Gethsemane? Must not the events of that dreadful night have lived in the most deeply engraven recollections of believers? And why, therefore, may not the apostle have especially referred to them, although in harmony with the general strain of his epistle, he did so either in language borrowed from the Psalms or in his own language, and not in the express language of the narrative itself?

Nor is this view in the least degree inconsistent with our understanding, in the main, the words ἐν τ. ᾧ. τ. σ. αὐτοῦ, as Mr. Tait does. It is a most common practice with the sacred writers to take one prominent part of our Lord's work, and to speak of it as the whole. Thus his whole sufferings culminated in the cross; therefore is the cross so often spoken of as the means of our salvation, but without meaning thereby to exclude all the other parts of his active and passive obedience, which rather constitute one whole. So, also, his mental troubles, his prayers, and cries, and tears, culminated in Gethsemane; therefore they are especially referred to, but as the consummation, not to the exclusion of all his other cries, and prayers, and tears.

(4.) Still further, if we adopt Mr. Tait's rendering, we must refer the *εἰσακουθεὶς ἀπὸ εὐλαβείας* simply to the resurrection. That is, the prayers were "habitual," but the answer was reserved for one special occasion. Surely it is better to take *εἰσακουθεὶς* in the same habitual sense as that in which we take the offerings of the prayers and supplications. In the same way *ἔμαθεν* describes something going forward through a long space of time. Christ's prayers were habitual; his *εὐλαβεία* habitual; the answer to his prayers, his general acceptance with the Father, habitual; the learning through that prospect of sufferings and death from which he shrank, but which he yet met in willing submission to the will of his Father, habitual. The whole verse, indeed, stands in contrast with *τελειωθείς*. It is descriptive of that state of humiliation and suffering through which, in willing obedience to his Father, and always "his beloved Son in whom he was well pleased," the Saviour of the world passed to "being perfected."

(5.) According to Mr. Tait's view Christ's learning obedience is not brought out. Putting aside all thought of Gethsemane, Mr. Tait imagines

the reference to be as follows:—Christ, during his whole mortal life, prayed that he might be delivered from that grave which he saw before him as the termination of his labours, and in that prayer he was heard, in that he feared, because in due time he was raised, by the glory of his Father, from the grave. But the peculiar obedience which he learned is thus put out of view. Other passages of Scripture teach us that it was by the submission of his own will to the will of his Father that he thus learned. “He came not to do his own will, but the will of Him that sent him.” “Lo, I come to do thy will, O God.” “Not my will, but thine be done.” This was his obedience, the submitting to those things from which his human nature shrank, because they were the Father’s will. Suffering and death could only teach him obedience in this way.

(6.) But how can we apply the *εἰσακουσθεῖς* to Gethsemane at all (it must be remembered that we, at the same time, hold it to have a much more general reference)? By considering what was Christ’s prayer as a whole at that time. It was, first, “Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;” but then, also, “nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.” (Matt. xxvi. 39.) Here, then, it is true, that the particular petition of the “my will” was not granted, inasmuch as he had to drain the bitter cup to the very dregs. But *in the very utterance of that petition* the Saviour felt that it could not be granted, *ἐμαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν*, and added, “not my will, but thine be done.” Yet though he did not obtain the particular request, a request which indeed he immediately qualified in the spirit of obedience, there never was a moment of which it could be said, more truly, that he was heard, and how? Not simply, as Stuart supposes, by being strengthened to bear the sufferings before him (which, however, he confines too much to “the dread of sinking under the agony of being deserted by the Father,”) or by the appearing of the angel from heaven, strengthening him, Luke xxii. 43, but by the warm approbation with which the Father then viewed him, and the resolution to raise him from the grave. His sufferings then culminated, so also did his learning obedience, so also did the approbation of the Father; and, finally, so also did the resolution then take its most confirmed form, that he, who, though he thus shrank from the grave, submitted to death with all its preceding and accompanying pains and agonies, because it was the Father’s pleasure, should not be left in the grave, but be brought forth from it in glory. That the apostle had the resurrection before his eye in this passage can hardly be doubted, but the allusion to it is not to be found in *σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου*, in the Saviour’s prayers, but in the *εἰσακουσθεῖς*. It was a part of the Father’s hearing and the Father’s answer. If, then, we are asked, were the prayers of Christ here referred to answered, or were they not? Our reply would be, they were not answered, in so far as only the “my will” expressed itself in them, because it was necessary that by his meeting sufferings and death Jesus should learn obedience to the Father’s will. But inasmuch as in the very act of praying the “my will” passed into “thy will be done,” they were answered, and that in the most glorious manner. Never was he, when he is thus viewed as then learning obedience, more truly heard and answered, because his *ἐνλαβεία* was never more truly exhibited, and the resurrection, for which, however, he had not prayed,

was both the Father's answer, and the token to the world, that this was his well-beloved Son.

Yours faithfully,
W. M.

REMARKS ON HEBREWS IX. 16, 17.

SIR,—If you can find room for the following remarks on Heb. ix. 16, 17, elicited by Mr. Tait's letter in your last number, I shall feel obliged by your inserting them.

In the first place, I quite agree with your correspondent in disapproving the rendering of *διαθήκη* and *διαθέμενος* by testament and testator. For even if we suppose with Rosenmüller that "quia Apostolus in superioribus hæreditatem commemoraverat, dilabitur ad notionem testamenti," and consider the two verses as parenthetical, it will be very difficult to justify the use of *δοῦναι* immediately after the parenthesis by any thing contained in the 15th verse. The 17th and 18th verses, on the contrary, are very naturally connected by that particle.

I also think with Mr. Tait, that *διαθέμενος* will not bear the meaning of "placed between." For, although the defect of verbs in *μι* in the forms (at least) of the second Aorist passive were held to justify the use of *διαθέμενος* in a passive sense, there would remain serious difficulties of a lexical character. For what authority is there either in classical or scriptural Greek for assigning to *διατίθημι* the meaning of "placing between"? And if we consider how often and how constantly in the Greek Scriptures the second aorist middle is used in reference to the *maker*, while it never is applied to the *victim* of the covenant, we cannot but hesitate to adopt so unusual an application in the present passage. Such are *my* objections in referring τοῦ διαθεμένου and ὁ διαθέμενος to the sacrificial victim. Mr. Tait has *another* in which, as will be seen further on, I cannot share.

I come now to the rendering proposed by your learned and able correspondent himself:

16. For where a covenant is, there must also of necessity be the death of the covenant maker.

17. For a covenant is confirmed over the dead, otherwise it is of no strength at all while the covenant-maker liveth.

This rendering has doubtless the merit of preserving to *διαθέμενος* its natural meaning, but there are, I fear, insuperable difficulties in the way of its general adoption. The most obvious one is that to make two out of three propositions thus enunciated consistent with truth, recourse must be had not so much to an *ellipsis* as to a very bold *metonymy*.

For what else can we call the repeated use of the participle of *διατίθημαι* instead of that of *διασκεδάζω*—the verb so commonly used by the LXX. to express the breaking of a covenant. It seems to me all but certain that, had the apostle intended to convey the idea suggested by Mr. Tait, he would, at least in the 17th verse, have written not *διαθέμενος* but

διασκεδάσας. Again, an objection will, I think, be felt by many to the assertion that a covenant is confirmed *βεβαία* by the death of the covenant breaker. Is it, indeed, so? Rather, is it not then entirely at an end? The divine and injured *Διαθέμενος* may in such a case be properly said to evince his power, but the no longer existing covenant can hardly be represented as *βεβαία*.

Finally, the 17th and 18th verses do not, I think, connect easily under the proposed interpretation. There is a going from the result of *broken* covenants to the consecration of a particular one; whereas we should naturally expect after *ὁθεν* a *direct* application to the Mosaic covenant of the preceding general principle. Having thus given my reasons for dissenting from Mr. T.'s explanation of the passage, I proceed to offer a rendering, which appears to me less open to objection. I propose to insert a comma after *ξγ* in the Greek text of the 17th verse, and to translate as follows:

16. For where a covenant is made, there must of necessity be brought in the death of the covenant maker.

17. For a covenant is confirmed over dead sacrifices since the covenant maker can effect nothing while the victims are living.

I feel sure that the passage thus rendered is in harmony both with the preceding and succeeding verses. But, as Mr. T. will not admit this in regard to the former, I must observe that he has, in my opinion, taken a very defective view of the 15th verse. True it is that the violation of a former covenant, and death as its penalty, are found in that verse, but are these all? Is there no Mediator there—no *new* covenant—no promise, even the chief of those better promises on which that new covenant “was founded”? All these are there, and the doctrine of the verse is plainly this—that the bloodshedding of our Lord not only was effectual “for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the *first* covenant,” but fitted Him also to be the Mediator of the *new*. Moses as Mediator of the *old* covenant (Gal. iii. 19), sprinkled its blood on the people, and on the book that contained it, and Christ sprinkles the blood of his covenant on the minds and hearts wherein he has written it.

What, in fact, is the meaning of Christ's covenant, Zach. ix. 11, the blood of the covenant wherewith the sinner is sanctified, Heb. x. 29, the blood of the everlasting covenant, Heb. xiii. 20, if we are to conclude with Mr. T. that “Christ was in no sense the ratification victim?”

I would further ask, is not the general subject of the 9th chapter of Hebrews, a comparison of the bloodsheddings of the old covenant with that of Christ? In his sacrifice the apostle sees them all fulfilled.

The ordinary sacrifices of the priests, the annual one of the high priest, the bloodshedding at the consecration of the former covenant, and all that which had for its objects purification and remission, are brought forward to exalt by comparison the great and final sacrifice to which without exception they pointed.

To recur to the translation now proposed:—with others, I render *φέρεσθαι* by “brought in,” not by “be” as though it were merely equivalent to *γενέσθαι*. This in my view is important. I believe the apostle to be here asserting that the death of the covenant maker must be *represented*

at the making of a covenant—brought in as an essential part of the transaction. And such was the case, for the slain victims denoted the death of the offerers if they should break their covenant. Now, if we recollect that the compound verb *προσφέρω* is the “*vox solennis*” for the offering of sacrifice, we may perhaps satisfactorily account for the use of the simple *φέρω* in this place. For if the writer had at the same time in view the bringing in the death of the covenant maker, and the offering *τὸ προσφέρειν* of the victim by which this was effected, would any word more naturally present itself than *φέρεισθαι*? Passing to the 17th verse, I notice *en passant*, that the meaning here attached to *ἐνὶ νεκροῖς* derives additional probability from the use by the LXX. of *ἐνὶ θυσίαις* in the 5th verse of the Psalm, answering to the 50th of the E. V., where they have:—*Συναγάγετε . . . τοὺς διατιθεμένους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θυσίαις.*

It only remains to notice the use of the singular *ζῆ*, referring as I take it to a plural noun, but if we suppose *σώμασι* to be understood after *νεκροῖς* and *ζῶα* before *ζῆ*, we have two neuter nouns whose presence in the mind of the writer would sufficiently account for the use of the verb singular.

Thus in the history of Abraham's covenant sacrifice, Gen. xv. 10, the LXX. use the neuters *πάντα, ταῦτα, μέσα*, etc., in reference to the five nouns in the preceding verse, not one of which is of the neuter gender.

I will not trespass further on your space at present, but conclude with a time-honoured quotation.

“ —Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candide imperti; si non his utere mecum.”

Bristol, 25th April, 1857.

L. F.

REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

SIR,—In the language of the *Jewish Notions on Biblical Revision*, in your valuable journal of the present month (April), “the agitation for the revision of the common version of the Bible is daily gaining more and more consistency, and assuming proportions which bid fair to give it the character of a national movement.” This expectation may or may not be warranted by the event, but at any rate neither friends nor opponents of the project can shut their eyes to the fact, that an agitation for a revision does exist to a considerable extent. It is a truly fortunate circumstance, in this country that no changes are very sudden: when they do come men's minds are prepared for them by long previous discussion, and in most cases by due consideration. Whatever, therefore, may be the final result, I think that nothing will be done rashly, though at present I must be bold enough to say, there appears no inconsiderable amount of rash and needless pseudo-criticism. The authorized version being suddenly discovered not to be faultless, has become a sort of target at which the shafts of this said criticism are directed with more pertinacity than skill. An “Incumbent of the Province of Canterbury,” for instance, is much distressed that King James's translators confounded genders in a manner which shocks modern

grammarians. Thus, he says, a gate opening on "his" hinges grates upon every ear. St. Paul's beautiful description of charity is sadly defaced by the union of its phrases, doth not behave "itself" unseemly, and seeketh not "her" own. I will not defend the juxta-position, though I must confess that, to my less fastidious ear, this "personification" of charity adds much to the beauty of the apostle's sentiment. Then he says, to be eaten "of" worms may be understood pretty well, but to make ourselves friends "of" the mammon of unrighteousness is an expression which has puzzled hundreds and thousands! My experience of thirteen years in a remote country parish never brought to my knowledge any individual who found a difficulty in understanding it.

I have selected this letter out of many communications of a similar character which have been made to the *Times* and other public journals, because it justifies the caution of those who feel some alarm lest the language of our version should be tampered with in a needless manner. I am not going to follow the example of Dr. Cumming, and cry it up as impeccable, so sacred as never to be touched, but I think that without the greatest caution the revisers (if such there are to be) may injure its beauty and utility as a monument of our earlier language. Blanco White truly observed, "In no country whatever can be found a more superstitious fear of vulgarity than in the middling classes of England. It is this fear which has condemned already a large number of pure English idioms: they have all died under the rod of Lindley Murray and his school of grammarians—these men would have reduced the English language to a mere grammatical skeleton were it not for the influence of Shakespere and 'the established translation of the Bible,' both of which, by being frequently read and listened to, check the process of banishing words and phrases not of fashionable usage."

Considering this quotation to be of undeniable truth, I think some observations by the editor of the *Spectator* deserve some consideration as a pendant to the former. "The removal of obsolete words involves the risk of a patched and piebald style; nor are there many words that are not quite intelligible either in themselves or from the context. The change in the order of words, or of diction, goes beyond mere style; the poetry and fire of the old translation often evaporate under the process." These remarks were called forth by a brief review of a version of St. John's Gospel by five clergymen, who say, in their preface, "We have remembered that Holy Scriptures are translated, not for the use of scholars, but of English people." If this good axiom had been constantly borne in mind, we should not have been presented with the following alteration in the 37th verse of the fourth chapter of St. John: "For herein is (fulfilled) that true saying, one is the sower and another the reaper." It is hard to imagine what can possibly be gained by this deviation from the authorized version, "And herein is that saying true, one soweth and another reapeth." Such a deviation weakens the force and pithiness of our own translation without any gain whatever on the side of clearness or strength of language, the only possible excuse for making an alteration.

The question now remains to be asked, "On what principle is the proposed revision to proceed?" Evidently it ought to be on that of at least

ignoring all alterations, like the last-mentioned, where the text of the authorized version is sufficiently clear not to demand it. It may be said that Dr. Biber's suggestions will render any such caution unnecessary. But when we see the vague proposals for alterations which are afloat, we cannot be too much on our guard. And there is another view of the question yet more important which seems to me hitherto to have escaped the notice of both the impugnors and favourers of the proposed revisal. In the motion of Mr. Heywood in the House of Commons last July, he alluded to the well-known passage of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, which, as he no doubt truly affirmed, had been interpolated by some interpreter. Of course he meant that it was to be got rid of at its revision, and it is possible to imagine that there are divines in the kingdom who would adopt a similar view. It opens, then, a serious inquiry whether, in these days of theological investigation of the Greek Testament, there might not be individuals in Dr. Biber's committee who would urge that this text should be omitted. And it must be admitted that this is not the only text. The last portion of the third verse, as well as the whole of the fourth in the fifth chapter of St. John, lie under a certain degree of suspicion. Would there be a party sufficiently strong to effect the rejection of these portions of the gospel, or would it be first agreed upon that no reference should be made to disputed passages? It seems strange that this view of the question should not have been alluded to; and yet, if we are to proceed to a thoroughly honest revisal, it is hard to say what the revisers might not think themselves bound in duty to do. If carried out, let us imagine for a moment the effect which its excision of the text of the Three Witnesses would have upon the minds of the unlearned. Is the clergyman to acquaint his hearers with the comparative merits of various readings in various MSS.? Fancy a poor man discovering, while reading his Bible, that the text on which he built his belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity had suddenly vanished. He must have greater confidence in the learning and authority of his pastor than I can give him credit for, not to be persuaded that other texts might be equally obnoxious to the same fate.

In conclusion, may I remark, that those who are most forward to discuss this subject, seem altogether, by their silence, to ignore the revision of the Hebrew Scriptures. The state of Oriental learning in this country is not indeed so flourishing as to warrant much minute criticism on that language on the part of the *Times'* correspondents. Dr. Biber, in his proposals, only alludes to it incidentally, so that I suppose the revision will only affect the New Testament. Those proposals are altogether so judicious, that it is to be hoped they will be acted upon if the revision is to take place. May the revisers be actuated by that spirit of caution so necessary in dealing with a translation used by all Protestants wherever the English language is spoken, and which the Roman Catholic version in this country has made a nearer approximation to each succeeding year.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

HENRY PHILIPPS.

Cheltenham, April 22nd, 1857.

BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

To the Editor of "*The Journal of Sacred Literature*."

SIR,—There are one or two remarks contained in Mr. Savile's letter, in your Journal of April last, p. 164, which require a few words of explanation, lest they should be considered as presenting serious obstacles in the way of a re-arrangement of Biblical chronology, as regards the period of the captivity of the Jews and their restoration from Babylon to Jerusalem. The subject is already beset by so many real difficulties, that it is highly desirable to relieve it from such as are not of a substantial character.

I. Mr. Savile considers that the period of seventy years' desolation of Jerusalem predicted by Jeremiah xxv. 11, must have commenced in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is to say nineteen years before the destruction of the city by that king in the reign of Zedekiah, because the prophet with reference to the desolation uses these words, "*as it is this day*," while speaking as he supposes in the first year of the Babylonian king, v. 18. On reconsideration of the passage, I think he will perceive that, viewing it as he proposes, the words referred to prove more than he would desire. For the period of desolation of Jerusalem would thus appear to have begun, even before the prediction of a coming desolation had been pronounced by the prophet. Dr. Blayney, therefore, who calculates the seventy years' servitude to the king of Babylon from the same point as Mr. Savile, more correctly suggests, that the words, "*as it is this day*," must have been added at the time of compilation of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and while Jerusalem was actually lying in a state of desolation. The author of the last chapter of the second book of Chronicles 17—21, distinctly interprets the words of Jeremiah concerning the desolation as having had their fulfilment from the time when "they burned the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burned all the palaces thereof with fire." We know also that, notwithstanding the decree of Cyrus, in consequence of which the restoration of the city was afterwards brought about, the desolation as regarded the wall, the temple, and the palaces continued even till after the second year of Darius the son of Hystaspes, Ezra iv. 5. When the prophet Zechariah, therefore, also informs us that the seventy fasts which had been observed in commemoration of the destruction of the city and temple, were completed about the fourth year of Darius the son of Hystaspes, Zech. vii. 5, and Daniel discovers in the first year of Darius, "of the seed of the Medes," ix. 1, that the seventy years' desolation of the city spoken of by Jeremiah were upon the point of termination in that year, little difficulty, I think, will be found in recognizing the same king as spoken of by Ezra, Zechariah, and Daniel, whenever the exigencies of chronology shall cause such a recognition to be desirable.

II. Mr. Savile refers to the passage in Daniel xi. 1, 2, where speaking in the third year of the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, (x. 1,) it is said, "Three kings shall yet stand up in Persia, and the fourth shall be richer than they all," from which he infers that as Darius Hystaspes was the third king after Cyrus, and as in the same passage the first year of Darius the Mede is spoken of as having preceded the third year of Cyrus,

Darius the Mede and Darius the son of Hystaspes cannot be the same king. He is probably not aware that the Hebrew word *וַעַן*, translated "yet," may be rendered either yet *to* this time, as in the passage, "Joseph my son is yet alive," and in many others; or yet *from* this time, as in the passage before us. He will find that the LXX. version renders the passage one way, Theodotion's version the other. The first of these Greek versions, which is the oldest, and represents the earliest view of the chronology of Daniel, run thus, *τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀνθεστήκασιν ἐν τῇ Περσίῃ*, "Three kings have as yet stood up in Persia," thus making Cyrus the third king. Theodotion translates *τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ Περσίῃ*, "Three kings shall yet stand up in Persia," from which we may infer with Mr. Savile that Cyrus was the first.

Now, Cyrus and Darius the Mede, according to the contemporaneous testimony of Daniel, were undoubtedly reigning at the same time. When, therefore, it shall have been established beyond dispute, that no other king than Darius the son of Hystaspes can represent Darius the Mede, this reading and authority of the LXX., which makes Cyrus or Coresh, who liberated the Jews from captivity, not the first, but the third king of Persia, will have great weight, as affording the means of reconciling Ctesias, the highest Greek authority on Persian questions,—who affirms that Cyrus the first king of Persia, who conquered Astyages, was in no way connected with that king till he married his daughter, and that Cambyses his son, who conquered Egypt, was the second king of Persia—with Xenophon, who alone has given a minute history of the life of Cyrus, and who states that Cyrus, who took the city of Babylon, and who must be the same, therefore, who freed the Jews from captivity, was lineally descended from Astyages in the third generation, being the son of Mandene, daughter of that king, and that at the time when he conquered Babylon, his father Cambyses was reigning in Persia, and his uncle Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, in Media—and with Daniel also, a far more worthy authority than either Ctesias or Xenophon, as living in the courts of the kings he speaks of, who attests that Cyrus and Darius were reigning at the same time. Mr. Savile, I think, will admit that he has been too hasty in considering this passage as "sufficient to prove that Darius the Mede must have preceded Darius Hystaspes by some years," p. 166. Otherwise translated, it supports the idea of their identity.

I am not disposed to enter further into this intricate subject, till after two papers promised by the Astronomer Royal, and by Mr. Adams, on the eclipse of Thales, shall have made their appearance, and thus have afforded one fixed point at least from which to calculate the date of events occurring about that time.

Anticipating that the correctness of the historical date of the eclipse, B.C. 585, will be finally established in those papers—that the reigns of Cyaxares, king of Media, and of Alyattes, king of Lydia, will thereby necessarily be lowered, so as to include that date—that the fall of Nineveh, the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and the last year of the reign of Pharaoh Necho, in Egypt, will also be placed in conformity with all history, after the date of the eclipse, and that it will then be apparent, that seventy years of desolation, counted from any point in

the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, must terminate within the limits of the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes—I feel little doubt that the identity of Darius the Mede and Darius the son of Hystaspes will soon be established beyond dispute. Should doubts, however, be entertained by either of the above astronomical authorities, with regard to the true date of the eclipse, I shall be content to abandon the reconciliation of Scripture and profane history as at present a hopeless undertaking. In the mean while,

III. I prefer the pedigree of Darius as given by himself upon the rock, to that which Mr. Savile has taken from Herodotus. Darius there declares himself to be the sixth in lineal descent from Achæmenes, yet at the same time the ninth king of that race. Who, let me ask, were the three collateral kings of that race, to make up the nine?

IV. It is a subject worthy of inquiry, who was “the Prince (𐎠𐎶) of the kingdom of Persia,” Dan. x. 13, spoken of as ruling in the third year of “Cyrus king (𐎶𐎠) of Persia?”—For I must protest against the strange heathen interpretation usually given, which seems to originate in the present arrangement of the chronology, viz., that the star of Persia, and the star of Græcia, spoken of in this chapter, are here represented by Daniel as celestial beings, contending with each other on behalf of the kingdoms under their special patronage; an idea more fitted for the days of Homer, than for the prophet of the Most High. Nor do I think that the interpretation is mended, as some would propose, by making the Sar of Græcia an earthly Prince, while the Sar of Persia, the ἀρχων, or στρατηγός, of the two Greek translations, still remains a heavenly being. Can we ignore the facts of the burning of Sardes by the Greeks, and of the invasion of the Greeks by Persia, with upwards of 100,000 men, in the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes?

*Claymore, Enfield,
18th May, 1857.*

J. W. BOSANQUET.

DARIUS THE MEDE.

To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”

SIR,—May I request the favour of the insertion of the following additional remarks on the subject of Darius the Mede?

At the accession of Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonians were under a single sovereign, and not, as the Lacedæmonians, under the joint sovereignty of two kings. Accordingly, in the vision of the prophet Daniel, the Macedonian power is represented by a he-goat with only one horn. And when, at Alexander’s death, his empire was divided, the one horn is said to have been broken, and four horns to have come in its place, towards the four winds of heaven. These four horns denote four contemporaneous sovereignties, though independent the one of the other, a circumstance which might have been conjectured from the expression “towards the four winds of heaven.”

Hence, it would seem to be a fair inference from Dan. viii. 3, 4, that

the *two* horns on the ram denote *two contemporaneous* sovereigns, *i. e.*, that before the commencement of its triumphant career westward, northward, and southward, the kingdom or empire represented by the ram, which comprised Media and Persia within its boundaries, was under the joint sovereignty of a Median and a Persian king; or, at least, that the two contemporaneous sovereigns, the Median and the Persian, were associated together in an alliance and confederacy so intimate as to approximate very closely to the character of a joint sovereignty. If this inference be correct, it would almost necessarily follow that before the siege and capture of Babylon, the Persian horn was higher than the Median, *i. e.*, that Cyrus was not only more illustrious and renowned, but that he was a more powerful king than Darius the Mede. It would also certainly follow, from this view, that the Darius of Daniel was a Mede and not a Persian—and, certainly, that he was not Darius Hystaspes.

It appears to be too improbable to be admitted, that the vision of the prophet does *not* speak of the higher Persian being *contemporaneous* with the high Median horn, but that the former *succeeded* the latter. On this supposition we must believe that Daniel here teaches us that when the last Median sovereign ceased to reign, a Persian ascended the vacant throne, and became more powerful than any of his Median predecessors. The vision of the ram and he-goat appears to me to shew that from the very commencement of the ram's triumphant career, the kingdom or empire which it then represented, was under the sway of a Median and a Persian king, the latter being really the more powerful of the two.

It may be objected that, as Daniel did not receive this vision until the third year of Belshazzar, we have no right to assume that the Persian horn had arisen earlier than that year. We might reply that, there is nothing improbable in the idea that the vision was retrospective as well as prospective—that it looked back to the earliest campaigns of Cyrus, as well as forward to the subjugation of Babylon.

Daniel does not state whether the Persian horn arose gradually or suddenly to its superior eminence, nor whether by conquering the Median horn, or in friendly association with it. When, however, Daniel says that the higher of the two horns came up last, he does not, to say the least, forbid us to think that the Persian horn attained its superiority very rapidly.

Let us refer to secular historians. Herodotus tells us that Cyrus marched against Astyages, defeated and dethroned him. Again, Ctesias, who is thought to have lived at the Persian court, as physician to the king, seventeen years, writes, that Cyrus attacked Astyages, who fled to Ecbatana, where he concealed himself for a time. He was discovered, and loaded with chains. But Cyrus set him at liberty, and made him governor of a Parthian people, on the borders of Hyrcania. Neither of these historians makes any mention of Cyaxares, who, according to Xenophon, *succeeded* his father Astyages.

In Xenophon, we see Cyrus in magnanimity, valour, military skill, and political wisdom, wholly overshadowing Cyaxares II.; but he does not appear, in the *Cyropædia*, as a joint sovereign with Cyaxares, though his father, Cambyses, is called by Xenophon king of Persia.

Josephus, who had access to Ctesias and Berosus, as well as to Herodotus and Xenophon, seems to speak of Cyrus as the powerful *king* of Persia, when he besieged and took Babylon. Josephus may also be considered as altogether denying that Daniel's Darius the Mede can be identified with Darius Hystaspes. For he expressly says, that Darius the Mede was known to the Greeks by another name, *i. e.*, that the Greeks did not call him Darius, the only name given to the son of Hystaspes by the Greek historians. Josephus also places the conclusion of the reign of Cyrus, and the whole reign of Cambyses, between Darius the Mede and Darius Hystaspes. There is nothing in Josephus unfavourable to the idea that at the time when the Medo-Persian army besieged Babylon, their leader, Cyrus, king of Persia, was a more powerful king than Darius, the king of the Medes.

II. The Elam of the Scriptures may be regarded as the Susiana of secular history. Sir H. Rawlinson states, that the historical inscriptions of the son of Esarhaddon relate almost exclusively to his wars with the kings of Susiana. We have thus reason to think that Elam was never thoroughly subjugated by the sovereigns of Nineveh. This country was, however, afterwards incorporated with the Babylonian empire; for Daniel speaks of Elam as being a province of the King of Babylon, in which was Shusan the palace. Elam was joined with Media in the siege and overthrow of Babylon by Coresh or Cyrus (Isa. xxi. 2, and xlv. 1—3). Hence, at some time between the third of Belshazzar, and the commencement of the siege of Babylon, Cyrus must have become master of Elam. Cyrus is said to have made Susa, *i. e.*, Shusan the palace, one of the royal residences of the Persian kings. At all events, we may almost certainly conclude that Elam did not unite with Media against Babylon until the time of Cyrus, and that, therefore, Isa. xxi. 2 predicts the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Nor is it thus improbable that Cyrus may have been in "Shusan the palace," when he finally resolved to besiege Babylon.

III. I cannot agree with the remark of M. Rollin, that "Xenophon is infinitely more worthy of credit than Herodotus on the subject of Cyrus's life, as he served a long time under the younger Cyrus, and says, in the beginning of the *Cyropædia*, 'I advance nothing but what has been told me.'" On such grounds as these, Ctesias must be regarded as higher authority, on the subject of the life of the great Cyrus, than Xenophon. And Ctesias writes, that Cyrus dethroned Astyages, and that he was mortally wounded in a battle against a nation called the Derbices, who were assisted by the Indians.

4th May.

G. B.

The writer of the article "Cyrus," in Dr. W. Smith's *Greek and Latin Biography*, has the following remark, with which I am disposed to agree:—"It seems incredible that any one should rise from the perusal of the *Cyropædia* without the firm conviction that it is a romance; and still more incredible is it that any one should have recognized in the picture of Xenophon the very similitude of an Asiatic conqueror in the sixth century before Christ. That Cyrus was a great man is proved by the empire he established; that he was a good man according to the virtue of his age

and country we need not doubt; but if we would seek further for his likeness, we must look rather at Genghis Khan or Timour, than at the Cyrus of Xenophon."

The following passage, however, from the same writer is open to serious objections:—"The result of a most careful examination of the subject of the identity of Darius the Mede with the Cyaxares of Xenophon is, that in some important points the statements of Xenophon cannot be reconciled with those of Daniel; and that a much more probable explanation is, that Darius was a noble Median, who held the sovereignty of Babylon, as the viceroy of Cyrus, until the latter found it convenient to fix his court at Babylon, and there are some indications on which a conjecture might be founded that this viceroy was Astyages." According to Daniel, we may believe Darius the Mede to have been about sixty-two years old cir. 538, i. e., he was born cir. 600 B.C. But, according to Herodotus, Astyages, who was plainly an adult when his father died, succeeded Cyaxares I. cir. 594 B.C. It seems almost impossible to understand the Darius of Daniel not to be of royal birth—to be only a Median noble. We may also think that only Cyaxares would venture to use such language as we find in Dan. vi. 25.

According to Herodotus and Xenophon, Cyrus was the son of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages. Xenophon makes him both the nephew and son-in-law of Cyaxares. Ctesias denies that there was any blood relationship between Cyrus and Astyages, but says that the former married Amytis, the daughter of Astyages. Even if we suppose Cyrus to have been only the brother-in-law of Cyaxares, this assists greatly in lessening the improbability that he should have permitted Cyaxares to occupy the Median throne for his life.

ANNOTATIONS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

SIR,—The Epistle to the Hebrews has always seemed to me, both in its external and internal character, one of the most interesting books of the New Testament. I propose in this paper to endeavour to extract and illustrate the meaning of some of its most pregnant passages.

I would earnestly recommend my reader to begin the study of this epistle, by a perusal of the remarks upon it in Thiersch's *History of the Church*.¹ They throw a flood of light upon many of its parts, whose object would otherwise be obscure.

I.

Chap. i. 1.—"God, who at sundry times," etc. This would better be rendered "in sundry parts" (*πολυμερῶς*). The idea conveyed in the word is this, that God's speech to the old world was by part at one time and by one prophet, part at and by another: contrasted with His revelation in Christ, which is full and perfect.

¹ Vol. i., p. 172-190, of the English translation. Bosworth, 1852.

II.

Chap. i. 3.—“A Son—who, being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,” etc. These two clauses are most important, as indicating the true character of the Son. I will examine them separately. (1.) He is called “the effulgence” (*ἀπαύγασμα*, literally, the off-shining) of the Father’s glory.” In this figure three things are intimated. (α.) That the Father is the primal Fount of Deity. (β.) That the Son is, as the Nicene creed expresses it, “Light out of (ἐκ) light:” *i.e.*, though deriving his Godhead from the Father, it is the same as that of its original, even as the light proceeding is the same as the light emitting. (γ.) That the Son is co-eternal with the Father; for, as St. Chrysostom has before argued,^c the emission of light is necessarily coeval with the existence of a source of light. The expression of Origen, adopted by the Catholic church, concerning the “eternal generation” of the Son, exactly carries out this idea. (2.) The change I wish to introduce in the translation of the second of these two clauses is very important. It is no less than to substitute the word “substance,” as the English for “*ὑπόστασις*,” instead of “person:” to alter, that is, “the express image of his person” into “the very impress of his substance.” My reasons for this are both grammatical and doctrinal. (α.) That the Latin word “substantia,” is the exact correlative of the Greek “*ὑπόστασις*” is very clear (*ὑπο*, sub; *στάσις*, stans). It is also a fact, that at the commencement of the Arian controversy, “*ὑπόστασις*” and “*οὐσία*” were used interchangeably by the Greeks, and “substantia” by the Latins to express the common Godhead of the Father and Son; while “*πρόσωπον*” and “persona” were the respective words for their distinct personality. The use of “*πρόσωπον*,” however, being objected to on the ground of its favouring (meaning originally, like its latin “persona,” a mask) the Sabellian heresy, that the three persons of the Trinity were only manifestations of the one God, it was withdrawn, and “*ὑπόστασις*” substituted, “*οὐσία*” being left to represent the idea of the substance (so Nicene Creed “*ἑμμοούσιον*,” “of one substance”).^d In this sense “*ὑπόστασις*” has since been used, as in the epithet “hypostatical” applied to the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. That, however, before the Arian controversy, it was used to mean substance, not person, I have shewn from its derivation and its history. (β.) Doctrinal considerations will confirm this rendering. The Greek is “*χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*,” *Χαρακτήρ* (*χαράσσω*, to stamp) is the impression made by a stamp upon that which it stamps. In this image, therefore, used to set forth the relations between the Father and the Son, there are three parts. 1. The thing which stamps. 2. The thing which is stamped. 3. That which is common to both—the impression. In that which it sets forth, there are also three parts. (1.) The person of the Father. (2.) The person of the Son. (3.) That which is common to both—the substance of the Godhead. The impression in the image, corresponds to the substance in

^c Hom. on St. John iv. 2.

^d See Robertson’s *History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 229 (Murray, 1854), and the references there given.

the thing imaged: therefore, as *χαρακτήρ* in the text corresponds to *ὁμοιότης*, the latter is "substance."—This clause, thus rightly Englished, sets forth the same truths as the foregoing. (1.) The Father, "that which stamps," is the original, "neither made, nor created, nor begotten." (2.) The Son, though receiving (by eternal generation) the impress from the Father, has nevertheless the *same* impress; is "of one substance with the Father." He is "God," though "of God," "Light," though "of Light," "Very God," though "of Very God." This and the following chapter may well be called "scandalum Socinianorum."

III.

Chap. i. 6. "And again, when he bringeth," should be rendered, as in the margin. "And when he bringeth again the first begotten into the world." This rendering brings this passage into harmony with Acts xiii. 33, to which, in the common version, it has seemed contradictory. There the words of the second Psalm, "Thou art my Son: this day have I begotten thee," are referred to Christ's resurrection; here they would seem to be interpreted of his birth of the blessed Virgin.

The former reference of this passage of the Psalms, viz.: to Christ's resurrection, is of considerable importance. For the Arian would explain it of his superhuman nature, and argue from the words "this day," that there was a time before the Son was begotten.* And to refer it to his birth of Mary, is to contradict Acts xiii. 33, to mistranslate the original, and to rob it of all doctrinal value. Christ, as God, is "the *only* begotten of the Father," (John i. 14): as man, the day of his birth was that of his resurrection from the dead. This latter sonship we, the members of his body, enter into and share: for in this he is, not the *only* begotten, but "the *first* begotten from the dead," (Col. i. 18. Rev. i. 5.), "the *first* born among many brethren," (Rom. viii. 29.). Like him, too, we enter upon this sonship by resurrection; for we are "buried with him in baptism, *wherein also we are risen with him*, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." (Col. ii. 12.)

IV.

Chap. v. 5. "Christ glorified not himself to be a high priest, but he that said unto him, 'thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.'" In the last verse we considered, this passage from the second Psalm came before us as applied to Christ's resurrection. In this, it is referred to his priesthood. Having already elucidated the connexion between his human sonship and his resurrection, we must now inquire into that existing between these and his priesthood.

There are few things more generally agreed upon by students of the Old Testament, than that, in the patriarchal times, the first-born son was the priest of the family. (See Professor Blunt's *Scriptural Coincidences*, pp. 11—16). Melchisedec, therefore, one of these patriarchal priests, must have entered his office by being the first-born. Christ's priesthood

* See *Paradise Lost*, b. v., l. 603.

being after the order (τάξεως), not of Aaron, the representative of the Levitical, but of Melchisedec, the representative of the patriarchal priesthood, He must have entered his office, not like the former, by genealogy, but like the latter, by being the first-born son. Since then, at his resurrection, as we have before seen, he became "the *first-born* from the dead"—"the *first-born* among many brethren:" at that time also, and in virtue of the first-born sonship into which by that act he entered, he became a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

In this light we may read two other passages which speak of the Church as "a royal priesthood" (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6; v. 10), and as "the church of the first-born." (Heb. xii. 23). The Church being one with Christ, his body, of course partakes of his priesthood. But this priesthood pertains only to the first-born; and resurrection was the mode in which the Head obtained his worship. The body also, therefore, is "risen with him" (Col. ii. 12; iii. 1; Eph. ii. 6), and, being thus one with him, is "the church of the first-born."

V.

Chap. vi. 19. "Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil." Also, chap. x. 19, 20. "Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh, let us draw near," etc.

The Holy of Holies in the tabernacle is stated (chap. ix. 24) to set forth heaven itself. The veil between that and the holy place is here said to signify Christ's "flesh." It was so to him, because "flesh and blood" (*i. e.* mortal human nature) "cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. xv. 50): and therefore not till his death, when he put off this "flesh," was "the veil of the temple rent in twain from the top to the bottom" (Matt. xxviii. 51); and not till after his resurrection,—his glorified body being no longer "flesh" (Heb. v. 7)—could he enter into the holiest. (Heb. ix. 11, 12, 24). Until we also have put off this mortal, and put on immortality, our "flesh," like his, is a veil between our complete entrance into the holiest. And yet, as even "in the days of his flesh," he spoke of himself as "the Son of Man which *is* in heaven" (John iii. 13), so we, like him "born of the Spirit," in our spirits are even now in them "seated with him in the heavenlies" (Eph. ii. 6), and in these, and by hope, as here represented, enter into the holiest, and penetrate into that within the veil.

VI.

Chap. ix. 28. "Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many: and unto them that look for him shall he appear a second time, without sin, unto salvation."

It has seemed to me that this verse is not generally recognized as being a carrying on of the type of which the writer treats in this chapter. He has spoken of the acts of the high priest on the annual Day of Atonement; how, with the blood of a sacrifice previously slain in the outer court, he entered into the holy of holies, to present it before God, and

burn incense:—he has shown how Christ, our great high-priest, at his once-for-all atonement, entered with the blood of his own sacrifice,—previously offered on the cross “without the gate” (chap. xiii. 12)—into heaven itself, to present it ever before God, being seen “in the midst of the throne, a Lamb as it had been slain” (Rev. v. 6), and in virtue thereof ever to make intercession for us. But the type does not end here. While the high-priest went into the holiest, the people, we are told, waited without in prayerful expectation: and to these, after his work was accomplished, he came out, and blessed them. In like manner shall “this same Jesus, which is taken up from us into heaven, so come in like manner as he went into heaven.” (Acts i. 11). When the work of intercession there is finished, he shall come forth, no longer in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, but for the salvation and blessing of those (and only those) who are looking for and loving his appearing. Even so, come, Lord Jesus! Amen. R. H.

XENOPHON AS AN HISTORIAN, AND AS THE WRITER OF THE ANABASIS.

To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”

SIR,—The author of the “Life of Cyrus,” in Dr. Smith’s *Biographical Dictionary* justly remarks, that the account which Herodotus gives of the transference of the Median empire to the Persians, is in substance confirmed even by Xenophon himself in the third book of the *Anabasis*, where we find this historian thus speaking of the two cities Larissa and Mespila:—

‘Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, Λάρισσα· ᾗκουσιν δ’ αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι . . . ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μῆδων ἐλάβανον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο εἰλεῖν· κ. τ. λ.

. . . Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι αὐτὴν πότε ᾗκουσιν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγετο Μῆδια γυνὴ βασιλέως φυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, . . . καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

We cannot doubt that this Persian king, who besieged and took Larissa and Mespila, was the Great Cyrus—and thus we learn that Xenophon (whatever he may have advanced in his philosophical romance of the *Cyropædia*) agrees with Herodotus and Ctesias in stating that the Persian Cyrus attacked the King of Media, conquered him, and wrested the supremacy from the Medes—and these three historians are of course to be understood as teaching us that this occurred before the overthrow of the Lydian and Chaldean kingdoms by a Medo-Persian army under the command of Cyrus.

Whether, therefore, we identify Daniel’s Darius the Mede with Xenophon’s Cyaxares, or suppose him to have been a noble Mede, connected by blood with the royal family of Media, we may say that Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon unite in forbidding us to think that this Darius took or received the Chaldean kingdom without the consent and permission of the illustrious conqueror Cyrus. We should infer this also from the

well-known vision of the prophet Daniel, in which, before the Medo-Persian ram commenced its victorious career "westward, northward, and southward," the Persian horn was already higher than the Median.

In vain shall we seek in ancient secular history previous to the conquest of Media by Cyrus, a justification of the expression, "the laws of the Medes and Persians," where the Persians are openly and formally placed on a level with the Medes. It seems difficult to think that this was the established mode of speaking in the days of Phraortes, Cyaxares I., and Astyages.

It would seem wholly unnecessary to attempt to reconcile Daniel (who may be considered as in agreement with the author of the *Anabasis*) with the author of the *Cyropædia*. In that romance, Xenophon has not hesitated to bring forward statements concerning the conduct of Cyrus to Astyages, as well as concerning the place and manner of the death of Cyrus, which may be regarded as directly contrary to historical facts. Hence, even if the best-established Medo-Persian traditions had represented Cyaxares II. as leaving Media to fix his court at Babylon after the conquest of that city, yet we cannot reasonably refuse to believe that Xenophon would not have scrupled, had it suited the object which he had in view when composing the *Cyropædia*, to have made Cyaxares remain in Media, and to have placed Cyrus in vice-regal power and splendour in Babylon.

The writer of the biographical memoir of Cyrus alluded to above, says, that "there are some indications on which a conjecture might be founded that Darius the Mede was Astyages." But this notion is altogether opposed to the generally-received chronology, according to which Babylon was taken by Cyrus, cir. 538 B.C.; and Astyages succeeded his father on the Median throne cir. 595. But Darius the Mede was about sixty-two years of age in 538, and was therefore born cir. 600 B.C., and consequently would not have been more than five years old when Cyaxares I. died, and Astyages became King of Persia.

On the supposition that Cyaxares II. was Darius the Mede, we may suppose him not unwilling to exchange Ecbatana for Babylon. We may not unreasonably think that Cyrus (especially when we remember what Xenophon has related of the cities of Larissa and Mespila) would be naturally jealous of any attempts on the part of Cyaxares to act as an independent Median monarch, while he would not object to allow him to be very much his own master in Babylonia. This would be still more probably the case if we may suppose that Cyaxares, in accepting from Cyrus the Chaldean kingdom, and removing to Babylon, virtually renounced his connexion with Media, even if still nominally retaining such titles as he had previously possessed.

11th June, 1857.

G. B.

at least as to the syllabization. The utmost that can possibly be conceded to Mr. T. is, that the Hebrew word may have had the same vowels as the Arabic and Syriac, viz., in the *m. shab'at* instead of *shib'at*.

The radicals in this case are ש, ב, ע, the נ being merely a formative letter. In שָׁבַע, on the other hand, the נ is radical, and the ש is, according to the Masorites, to be doubled in pronunciation, שָׁבַע, *shabbāt*. That the doubling of the ש is correct can be proved, I will not say by the Greek and Latin equivalents, *σάββατον* or *σάββατα* and *sabbatum*, but by the Syriac ܫܒܬܐ (where the *kūshoi* indicates the ancient doubling of the ܫ) and the Ethiopic 𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩠: *sanbat* (in which *nb* stands for *bb*, just as in Aramaic ܡܠܝܬܐ *knowledge*, for ܡܠܝܬܐ; ܡܠܝܬܐ for ܡܠܝܬܐ, *el* of ܡܠܝܬܐ to go in; ܡܠܝܬܐ for ܡܠܝܬܐ or ܡܠܝܬܐ).^k

שָׁבַע (constr. שָׁבַע, with suff. שָׁבַע, pl. שָׁבַע, constr. שָׁבַע) seems to be a noun of the form שָׁבַע from the radical שָׁבַע. From the doubling of the נ in such forms as שָׁבַע *shabbatto*, some have preferred to view it as a contraction for שָׁבַע (form שָׁבַע), comparing שָׁבַע (for שָׁבַע, fem. of שָׁבַע), רָ (for שָׁבַע, rad. שָׁבַע) 1 Sam. iv. 19, שָׁבַע (for שָׁבַע) 1 Kings i. 15, שָׁבַע (for שָׁבַע) Mal. i. 14; and it must be admitted that the fem. form שָׁבַע or שָׁבַע is that generally preferred for *abstract nouns*, e. g., שָׁבַע or שָׁבַע *sin*, שָׁבַע *petition*, שָׁבַע *baldness* (of the forehead), שָׁבַע *an incision*. However, if not actually שָׁבַע, at least a cognate form occurs with an abstract signification, viz., שָׁבַע *a vow of abstinence*. The doubling of the last radical would then be similar to that in שָׁבַע, from שָׁבַע, שָׁבַע, and שָׁבַע from שָׁבַע. Ewald takes a somewhat different view of the word in his Hebrew Grammar.^l

שָׁבַע, *the sabbath*, is consequently an abstract noun, properly signifying *rest* (Gen. ii. 2, 3; Exod. xx. 8 sqq.), from the rad. שָׁבַע. This word שָׁבַע means *to be fixed* or *firm*, then *to be still* or *quiet*, *to rest*, and also *to cease* to do anything, *to come to an end* (see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*). The ש *sh* is here not the *pure* ש (which corresponds to an Arabic س *s*, and Aramaic ש *sh*), but the *impure* ש, corresponding generally to the Aramaic נ *n*, and the Arabic ت *t* (in "thing"); and the Arabic equivalent is ثَبَّتَ *thabata*, "to stand upright, to be fixed, firm, stable."

This verb שָׁבַע, ثَبَّتَ, I consider as a denominative from שָׁבַע *shebet*, the infinitive or verbal noun of שָׁבַע *to sit, remain, dwell*. The original form of this word has remained to us in the Arabic وَتَبَ *wataba*, "to stand firm or immoveable;" in Aramaic, with the usual change of ו *w* into י *y*, ܠܬܝܒ (ܠܬܝܒ), *to sit, remain, dwell*. By aspirating the ܬ *t*, and so

^k The Arabic has only the form السبت *assabt* ("Saturday") = Heb. שָׁבַע.

^l Sixth Edition, § 212 d, note 1.

converting it into **شَيْءٌ** *shay'ā* (in "thing"), the Arabs got **وَضَبٌ** *wathaba*, generally used in the sense of *to leap*, but in the Himyaritic, or South Arabian, in that of *to sit*, whence the common word **وِثَابٌ** *withāb*, "a seat or cushion." The Hebrew, unable to pronounce the lisped letter **שׁ** *sh*, converted it into the thick sibilant **שׁ** *sh*, and as he also substituted **ו** *v* for **ו**, there resulted the word **שָׁבַע**, with its infinitive **שָׁבַעַת**, which would be in Arabic **ثَبَّ** *thibat* (compare **لَدَت** *lidat* = **לָדַת** from **לָד** = **لָדַת**, **رִיחַת** = **רָחַת** from **רָחַת** = **רָחַת**).

Denominative verbs of this sort are not uncommon in the Semitic languages. In Hebrew, for example, we have **רָחַץ** *to destroy*, from **רָחַץ** (*rad.* **רָחַץ**); in Arabic, **مَسَلَ** *masala*, "to flow," from **مَسِيلٌ** *masīl*, "a water-course" (*rad.* **سِيلٌ**), **مَرَعٌ** *maru'a*, "to abound in pasture," from **مَرْعِيٌّ** *mar'ā*, "pasture ground" (*rad.* **رَعِيٌّ**); in Æthiopic, **መሰከር** *māsana*, "to rot, to perish," from **መሰከር** *mūnā*, "corruption" (*rad.* **ሰከር** *asina*, "to become putrid," especially used of water).

After this I hope we shall hear no more of the erroneous derivation of **שַׁבָּת** *the sabbath*, or "day of rest," from **שֶׁבַע** *seven*,—a derivation, I may add, long ago proposed by Professor Müller, of Oxford, in his well-known article on "Comparative Philology" in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 192.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Testimony of the Rocks ; or, Geology in its bearings on the two theologies, natural and revealed. By HUGH MILLER, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," "Footprints of the Creator," etc., etc. Edinburgh : Shepherd and Elliot. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1857. pp. xii., 500.

MR. MILLER had devoted the studious part of his life to the pursuit of the natural sciences, and chiefly to that of geology. Without having been early trained in those studies which are mainly concerned with objects less palpable than those of natural science, it would not have been wonderful if the pursuit with which he was enamoured had thrown the moral sciences into the shade. For it is an undeniable fact in the history of the human mind from the earliest ages, that the things which "are made" and "do appear," which testify to "the invisible things of God," have constantly so eclipsed these invisible things as that the outward world has, at length, solely occupied the thoughts of men. In the earliest Vedás we have faint traces of the recognition of the "Fountain" of that "ethereal beam" which threw a flood of glory over the gorgeous scenery of the East ; but the visible material centre of it soon became the highest object of their thoughts and worship. Without the influence, direct or indirect, of a divine revelation, this has always been the case ; and too often the clearest light of such revelation has become dim in comparison with "the things that are seen." The effect of dwelling intently and solely on the visible objects of science has often been the same in kind as that of keeping before men's eyes sensible representations of spiritual things ; it has been that of a real idolatry, in which the image which has been subjected to the *fidelibus oculis*,—the *believing* eyes,—has extinguished from the intellect and the heart "the image of the invisible God." And, by the way, we will just remark that for this reason, among others, our Lord tells his disciples, "It is expedient for you that I go away." It was good for them no longer to "know Christ after the flesh," that they might learn to "look at the things that are not seen," which they would, perhaps, never have done if his presence had been before their bodily eyes.

But Mr. Miller was reared in the "old theology of Scotland," and his faith in the best parts of it—we might, perhaps, add in some parts, which are not the best—was, we believe, still strong in him when he put the finishing hand to this treatise. Without admitting the certainty of all Mr. Miller's geological convictions, and while doubting some of

his own speculations, we have been highly interested and edified by this volume.

Supposing only that its geology is generally true, its testimony is strong, and peculiar to the doctrines of natural theology; and when geology shall have become a little more accommodating, on the one hand, and, perhaps, our interpretation of God's Word a little modified on the other; the harmony between the former and revelation may turn out to be complete.

The "testimony of the rocks" is shewn by Mr. Miller, in the first place, to establish the principle of the *natural arrangement* of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, which science had independently determined in reference to extant forms. The animal kingdom had been arranged, as by Cuvier, in classes according to the completeness of functions; from the higher order of mammals to the invertebrate, which includes the *mollusca*, and others of about the same grade of animal being. The vegetable kingdom had been determined, as it appears in the writings of Dr. Lindley, as descending in vegetable importance from the dictyledonous trees to the mallogens, to which latter the seaweeds belong.

"At length," says Mr. Miller, "when the work (of this arrangement) appears to be well nigh completed, a new science has arisen, which presents us with a very wonderful means of testing it. . . . and now that a wonderful opportunity has occurred of comparing in this matter of classification, the human with the divine idea—the idea embodied by the zoologists and botanists in their respective systems, with the idea embodied by the Creator of all in geologic history—we cannot, perhaps, do better, in entering upon our subject, than to glance briefly at the great features in which God's order of classification, as developed in palæontology, agrees with the order in which man has at length learned to range the living productions, plant and animal, by which he is surrounded, and of which he himself forms the most remarkable portion."

If then, as Mr. Miller shews, we examine the fossiliferous rocks, in the order in which they were deposited, we find the silurian, the old red sandstone, the carboniferous, etc., to the tertiary, containing successively the classes, both of plants and animals, in ascending order. The silurian in its lower beds exhibiting only fossils of the mallogen plants, and of the invertebrate animals; while the tertiary rocks are distinguished by the dictyledonous plants of the higher order, and the placental mammals. We can only indicate thus generally what Mr. Miller has shewn at length, by a great variety of illustration, which is often pictorially exhibited, and which is most interesting.

Immediately preceding the human period we find, it appears, those plants and animals which are most associated with the wants and gratification of man. The true grasses, among which are the wheat, the barley, and other cereals; the rosaceæ, including our best fruits, among plants; the sheep and its kind among animals, preceded man by a very brief period.

"At length the human period begins. A creature appears upon the scene, unlike all that preceded him, and whose nature it equally is to look back upon the events of the past. . . . and to anticipate at least one succession more in that still future state in which he himself is again to appear, in happier circumstances than now, and in a

worthier character. We possess another history of the primeval age, and subsequent chronology of the human family, than that which we find in the rocks. And it is well that we do so. From various causes, the geological evidence regarding man's first appearance on earth is singularly obscure. . . . It may be safely stated, however, that that ancient record in which man is represented as the last born of creation, is opposed by no geological fact; and that if, according to Chalmers, 'the Mosaic writings do not fix the antiquity of the globe, they at least *do fix*—making allowances, of course, for the varying estimates of the chronologer—the antiquity of the human species.' "

The subject indicated by the title of the volume is not directly entered upon till the fifth lecture, from page 192. The first two lectures are occupied with the Palæontological history of plants and animals, to which we have already referred; the third and fourth with the adjustment, according to the author's view, of the Mosaic cosmogony with the present conclusions of geology. The evidence for the enormous periods during which the several deposits were made, is given in the third lecture, on which we shall only remark, that the reasoning assumes in everything, except the production of organic life, the mere action of physical agencies, such as have come under human experience. The creative power which is acknowledged to have been present in the successive production of living beings, has not in any case accelerated the operations of nature. In the fourth lecture we have a discussion of the mode in which the knowledge of creation was made known to Moses. This Mr. Miller, in accordance with the opinions of some eminent men, thinks must have been by *vision*, and that vision was of a kind to lead the sacred writer to designate as days, the six successive periods of geological formation. In the hands of Mr. Miller, this representation is a very poetic affair, and as such is as interesting, and perhaps as true, as some of the modern pictorial history, but we cannot call it science.

But the important and peculiar bearing of this science on some theological questions is very forcibly shewn by Mr. Miller. It renders unnecessary the very questionable *a priori* reasoning of divines against the atheistic assumption of an eternal succession of natural sequences.

"The 'infinite series' of the atheists of former times can have no place in modern science: all organic existences, recent or extinct, vegetable or animal, have had their beginning; there was a time when they were not, the geologist can indicate that time, if not by year, at least by periods, and shew what its relations were to the periods which went before and that come after; and as it is equally a recognized truth on both sides of the controversy, that as something now exists, something must have existed for ever; and as it must now be not less rarely recognized that that something was not the race of man, nor yet any other of the many races of man's predecessors or contemporaries, the question, 'What then was that something?' comes with a point and directness which it did not possess at any former time. By what, or through whom, did these races of nicely organized plants and animals begin to be?"

Mr. Miller shews that the Lamarkian hypothesis of *development*, which is in fact identical with the crude fancies of Epicureans as sung by Lucretius, is a mere dream, sustained by no shadow of proof or probability, and is absolutely disposed of by geological facts. Geology can

point out in any one department which the Lamarkian may fix upon, the organism in every stage of it, and shew that each species is throughout distinct, without a single specimen of those transitional forms which the Lamarkian imagines.

The argument of Hume, derived from his theory of cause and effect, according to which a cause must be a *constant* antecedent to its effect, and which therefore objects to the idea of creation as a *singular* effect, is also set aside by the deductions of geology. Hume would argue, We have before us an event called creation, and a creative power is assumed as the cause; but what do we know of this power, except from this one event? How do we know that there is an antecedent from which like consequents can flow? The answer of geology is, We have ample *experience* in the history of our planet of the working of such a cause. The creation once consisted of dead matter, and we know of no other cause for this but one. Plants and animals appear, for the production of which that one cause alone is adequate. "It is now rendered evident that in the earlier creation the producing cause had exerted but a portion of His power. . . . We now find that He is adequate to the origination of vitality in its two great kingdoms,—plant and animal." Other creations are presented to us rising above each other in importance, till "a creature immeasurably superior to all the others appears upon creation, and whose very nature it is to make use of his experience of the past for his guidance in the future . . . and founding at once on an acquaintance with the past, extended through all the periods of the geologist, and on that instinct of our nature whose peculiar function it is to anticipate at least one creation more, we must regard the expectation of 'new heavens and a new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness,' as not unphilosophic, but as, on the contrary, altogether rational and according to experience."

The philosophy of Bolingbroke, which assigned to man a position in the creation insignificant as compared with that which Revelation speaks of, is contrary to the whole teaching of geology. "There is," says Professor Agassiz, "a manifest progress in the succession of beings on the face of the earth. This progress consists in an increasing similarity to the living form, and among the vertebrates, especially in their increasing resemblance to man. But this connexion is not the consequence of a direct lineage between the fancies of different ages. There is nothing like parental descent connecting them . . . the link by which they are connected is of a higher and immaterial nature; another connexion is to be sought in the Creator himself, whose aim in forming the earth, in allowing it to undergo the successive changes which geology has pointed out, and in creating successively all the different types of animals which have passed away, was to introduce man upon the surface of our globe. Man is the end towards which all the animal creation has tended from the first appearance of the first palæozoic fishes."

Our space will not allow us to enter upon the other subjects of this volume, in which the author gives his views of the Noachian deluge,

criticizes somewhat caustically the antigeologists, and discusses in the two last lectures questions purely scientific, relating to the geology of Scotland. As a whole, the work is well adapted to recommend the study of geology to those who have perhaps been fearful of its tendencies, while it may help to recall from their scepticism some who, having dipped into science, have idly accepted the doubt which some aspects of it appear to suggest.

Three Introductory Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History; Canon of Canterbury. Oxford and London: Parker, 1857. 8vo. pp. iv., 86.

THE general impression we derive from the perusal of these Lectures is, that Professor Stanley is a man of deep Christian feeling, of high endowments, of a warm imagination, and a genial spirit. His object naturally being, in this his first appearance as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, to invite attention to the subject; he has,—if we may express ourselves a little after his own fashion—given rather a bird's-eye view; a sort of Pisgah glance over the good land which he promises to enter, than such a survey as he may be expected to begin when he has fairly entered upon it. As thus seen it is a "broad land of wealth unknown;" and if the Professor succeeds in the actual survey of only a portion of his wide outline, he will have accomplished a long and laborious task.

In speaking of the "limits" of the province on which he is about to enter, the Professor expresses his conviction that the history of the Church of God must include the history of the chosen people from Abraham to the apostles. This ancient period of Ecclesiastical History extends to the close of the apostolic age. With this the direct influence of the chosen people expires. The Church of God is no longer confined within the limits of a single nation. "The thin stream expands and soon loses itself, more and more, in the vast field of the history of the world." The Christian Church becomes another name for Christendom, and this for the most important nations of the modern habitable world.

How, then, are the civil and ecclesiastical elements of this history to be distinguished? We really cannot find that Professor Stanley has clearly answered this question. He seems to us to be referring sometimes to Revealed religion—sometimes to the persons of those who possessed or professed such religion, and sometimes to those who stood in official relation to what has commonly been regarded as the Body of the Church.

But he mentions three landmarks by which the course of Ecclesiastical History may be distinguished from history generally:—

"First, there are institutions, characters, ideas, which can be traced to the religious, especially to the Christian element in man, and to nothing besides. There are virtues and truths now in the world which can only be ascribed to the influence of Christian

society; and there are corruptions of those virtues, and of those truths, which have produced crimes and errors to be ascribed also, though remotely and indirectly, to the same source. There are events in the common course of history—revolutions, wars, divisions of races and nations—which, in themselves, can hardly be called religious, but which have, at least, one aspect distinctly religious. There are also institutions, customs, ceremonies, even vestures and forms of ritual, in which, though originally pagan or secular, Christian ideas have now become so crystallized as to be inseparable from them. All these it is the task of Ecclesiastical History to adjust and discriminate.

"Secondly, in every age, even the worst, there has been beneath the surface an undercurrent of religious life and active goodness, which it will be our duty to bring to light, as the true signs of a better world beyond, and of the Divine Presence abiding with us here,—a Church, as it were, within a Church; a 'remnant,' to use the language of the older covenant; 'a still small voice,' which almost of its own nature escapes the notice of the historian whose attention is fixed on the wind, the earthquake, and the fire of the vast movements of the world.

"Thirdly, the whole history of the Church, though usually flowing in the tracks marked out for it by the great national and geographical boundaries of the world, yet has a course not always, and therefore not of necessity, identical with the channel of human civilization. In the history of the Church, as in that of the world, in the history of the Christian Church, as in that of the Jewish, there is a distinct unity of parts, an outward progress from scene to scene, from act to act, towards an end yet distant and invisible; a unity and progress such as gives consistency and point to what would else be a mere collection of isolated and disjointed facts."

In short, the Professor's "field is the world." Religion, in one form or other, is universal, and wherever man has been found has influenced the history; the Christian religion, so called, genuine or spurious, has combined itself with all the phenomena of life and action, in the civilized world, from the first times of Christianity. But surely the most thorough-going history of the Church does not require even an attempt to account for the boundless range of phenomena which may thus have been tinged by religion, and which may have affected its history for evil or for good. To mix up with these in the same landmark, institutions, customs, ceremonies, and forms of ritual, seems an instance of confusion arising from want of definition of his subject. The "under-current" of which the Professor speaks, is, we fear, too much below the surface to be brought to light. The great and good Neander used his utmost efforts for that purpose, but it was by the exercise of a sort of *clairvoyance*, or rather by drawing upon his own devout subjectivity, that he painted his charming pictures of an unseen world of human history. It "is a path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen." "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof." We confess, it may be to our shame, that we cannot at all make out what the Professor means in the third landmark,—and we would implore him, for the sake of some, perhaps a few inquiring minds who may be as dull as we are, to avoid a kind of writing, and much more of lecturing, which is so very puzzling, though, alas! too fashionable.

He then gives a brief notice of the successive stages of this history. The first is the "transition of the Church of the apostles to the Church of the fathers," as though it were not the same Church; Professor Stanley does not mean exactly this, for he speaks of it as the same stream. But he says, "The stream, in that most critical moment of

its passage from the everlasting hills to the plain below, is lost to our view at the very point where we are most anxious to watch it. It is not so much a period for ecclesiastical history as for ecclesiastical controversy and conjecture. A fragment here, an allegory there; romances of unknown authorship; a handful of letters of which the genuineness of every portion is contested inch by inch; the summary examination of a Roman magistrate; the pleadings of one or two Christian apologists . . . and the catacombs." This is, to say the least, very unusual language both as to the documents and the history of the early Church. It seems—we trust only seems—to savour of the views with which Gibbon pandered to the scepticism of his day. "He finds," says Professor Blunt, "an insidious pleasure in post-dating the movements of the Gospel, willing to have it supposed that it owed its success to secular support, and that till Constantine declared in its favour it had made little way." Does Professor Stanley mean this, when he says, "The first great outward event of the actual history of the Church is its conversion of the empire"? We would remind him, that the same school of modern criticism which would sweep away the documents, and therefore the known history of the early Church, *has amply replenished that same period*, by almost all the apostolic epistles, and we cannot, consistently, accept one part of their criticism without the other. Besides which, whatever doubts might be entertained about the *authorship* of such documents, for instance, as the seven Ignatian epistles,—and we might add, of a large part of the apostolic constitutions,—there are few who doubt that they represent what is called a *development* of Christianity long prior to the 'conversion of the empire.' If, in fact, the school which Professor Stanley *seems* to have followed is right, the sub-apostolic period is rich in Christian literature of a high order, and the Patristic writings are only shifted a little lower down.

But "having cleared the chasm" in which the history of the Church flows invisible, this conversion of the empire is the next stage. Then, after the startling episode of the Mohammedan irruption, the Eastern Church has little to detain us. We are called away to witness, as the next stage, the invasion and the conversion of the Barbarians of the West and the consolidation of the Latin Church. The history of the middle ages revolved round the character and the policy of the Popes. Then comes the Reformation, which Professor Stanley calls a revolution. To ancient Christianity, to Byzantine Christianity, to Roman Christianity, was now added the fourth and equally unmistakeable form of Protestant Christianity. Henceforward, however, it is impossible to follow the course of the Church as a whole; each country must have its own ecclesiastical as well as its own civil history. But there are three countries in which, beyond all others, the religious history of Europe has specially been carried out. In Germany its influence has been almost too impalpable to attach itself to any course of events or any definite outward character. In France the fortunes of Christianity have, during the last three centuries, been represented in the brightest and in the darkest colours. No ecclesiastical history since the Refor-

mation can be so instructive, at least to Englishmen, as our own Church of England. "As the peculiar constitution of the state has borne the brunt and survived the shock of the French Revolution; it is the hope of the peculiar constitution of our Church that it should, in like manner, meet, overcome, and absorb, the shock of the new thoughts and feelings to which, directly, or indirectly, that test of European movements has given birth."

The second Lecture contains excellent advice as to the mode in which the various aspects of this history should be studied. The history of doctrines should be viewed through the medium of the lives, characters and circumstances, of those who received and taught them; that of creeds and confessions, on the soil from which they sprung; the history of events and persons, which are the proper material for Ecclesiastical History, should be studied in connexion with the collateral subjects which belong to them, in the works of eminent historians, especially of those who describe at length and in detail. The most important events should be mastered so as to leave a lasting impression on the mind. This especially applies to the history of persons, which ought, if possible, to be gathered from original sources, and by balancing the extremes of praise or blame by which they may have been represented.

The advantages of Ecclesiastical History are pointed out in the third Lecture. It brings us down from speculations and fancies to what, at least, profess to be facts, and these remove us in some degree from the interests and illusions of the present. It is always useful to see, as must be seen in any extensive survey, how large a portion of our ecclesiastical differences is to be traced, not to religious causes, but to the more innocent, and in one sense irresistible, influences of nation, of climate, of race, of the general course of human affairs. The biography of good men has always been found highly profitable, as exhibiting Christianity in its fruits. Many a salutary lesson is also to be obtained from the study of the masses of individuals which form the main bulk of the Church. Though the saying of Vincentius, *Quod semper, etc.*, may not be literally true, "there is a common sense in the Church, as there is a common sense in the world, which cannot be neglected with impunity; while there is an eccentricity in individuals and in sects, which always tends to lead us, if not into dangerous, at least into crooked paths." This study will lead to a better understanding as to differences; will afford evidences of the truth of Christianity; will afford lessons from the failings of the Church. It will suggest a comparison between what the Church is, and what in the Scriptures it was intended to be; between what it has been, and what, from the same source, we trust that it may be. We are happy to be able to quote, in conclusion, the following language:—

"Of all the advantages which Ecclesiastical History can yield, this stimulus to a study of the Scriptures is most important. It would be a reward, if I could, in however slight a measure make it (the study of history), point to the grandeur and the truth of that which is beyond itself—if the study of the history of the Church should rouse any one to a deeper faith in the power and the design of the Bible, a stronger

belief in what it has already done, a higher hope and clearer understanding of what its words may yet effect for us, in the chapters of living history in which we, or the coming generations, may bear a part."

Ezekiel's Temple: its Design Unfolded, its Architecture Displayed, and the Subjects connected with it Discussed. By the Rev. H. SMITH WARLEIGH, Chaplain of Parkhurst Prison. London, 1856. 8vo.

THIS vision, whether its directions be literally understood, or spiritually, is, in many respects, of a very remarkable kind. Directions having been given that the Temple shall be re-erected according to the details therein laid down, it is enjoined, amongst other things, that the holy mountain (the site of the ancient city and temple of Jerusalem), shall henceforth be devoted exclusively to the Temple itself, which, with its various buildings and courts is to cover a space of 500 cubits square; that, in order to mark it the more completely off as holy ground, its precincts shall be surrounded by a strong boundary wall, inclosing a square of 500 reeds each way, a somewhat larger space than that occupied by the whole of the ancient city; that, in the place of the ancient city, but upon a different site, an entirely new city shall be built at a distance of about 20,000 cubits from the temple; and, finally, that the entire land shall be re-divided as directed. There are minor directions, but these constitute the chief features of the vision.

As might have been expected, there has, as is well known, been much difference of opinion amongst commentators as to its interpretation.

Rejecting, as improbable, the opinion that the details of this vision are to be spiritually understood, and as altogether inadmissible that which supposes a literal realization of its various details in millennial times, the hypothesis adopted by Mr. Smith Warleigh is, that with the exception of a small portion which is clearly figurative, viz., that relating to the waters (ch. xlvii.), it is throughout to be literally understood:—in other words, that it was intended to furnish to the then captive Jews, directions concerning the rebuilding of their city and temple, when they should be restored to their own land, and concerning the repartition of the land itself.

This interpretation has been substantially broached before, as may be seen by a reference to Archbishop Newcome's *Commentary*, or to Hewlett's; amongst others, by Dathe, Eichorn, and Archbishop Secker. Mr. Warleigh, however, does not seem to be aware of this. He appears to have arrived at the conclusions adopted by him, independently of all external aid. "To, myself," he says, "it was a discovery made from the Bible alone." But though broached, and even to a certain extent defended by others, it has never, we believe, been so zealously, so fully,

* A short notice has been before given of this work, but it is thought desirable to enter more fully on the subject.—ED. J. S. L.

and we may add (though we are far from admitting the conclusiveness of all his arguments), so ably defended, as in the work before us.

Mr. Warleigh seeks to establish these, his main positions, by contending, in the first place, that some such revelation was to be expected:—

“Let it be remembered,” he observes, “that the Jews had repeatedly broken their covenant with God, and had therefore forfeited their inheritance in Canaan. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel had often told them, that it was for this reason they were thrust out. They had now no more claim on it than any other nation. . . . But their return was necessary, in order to accomplish God’s oft-revealed designs respecting the incarnation of his Son, and the redemption of the world by him. But for this, it does not appear that they would ever have been brought back to their country. . . . Now, inasmuch as they had forfeited the land, we contend that a fresh grant of it was required before they could again inherit it. God makes this grant by Ezekiel, as much as he ever made it by Moses; and he disposes of it in lots, according to his good pleasure, and in a manner he had never done before. The Jews were too much accustomed to think that they were to possess that good land as a matter of course; but God shews them that they were to receive it [afresh], and hold it as a free grant direct from him. . . . Such a procedure must have brought to their minds with great force that the land was his, not theirs; and that he divided it, and fixed the tribes as he chose. What greater assurance, too, could he give them of their return [and restoration to his favour] than by reparceling out the land, giving them the plans, specifications, and elevations of the temple, and pointing out what sacrifices to offer, and how he would be worshipped? All this shewed in a tangible form, and in a way which they could appreciate, how interested he was in their welfare, and how fully he intended to deliver them from captivity. . . .

“Nor should it be forgotten, that but for the revelations of this vision, they could not, on their return, have known how to worship God at all. The invasion of Nebuchadnezzar having destroyed some of the essentials of the worship laid down by Moses, it had become impossible to carry out his directions; and if so, how could they hope to please God? In the first place, they no longer possessed the ark of the covenant: What could they do without this? . . . In the next place, the holy fire had been extinguished, which had been lighted up direct from heaven, and which was commanded to be ever kept burning. How could they offer up [acceptably] a single burnt-offering, or burn a single grain of incense without this? . . . There is little, if any doubt, but that the thoughtful and earnest-minded among the Jews reflected on these things not only with perplexed minds, but with despairing hearts. It was for want of attention to God’s ordinances that they had been driven from the rich blessings of their fatherland; and could they dare, of their own mind, again to establish a religion whose rites and commands they could not observe? Their way was hedged in: they could not take a step: and must have been in utter despair if God had not revealed his will to them. . . . Then in pity and mercy God gave directions for the re-building of the temple, but on a model different from that erected by Solomon; and established a code of ceremonial laws and observances, somewhat differing from those he had given by Moses.”

In our notice of this work it is not so much our intention to pronounce dogmatically upon its merits (as though we were “the men,” and “wisdom would die with us”), as to invite attention to it. Nevertheless, we cannot but agree with Mr. Warleigh that the improbabilities that the vision was designed simply to convey spiritual instruction, are very great. In the reconstructed temple, for instance, we have the shape and size of its various rooms, the thickness and height of its walls, the width of its corridors, the dimensions of its porches, the position and size of its gates and doorways, and many other of the like

minutiæ, down even to the size of the hooks upon which to hang the slain animals while flaying them. To give to such details a spiritual interpretation, with anything like certainty, is impossible. Supposing them to be figurative, by what rule is their meaning to be discovered? To what of doctrine, or of precept, or of privilege, is reference made in these many minute particulars? What is there, for instance, which we can certainly say was represented by the two rows of little chambers at each of the three outer and three inner gates of the temple? or by the distinct chamber for the use of the priest who was in attendance at the altar, as well as another distinct chamber for those that kept guard? or by the four boiling places at the corners of the outer courts? or by those tables whereupon they laid the instruments wherewith they slew the burnt-offering and the sacrifice? Their spiritual interpretation has been attempted, indeed, but we have only to read the expositions given to see how utterly vain is the attempt.

It may be said, indeed, that equally vain is the attempt to explain the spiritual meaning of the various details of the tabernacle as erected by Moses, or of the temple as constructed by Solomon; but that it is nevertheless true that they had a spiritual meaning, even where we have failed to detect it. That these buildings did convey spiritual instruction we admit; but we doubt whether each one of their details was intended to convey instruction. To any one enjoying the light and believing in the doctrines of Christianity, their meaning, as regards their general features, is clear; but we believe that many of the directions given in reference to their construction were simply architectural, or purely arbitrary. But, however this may be, there is this difference between the two cases. In the case of the tabernacle of Moses and of the temple of Solomon, the details (which, by-the-by, were but few, compared with those given in the vision before us) were architecturally serviceable, and may, therefore, many of them, have been designed simply as architectural directions; whereas, in the case of Ezekiel's vision, if the temple was not to be rebuilt as portrayed in that vision, the details were architecturally useless; in other words, they *must* have been of some spiritual significance. They *must* have been intended to express some spiritual truth. But is it likely that they were? Is it not a more probable supposition that they were not? and, if they were, how is that meaning to be discovered? Equally strong, in our opinion, are the objections to the supposition of a literal fulfilment in millennial times. These Mr. Warleigh has fully discussed, but our limits will not admit of our examination of them.

Considered then, merely as a supposition, it certainly does seem most probable that this vision of the temple and city was intended to be literally understood, and that its design was as supposed by Mr. Warleigh. It has been commonly objected by those who have advocated a spiritual interpretation of its scenes, that the measurements given in certain portions of the same are such as to render it physically impossible that the limits of the land would admit of being partitioned as directed. This Mr. Warleigh at once sets aside (and apparently

upon very sufficient grounds) by the substitution of "cubits" for "reeds," in those parts of the vision where (no word occurring in the Hebrew text) "reeds" instead of "cubits" is the word inserted in the common English version, as the supposed supplement demanded.

To our mind a much stronger objection to the supposition that the vision was intended to furnish the returning Jews with the directions supposed, is to be found in the fact that they do not appear to have complied with them. Mr. Warleigh, indeed, is of opinion that, to a certain extent, they did comply with them, and gives various reasons, in support of his opinion, that they did. Of these, some of them are perhaps plausible enough; as, for instance, that based upon the fact that Cyrus, in his decree for the rebuilding of "the House of God" (Ezr. vi. 3),[§] (by which expression is to be understood that portion of the temple contained in the two courts called the Holy, and the Holy of Holies), seems to refer to the measurements given in the vision as regarded the height and breadth of the same, "threescore cubits" being the very measurement assigned by Ezekiel (xl. 14) to the pillars supporting and surrounding this part of the building, and (if we subtract the two spaces of five cubits each, which, in the vision, are left round about it) this also being its breadth. This, as Mr. Warleigh observes, is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the temple of Solomon was only thirty cubits high and twenty wide.

But with reference to his other arguments in support of the supposition, we must confess that we do not see their conclusiveness. Mr. Warleigh himself, indeed, does not regard them as demonstrative. "We do not," he says, "advance these evidences as a demonstration." As far as they go, however, he thinks that "they greatly lean to the side that on the return of the Jews from Babylon, and for nearly a century after, they made their arrangements, and pursued their labours, *after the model* of Ezekiel;" but that they "could not carry out their original design on account of their poverty, the oppression of their enemies, and the divisions which existed among themselves." (P. 196.)

It may be so; but we do not think that he has satisfactorily established this point; nor, on the other hand, do we regard the objection which he seeks to remove, as fatal. We think it safer, surer, and quite sufficient to reply to it, that non-compliance on the part of the Jews, is no proof that the details of the vision were not intended for their guidance. They were a people who often fell short of the requirements put upon them; often obeyed with a slack hand; often but half submitted themselves to the commandments given to them. The words uttered in reference to the temple, after that in vision it had been built, and described in detail: "Son of man, shew the House to the house of Israel, and let them measure the pattern . . . shew them the form of the House and the fashion thereof . . . and write it in their sight that

[§] "Let the House be builded . . . the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits."

they may keep the whole form thereof" (xliii. 7), are, in our estimation, almost conclusive in favour of the supposition that it was God's will (*i. e.*, his preceptive will) that the details of the vision should be complied with. The difficulty or difficulties arising from the fact that they appear to have been unfollowed, or if followed, followed only very partially, are not, we think, so great as those that encumber other interpretations, nor so great as to render it untenable.

The Tent and the Khan: a Journey to Sinai and Palestine. By ROBERT WALTER STEWART, D.D., Leghorn. With Maps and Illustrations. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 8vo. pp. xvi., 528.

DR. STEWART has, in the work before us, published a volume of great interest and value. It relates the incidents and records the observations of a tour made in 1854, in the Sinaitic peninsula, in Palestine, and in Syria. Perhaps four months were never better employed than in this case. It is quite astonishing that one man should have been able to see so much, and should have been able to say so much, under the circumstances. Yet rapid as were his movements, the author seldom leads us to suspect that his observations were superficial. On the contrary, his book claims for him the character of a diligent and careful observer of the districts through which he passed. No doubt the volume owes much to previous and subsequent reflections upon the subject; but still the mere narrative portion of it forms the great body of the work.

The style is agreeable, solid without heaviness, and full without verbosity. Its defects are few and venial, while it evidently represents a highly cultivated mind. The spirit of the book is decidedly Christian, and one of its leading aims is, to throw light upon the volume of inspiration. The conclusions of the writer will of course not always commend themselves to every one, especially as he sometimes differs from prevailing opinions on controverted points. But such a man must be heard, and those who cannot see with him will doubtless regard his reasonings as worthy of careful and serious examination. This has been our own feeling while perusing the book, and will no doubt be that of others. We are disposed to think the earlier portion, relating the experience of the author in the peninsula of Sinai, and previous to his entrance upon Palestine, as the most interesting. Yet we do not say this to underrate the other parts, inasmuch as from beginning to end one is constrained to admire the absence of so much of the commonplace of Eastern travel. The work is an original work, and as such, is worth a place by the side of the standard authors who have written upon the same subject.

We give the following specimen of Dr. Stewart's graphic manner:—

"The tents were soon pitched, and a cheerful fire lighted in front of mine; and for the first time in twenty-four hours I began to feel a grateful warmth. As the

evening advanced, I had some coffee distributed among the poor Bedouins, which warmed and comforted them greatly; then, forming a circle round the fire, they sat on their heels and smoked by turns out of one pipe, which did duty for the whole company, while I was busily engaged writing within. They had previously announced to Shaheen that they were to have a dance in the evening, because they had plenty of wood and great fires to keep them warm; so at nine o'clock we had a repetition of the dance already described. The scene was a strange one; the heavens above us were black as ink; the camp fire, stirred by the gusts of wind, shed a fitful light on the tents and trees around, while the red glare lit up the swarthy faces of the Arabs as they stood close to it, singing and rocking their bodies for joy that they had found abundance of wood wherewith to warm themselves. It was a striking illustration of the Epicurean maxim, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' In the satisfaction of the passing hour, the coming storm was forgotten; but within half an hour the rain came down in such torrents as I have seldom witnessed, and, in the midst of cold, wet, and misery, they spent the night upon the ground. Some fractures in the oilskin covering made it necessary to put my umbrella again in requisition as a canopy, and until my bed got drenched by the rain coming through the sides of the tent, I slept as soundly as if I had been on a bed of down. Next day (February 1st) it rained continuously, and all the hills around were white with snow; so travelling being out of the question, it was devoted to letter writing and to my journal."—p. 156.

It is Dr. Stewart's opinion that Mount Sinai is represented by Mount Serbal, which lies considerably to the north west of Ghebel Mousa, to which that honour is generally assigned: it is also much nearer to the Red Sea. A second opinion of his, and one to which we assign much importance, is, that the inscriptions in the Wadi Mokatteb, or the "Written Valley," were made by permanent residents in the land, and most likely by the Amalekites. He therefore rejects the theory which assigns them to the Israelites, equally with that which ascribes them to the early Christian pilgrims. To us it has always seemed fatal to the latter notion, that not only are the inscriptions in a character utterly unknown, but those which occur on the mountains which claim to be Sinai are few compared with what are to be found in the valley.

The stay of our author at Jerusalem extended over a month, and what he saw and what he thought will be found to include much that is novel in its character. The day of mere topographical descriptions of Jerusalem as it is are over, and the learned are far more occupied with discussions upon the facts already brought together, in order, if possible to understand more clearly what Jerusalem was in ancient days.

We regret that our space will not allow us to extend our notice of this deeply interesting book.

Life of John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D.
Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons. 1857. 18mo. pp. 444.

A DEMAND having been made for a cheaper and more popular narrative of the life of Dr. Kitto, the task has been most ably discharged by Dr. Eadie in the volume we now introduce to our readers. We cannot

doubt that this work will attain to a very large circulation; for we know no book more likely to prove interesting to the large mass of readers.

Dr. Eadie thus unfolds his plan:—

“We come into no invidious comparison with Mr. Ryland’s full and excellent Memoirs, the form and object of our labours being so different in their nature and design. Mr. Ryland’s selections and unpublished transcriptions from Dr. Kitto’s Letters and Journals, have saved us much trouble and time, and we accord him our hearty thanks. It will be seen, however, that we have not only made an independent use of such papers as our predecessor has employed, but have added, from other sources, numerous new incidents, extracts, and illustrations of character. The whole of Dr. Kitto’s manuscripts were confided to us by his family, at whose request and that of the publishers of the previous Memoirs, this work was undertaken. We were also kindly favoured with the use of numerous parcels of letters, which have been preserved by the various friends to whom they had been originally addressed. Our object has been to tell the story, develop the moral, and recount and estimate the labours of Dr. Kitto’s life, within a brief compass; and if we have not wholly failed, the book will be found to be one, not only of interest in the strange vicissitudes which it pictures, but one also of profit in the impressive teachings with which it is so signally fraught.”

The following particulars respecting *The Journal of Sacred Literature* we feel it our duty to record in the pages of the work which he originated and carried on with so much anxiety.

“At this period he projected *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. His object was noble, but the circulation never repaid him for toil and effort. The prospectus was of considerable size, and embraced a great variety of topics. The editor represents that there are many excellent religious periodicals, and much valuable matter locked up in them, but they are little read, save by adherents of the ecclesiastical bodies to which they belong as organs. Very much is more than equally lost in languages which few general readers know, and not many scholars understand. His inference is, that there is therefore an undoubted want of ‘a publication which, being established on a wider basis, should not be regarded as the organ of any one religious denomination, or of any one country; but should be the means of enabling different denominations and different countries to impart to one another whatever they know, which is likely to advance the general interests of biblical literature.’ There is truth in this statement, but much is taken for granted. Denominational predilections, though certainly weaker in this branch of sacred literature than any other, are not wholly without antagonistic influence. The editor adds:—‘It will also appear that the current theological literature of this country, and especially its religious periodical literature, is too exclusively formed out of materials arising among ourselves, and in our own language. We have the apostolical assurance that “they who measure themselves by themselves, and compare themselves among themselves, are not wise;” and yet, for nearly two hundred years, we have done little else. There were of old “giants” of biblical literature in our land, who, in their lifetime kept up a profitable intercourse with the scholars of the Continent, and whose names are even now cited with respect by eminent foreign writers, who have but little acquaintance with our more modern labours in sacred literature. We therefore want a publication which shall keep us acquainted with all that is sound and valuable in the labours of biblical scholars of the European Continent and of North America, and in whose pages such of them as now live may interchange the results of their researches with our own writers.

“All these wants, and more than these, it is the object of the present publication to satisfy; and those who are apt to discern “the signs of the times,” are strongly sensible that the time is come in which the demand for such a work is most urgent, and in which it may, with the greatest advantage, be produced.

"The editor was induced to think of this publication by the frequent representations to the above effect, which he has been in the habit of receiving from various quarters; and already the private notification of his intention to venture on the undertaking has excited much interest both in this country and abroad. It is only, indeed, in consequence of the extensive literary co-operation which he was enabled to organize for the purposes of another publication (the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*), that he has been induced to think seriously of this work in the form which it bears in the present prospectus: but with the like, and even more extensive co-operation, applicable to the existing undertaking, he finds no reason to distrust his means of producing a publication adequate to the supply of the wants which have been indicated."

"Nobody will question Dr. Kitto's desire to promote biblical scholarship, but he regarded the working of the machine as too easy a matter. He forgot that many persons had not his promptitude in pouring forth the ripened results of their research and judgment; that it is one thing to induce a scholar to write an article for the *Cyclopædia*—a work of permanent value—and quite another thing to prevail upon him to send an elaborate contribution to a periodical, the interest of which too often passes away with the current number. The conspectus, as first published, embraces a wide range—Original Essays on Biblical History, Geography, Natural History, Antiquities, Biography, Biblical Bibliography, with Reviews, Notices and Quarterly Lists of New Publications, Expository Passages, Philological Essays, Ecclesiastical History, Translations and Reprints, Oriental Literature, Correspondence, and Intelligence. Dr. Kitto thought that his previous success secured a basis of prosperity to his new undertaking. 'Every writer,' he tells us, 'does, in the course of time, gather around him a public who understand him better, and sympathize with him more than the rest of the world. Such a public, consisting chiefly of the possessors of his former publications, the editor of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* may venture to suppose that he, after many long years of well-accepted labour, has brought around him; and though the present publication is of much wider range than any of his former productions, singly taken, and a proportionate increase of readers may be expected for it, he naturally looks to his old friends as the chief and most earnest supporters of an undertaking, to which the matured plans and the most cherished hopes of usefulness are irrevocably committed, and in connection with which he has assumed responsibilities more anxious than he ever before ventured to incur.'

"Dr. Kitto, in forming such an estimate, evidently forgot to distinguish between scientific and popular literature. Thousands of the readers of the *Pictorial Bible*, who were delighted and benefitted with the work, set no value whatever on biblical criticism or Oriental literature; and many of those who purchased the *Cyclopædia*, did so because, from its compact form and its learned treasures, it could be easily and profitably consulted. When they opened it, they could turn at once to the article they wanted. Whereas, in subscribing for a periodical, they did not know what they might get to read, or what peculiar subjects or texts might be handled. The notes of the *Pictorial Bible*, if scattered through the volumes of a quarterly Review, would never have attracted hosts of readers—their charm lay in being so compendious, and in being found so readily in connexion with the text of the Sacred Volume.

"Dr. Kitto sadly miscalculated when he thought of finding so large a circle of subscribers to his Journal. The very prospectus warned away hundreds who had rejoiced in his previous labours, and who might wish him success in a path in which they had neither inclination nor ability to follow him. Yet who cannot sympathize with the editor when he thus winds up his address?—'If it tends to advance the glory of God by promoting the better understanding of his word and his ways, if it contributes in any useful degree to the advancement of sacred literature in this country, and if, by the sympathies of common labour, and by the development of common interests, it becomes a uniting tie among all those to whom those objects are dear, then may God bestow his blessing upon it, that it may prosper; but if it does none of these things, it is useless, it is not wanted: let it perish.' The objects sought are noble, and it will be a happy day for the various churches when they can be reached: when sanctified scholarship shall have lost all sectarian bias; and when

ministers of the Gospel shall seek their mental nutriment in biblical science, and be active in its advancement. At present, however, a Review, if it maintain its scientific character, must address itself to a select circle even of clerical readers, and can rarely have a large and compensating circulation. A better period is commencing, and erudition is rising above denominational influence, and assuming a true catholicism both in commentaries and in the higher forms of periodical literature. Still it must be admitted, that while a religious journal, in order to succeed, must have its party to appeal to and fall back upon for support, Dr. Kitto failed, for other reasons, to realize his own purpose. In his delicacy towards his allies, no small amount of inferior matter was introduced by him, and contributions were subjected to no rigid scrutiny, either as to sentiment or erudition. What may be a very instructive paper for a popular magazine, may be wholly out of place in a journal of biblical science. It should be explained, however, that Dr. Kitto felt fettered in rejecting or altering articles, from being almost solely dependent on the voluntary assistance of his friends, the profits of the publication not admitting of the usual honorarium. In his letters to Mr. Blackader, publisher of the second series of the Journal, and one who, from his literary and biblical tastes and acquirements, ably seconded the exertions of the editor, he alludes now and again to his being so hampered by the want of funds, that only a very few of his contributors received any pecuniary recognition. His hope was, that his 'friends would aid him for the sake of the good cause till better times came round. This has been the answer of some who have stood by me in all my struggles, but it is not to be expected from all.' His heart, however, was set upon his Journal, and he laboured anxiously for it. His notes to the publisher shew his continuous anxiety about all points connected with it—advertisements as well as papers, postages as well as contributions. He strove to offend nobody in any way, and was sadly perplexed on falling into a dilemma, either when some one complained of delay in the insertion of an article, or a book was sent him with a request or virtual stipulation that the critique might be favourable, or two of his friends happened to forward a contribution on the same subject, or wished to review the same volume. There seemed to be a nervousness in all this business, quite unlike his usual firmness and composure. But the Journal, neither in its first nor second series, came up to his own idea; and, though it improved in several aspects, it never took that high place which his name and fame were expected to give it. The first number appeared on the first of January, 1848; and, after anxiously watching over it for several years, till eleven volumes had been printed, he was obliged to give it up. But he made some stipulations as to its future character. Though sorrowing to take leave of it, he wished it still to retain its original impress, and thus wrote:—'I have secured effectual guarantees that it shall be always conducted on the essential principles on which it was founded—that it shall retain its comprehensive and catholic character—that it shall be orthodox—and that it shall not be sectarian.' It did not at first 'pay print and paper.' 'I hope the best,' he wrote to Mr. Tracy. . . . 'I have little misgivings,—less now, indeed, than ever;' but this was in November, 1847. 'The Journal is getting up nearly to one thousand copies,' writes he to the same friend in March, 1848. What disappointment he must have felt! His plan had not succeeded; his anticipations were blasted. He should have begun with a large reserve fund, which might have been easily raised for the purpose, and not involved his own means and the bread of his family in the undertaking. Other and onerous duties pressed upon him, his health had also given way, and in 1853 he reluctantly handed over the Journal to Dr. Burgess, its present able and indefatigable editor."

Reasons for holding fast the Authorized English Version of the Bible.

By the Rev. ALEXANDER M'CAUL, D.D., Rector of St. Magnus, St. Margaret, and St. Michael, London Bridge, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1857, 8vo. pp. 51.

Bible Revision and Translation. An Argument for holding fast what we have. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E., Minister

of the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden.
London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 8vo. pp. 60.

THE titles of these books are nearly the same, the object proposed is the same, and some of the arguments identical. The latter pamphlet was published first, but the subject was not so discussed as to make Dr. M'Caul's unnecessary, or in a manner which he was likely to imitate or approve. By this time, the public is familiar with the requirements of the revisionists on the one hand, and the objections to the changes proposed on the other. If any of our readers are not familiar with these he will find them stated; the former candidly, the latter clearly and forcibly, by Dr. M'Caul. The objections to the divisions into chapters and verses are, we think, satisfactorily met. In reply to the assertion that these divisions were made haphazard with a view to the use of concordances, Dr. M'Caul shews, that, in general, the division into verses manifests care, deep study of the text, a desire to mark the author's sense, and a deliberate effort to present it intelligibly to the reader. He gives also historic evidence to prove that these divisions are really of considerable antiquity. The hebraisms objected to could not be removed without serious detriment to the version. The alleged want of uniformity is defended on philological grounds, and the words said to be obsolete could not be systematically changed without, on the same principle, modernizing the whole.

With regard to the "new translations" proposed, they are shewn to be in general either "needless" or "uncertain," or decidedly "objectionable." The last reason which may be urged for holding fast the authorized version is, that the advocates for revision propose not only to change our existing translations but also the adoption of some improved text of the originals. We think that all who are acquainted with the present state of biblical criticism will agree with Dr. M'Caul that this at present presents an insuperable difficulty. He does not deny the desirableness of approaching, as nearly as may be to perfection, both as to the text and the version. Let the work of biblical criticism and the study of the originals proceed. Let the three societies now engaged in the revision of our English Bible publish, independently, the results of their labours. The whole church, and the people of England will, as is their undoubted right, have the opportunity of judging deliberately of what is proposed instead of their authorized and national Bible.

Dr. Cumming has mixed up with his arguments, on this subject, so much that is extravagant, has shown himself so widely out of his latitude, that he really has chiefly proved his own incompetency. It was a great mistake for one who stands so high in esteem, with a part of the public, for other reasons than his learning, to come forth in an oracular tone with *dicta* on critical subjects. On the subject of the Textus Receptus, he tells us, "We are absolutely sure that we have the *ipsissima verba*—the very exact words—that Matthew, and John, and Peter, and Paul wrote and left behind them;" but he does not tell us

where. He tells us, there are about 700 MSS.; these we can compare one with another, and in case of anything interpolated, or altered, or omitted in one, we have 600 and upwards to bring against it. He ventures to say that out of 10,000 of the various readings, 9999 are about letters, particles, *points*, *crosses*, such as *daβid* for *dauid*, i.e., there are only about five out of 50,000 variations which are not of this sort. Nay, he ventures to assert that there are in our hands the elements of a conclusion that this is God's book, uncorrupted, unmutated, uninjured, as thorough and complete as if an angel were to come down from heaven and dictate it, or as if God had written it with stars for letters in the blue firmament above us. This is throughout the style in which Dr. Cumming talks on the subject; and if the matter were not somewhat too grave for amusement, we might refer our readers to this pamphlet for a considerable amount of it. Dr. Cumming has decidedly put himself *hors de combat* in this controversy by coming to the front ranks in armour and with weapons that he has not "proved."

A Letter on the Subject of Natural Philosophy as a part of Clerical Education. Contributed to the *British Magazine*, February, 1844, by the late JOHN FREDERIC DANIELL, D.C.L., For. Sec. R.S., Professor of Chemistry in King's College, London, etc., etc. Corrected from the Author's MS., and edited by C. A. SWAINSON, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, and Prebendary of Chichester, Hulsean Lecturer. London: Rivingtons. 1857. 8vo. pp. xiii., 43.

WE fear that the partiality of friendship, on the part of Mr. Swainson, has given to this letter of the late Professor Daniell undue importance. Though in perusing it we cannot but be impressed with the earnest attitude of the Professor's mind, we cannot feel that either the tone or the philosophy of it are worthy of his reputation. It seems as though the author had been vexed, and roused to "something like indignation," by the follies of one or two very foolish opponents of natural science, and was prompted, in an anonymous contribution to the *British Magazine*, to make charges of ignorance and prejudice on the part of non-scientific men, much too widely, and in a somewhat unkindly tone. We quite agree with the Professor and with Mr. Swainson, that no theologian should be ignorant of physical science, and we do not believe that many reading men of the present day are so. But we are convinced that there could not be a more dangerous error than to make the study of physical science a considerable part of the staple of a university course in clerical education. The subjects essentially connected with theology are themselves, both in difficulty and in range, far beyond the present educational means of our universities; and they are of a kind which are in themselves less attractive till their difficulties are mastered, than most others, and require to be more, rather than less, encouraged by university stimulus. What

chance would most of these difficult subjects have with those pursuits which so commonly carry away, with enthusiasm, those who enter deeply into them? especially if the latter were to be adorned by university honours. We believe, in fact, that the conviction is increasingly strong on the part of those who best know what the requirements of our clergy are, that more of what is commonly called "learning,"—a deeper acquaintance with the sacred languages, and with all those subjects which class with the moral sciences, is earnestly to be desired for our rising clergy. The want of this has far too much obliged them to go to foreign schools for almost all their professional appliances, and left them, helplessly, to the mercy or the freaks of speculation. It is we believe increasingly felt, at least in reference to one of our universities, that if anything in the present system is to give way, it must be a portion of the preference which has, in fact, already been given to physical science, in high encouragement given to mathematics and its applications. If Mr. Swainson, as principal of a theological college, is prepared, as Professor Daniell suggests, to substitute for things which are essential to the clerical profession, "Sublime speculations emanating from minds drilled in the severe school of applied mathematics,"—and which, we remark, require such drilling to appreciate them: he will, we fear, leave but a small margin for those Divine Oracles which make a man wise unto salvation. It is not at college, it is not at a university, it is not during the period of *education*, that the things which Professor Daniell advocates ought to be seriously entered upon. They may, and perhaps ought in different degrees, to be undertaken after a man has been *prepared, by a sound university training*, for entering successfully upon any study which may seem most important.

Educational Difficulties; How are they to be met? By CHARLES GREENALL DAVIES, M.A., Oxon, Vicar of Tewkesbury, Honorary Canon of Gloucester, and Rural Dean. London: Hatchard. 1857. 8vo. pp. 49.

WE recommend this pamphlet to the earnest attention of all who are, or ought to be, interested in the subject of popular education. It is one step towards the removal of difficulties to know clearly and fully what they are; and on this part of the subject Mr. Davies's statements are clear and convincing. He sets out by declaring his conviction that unless education be religious as well as secular it is more likely to result in mischief than in real good. The problem then is to devise a well-organized system of combined religious and secular instruction, adapted to the wants of all sects and classes of our labouring population. As yet we have, in fact, no such thing as national education. The machinery which Government has at length devised, costly and valuable as it is, has not been brought to bear on the masses of those among whom the need is greatest. This Mr. Davies shews by extracts from the detailed statement of annual grants made to schools in the

chief counties of England. It thus appears that in the case of a vast proportion of the rural population no aid is given.

The first thing to be done is to ascertain by some such method as has been proposed in parliament the nature and extent of the evil. This being understood, there will remain three difficulties,—the financial, the religious difficulties, and that of bringing and keeping young people under instruction.

It appears that the majority of the English people, the well-off, and the fairly-off, never contribute a sixpence, except perhaps once a year at a collection, for this object. In rural districts, where the need is most urgent, the squire may do something, but the clergyman incomparably more; the farmers so little, and often so grudgingly, that it is scarcely worth collecting. "Nor is it far otherwise with the great majority of dwellers in towns and manufacturing districts. They too give little encouragement, pecuniary or personally, to elementary education."

We agree with Mr. Davies, in thinking that the "religious difficulty" has been overrated. "It is a difficulty chiefly with those who write or legislate on the subject. In practice the difficulty is generally slight. It is rarely that children are kept from school on religious grounds, but for widely different reasons, and in the rural districts this difficulty scarcely exists at all. The third it appears is a growing evil, and one which it is most difficult to obviate,—that of retaining children at school beyond the age of mere infancy. "The fact is certain that there may be schools, and good schools, and yet the children do not come, or they remain so short a time that their receiving anything like education is impossible.

We can only state, in Mr. Davies's own words, his *syllabus* of suggestions for meeting these difficulties :—

"A compulsory rate should be established in every parish in England; and, in order that religion—the hope and the strength of life, and the only source of morality—may be really taught to the England of the next generation, these funds ought to be distributed among schools attached to the various denominations of Christians, either according to their number, or according to the amount of means raised by each.

"And finally, with a view to make these means available towards the better education of those children who *are* sent to school, the factory act should be extended, and applied to every kind of employment; and in addition to certificates of merit, prizes should be given, school fees should be remitted in the cases of elder children, and school libraries should be established; these expenses to be defrayed by voluntary contributions."

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the original Greek: with Notes, by CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. Part II. The Acts of the Apostles. London: Rivingtons. 1857. Small folio. pp. 172.

As this edition of the Greek Testament involves principles both of criticism and interpretation of the greatest importance, we intend to

give it a full discussion in this Journal when it is further advanced. In the meantime we apprise our readers of the appearance of the separate parts, and furnish a general idea of their contents. In this portion, the Introduction occupies forty-eight pages, comprising a full examination of the place intended to be held by the Acts in the history and economy of the Church; a chronological synopsis of its events; an account of the Uncial MSS. containing the Acts of the Apostles; a list of editions; a list of authors cited in the work. Dr. Wordsworth has, in this portion, relinquished the plan adopted in the Gospels, of giving notes upon notes in the commentary, and we think he has studied clearness of style, and the advantage of the reader, by doing so. In the Introduction, the author of course adopts the same principles of exegesis as in the Gospels, the same high views of inspiration, and the same deference to antiquity. We are disposed to think that he finds more reasons for the peculiarities of the Acts than are sustainable. Nothing is easier than to ascribe *à priori* motives and ends to the Divine Mind, as accounting for the phenomena of Holy Scripture; but while it is our duty to do so, nothing demands more discretion, a more frequent checking of our fancy and withholding of our pen. For our own part, our ideas of the full authority of the Acts, as an inspired book, rest quite as firmly on the supposition that St. Luke did not fully carry out his original design, as on the theory that he had special reasons for leaving his work, as it appears to us, unfinished. We will quote a small portion of the Introduction, containing a summary of many proofs and arguments :—

“The plan then of this divine book is to enlarge our view of Christ’s ministry; to prevent us from *confining* it to his *brief bodily sojourn on earth*; to reveal to us Christ sitting in heaven, not like one of the deities of the heathen world, indifferent to human affairs, nor controlled by a fatal destiny, nor sharing his power with rival deities; but enthroned King of kings and Lord of lords, and ever ruling all things by his word, for the advancement of his Gospel and the establishment of his kingdom, till at length he will put all things under his feet, and God will be all in all. Here is a magnificent subject, worthy the pen of an inspired evangelist. The Acts of the Apostles, as thus viewed, is a divine Epinicionium, or Song of Victory, on the triumphant exaltation of Christ. It is an evangelical fulfilment of those holy Psalms, the 45th and 68th, ‘Thou art gone up on high, thou hast led captivity captive.’ ‘Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty.’ ‘Ride on, because of the word of truth, of meekness, and righteousness. Thy seat, O God, endureth for ever.’

“And in regard to Christ’s tender love for the Church, his Bride, it may be called a sacred Epithalamium, in which is celebrated his tenderness for her, whom he has ‘purchased with his own blood,’ and has delivered from heathen bondage, and has brought near to himself, and advanced to his own right hand, and made her partner of his glory. Here, in this divine book, which describes the espousals of the Gentile Church to Christ, we may behold the prophetic picture displayed to the eye of the world in the fulness of historical truth: ‘Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours. Hearken, O daughter, and consider; incline thine ear: forget also thine own people and thy father’s house. So shall the king have pleasure in thy beauty, for he is thy Lord God, and worship thou him.’ Hence we may derive the assurance that ‘no weapon formed against her shall prosper.’ The powers of this world may persecute and oppress her, the spirits of darkness may be leagued against her, but he who ascended into heaven, and reigns in majesty on high, works in her and by her. He is in the midst of her, therefore

shall she not be removed; he shall help her, and that right early. He is her hope and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof rage and swell, and the mountains shake at the tempest of the same; the rivers of the flood thereof shall make glad the city of God. The Lord of Hosts is with her; the God of Jacob is her refuge."

The Song of Songs: translated from the original Hebrew, with a commentary, historical and critical. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG. London: Longmans. 1857. 8vo. pp. 200.

WE do not think we shall be charged with exaggeration in saying that this is by far the most learned and complete work on the Canticles which has yet appeared in our own country. It may be divided into two parts: the history of the literature of the Song of Solomon, which is very copiously given; and the exegesis of it, including the translation and notes, and the theory of the author as to the design of this portion of Holy Scripture. The latter, which is not original, is stated to be, the recording an example of virtue in a young woman who encountered and conquered the greatest temptations, and was eventually rewarded. This may seem to be a very inferior account of the matter to those who have looked upon the Canticles as an inexhaustible storehouse of materials for a mystical spiritualizing; but its literality and simplicity will be strong recommendations to prudent biblical students. Allegorizing and mystifying the Word of God has done immense mischief, and brought sacred learning into contempt when this side of it only is viewed by the observer, and we are glad when what is plain and simple can be made, on sound principles, to take the place of the fanciful suggestions of men of warm imaginations. We do not commit ourselves to an approval of Mr. Ginsburg's theory, but think that it has far better grounds to rest upon than most of those which have been propounded.

The historical sketch of the exegesis of the book occupies above eighty pages, nearly half of the volume, and is very complete and satisfactory. It begins with the traces of interpretation found in the Septuagint and Josephus, passes through the various and curious opinions of the Jewish commentators, and ends with the last manifestation on the subject by Umbreit, just published. Umbreit's view is the same as that of our author, that the poem is a celebration of virtuous love over the allurements of royalty. The conclusion the author arrives at after this long review is worthy of general attention:—

"How mournful is the thought which irresistibly forces itself upon the mind, in reviewing this imperfect sketch of what has befallen this poem! This book, we have seen, is made to describe the most contradictory things. It contains the wanderings of the Jews, how they will ultimately 'fill their stomachs with the flesh of the Leviathan and the best of wines preserved in grapes,' and is the sanctum sanctorum of all Christian mysteries. It is denounced as a love song, and extolled as declaring the incarnation of Christ; it speaks of the meridian church in Africa, and of the betrayal of the Saviour; it contains a treatise on the doctrine of free grace against Pelagianism, and an Aristotelian disquisition upon the functions of the active and pas-

sive mind; it is an apocalyptic vision, a duplicate of the Revelations of St. John, and records the scholastic mysticisms of the middle ages; it denounces Arianism, and describes the glories of the Virgin Mary; it 'treats of man's reconciliation unto God and peace by Jesus Christ, with joy in the Holy Ghost,' and teaches lewdness, and corrupts the morals; it records the conversation of Solomon and Wisdom, and describes the tomb of Christ in Egyptian hieroglyphics; it celebrates the nuptials of Solomon, and gives us a compendium of ecclesiastical history to the second advent of Christ; it records the restoration of a Jewish constitution by Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and the mysteries of marriage; it advocates monogamy, and encourages polygamy; it assists devotion, and excites carnal passions. What a solemn lesson we have here, never to depart from the simple meaning of the word of God!"

We must find room for a specimen of the arrangement and translation given by Mr. Guisburg:—

"SECTION II.

"Chapter ii. 8—iii. 5.

"Here we have a second scene, which is also in the royal tent. The speakers are the Shulamite and the court ladies. The Shulamite, to account for the severity of her brothers, mentioned in ii. 6, relates that her beloved shepherd came one charming morning in the spring to invite her to the fields (8—14); that her brothers, in order to prevent her from going, gave her employment in the gardens (15); that she consoled herself with the assurance that her beloved, though separated from her at that time, would come again in the evening (16, 17); that seeing he did not come, she, under difficult circumstances, ventured to seek him, and found him (iii. 1—4). Having narrated these events, and reiterated her ardent affection for her beloved, she concludes as before, by adjuring the court ladies not to persuade her to change her love.

"THE SHULAMITE.

- "8. Hark! my beloved!
Lo, he came
Leaping over the mountains,
Bounding over the hills.
- "9. My beloved was like a gazelle,
Or the young one of a hind.
Lo! there he stood behind our wall,
He looked through the window,
He glanced through the lattice.
- "10. My beloved spake, he spake to me,
'Arise, my fair one, and come!
- "11. For lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over, is gone.
- "12. The flowers appear upon the fields,
The time of singing is come,
The cooing of the turtle-dove is heard in our land.
- "13. The fig-tree sweetens her green figs,
The vines blossom,
They diffuse fragrance;
Arise, my love, my fair one, and come!
- "14. My dove in the clefts of the rock,
In the hiding-place of the cliff,
Let me see thy countenance,
Let me hear thy voice,
For sweet is thy voice,
And thy countenance lovely.'

"THE BROTHERS OF THE SHULAMITE.

- "15. Catch us the foxes, the little foxes

Which destroy the vineyards,
For our vineyards are in bloom.

"THE SHULAMITE.

- "16. My beloved is mine, and I am his,
His who feeds his flock among the lilies.
- "17. When the day cools,
And the shadows flee away,
Return, haste, O my beloved,
Like the gazelle, or the young one of the hind,
Over the mountains of separation."
- "Chap. iii. 1. When on my nightly couch
I still sought him whom my soul loveth ;
I sought him, but found him not.
- "2. I must arise now and go about the city,
In the streets and in the squares ;
I must seek him whom my soul loveth :
I sought him, but I found him not.
- "3. The watchmen who patrol the city found me :
'Have you seen him whom my soul loveth ?'
- "4. Scarcely had I passed them,
When I found him whom my soul loveth ;
I seized him and would not let him go
Till I brought him to the house of my mother,
Into the apartment of her who gave me birth.
- "5. I adjure you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem,
By the gazelles or the hinds of the field,
Neither to excite nor to incite my affection
Till it wishes another love."

Facts, Statements, and Explanations, connected with the publication of the Second Volume of the Tenth Edition of Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, entitled "The Text of the Old Testament considered," etc., etc. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. London : Longmans. 1857. 8vo. pp. 124.

WE have already expressed our opinion on the whole subject of Dr. Davidson and Horne's Introduction. Dr. Davidson quotes, in his pamphlet, a sentence from this journal in January last, the meaning of which cannot be mistaken.—"The way in which the *Record* has treated Dr. Davidson, and is treating all who cannot indorse its ignorant and bigoted views, is *barbarous* ;—not only unworthy of a Christian, but disgraceful to a free country." To this opinion we adhere ; indeed it has been confirmed by much that has passed since the sentence was written, both among Churchmen and Nonconformists. We will yield to none in a sincere desire to maintain genuine orthodoxy, but we are not disposed to include, under that name, the extreme and unwarranted demands of a modern theology. There are two latitudinarian sides to be avoided—that of neology, and that of ignorant assumption under the guise of a zeal for the truth of the Holy Scripture. We cannot say that Dr. Davidson has *quite* avoided the former, but we feel quite sure that the positions he has taken up are far less dangerous than those of his antagonists. It *used* to be the boast of Dissent that it

knew how to combine a thorough belief in inspiration with a free and liberal exegesis; but it seems that now times and opinions are altered, and a scholar must pronounce a certain shibboleth or be treated as only one degree better than an infidel. It is the glory of the Church of England that she admits and defends a thoughtful and deductive interpretation; but it must be confessed that the number of those within her pale who prefer darkness to light in all matters of Biblical research is much increasing.

We think Dr. Davidson has established clearly these two points. *First*, that he acted openly and honourably in his transactions with Messrs. Longman, Dr. Tregelles, and Mr. Hartwell Horne, in his connexion with the "Introduction." *Secondly*, that while some of his opinions are in advance of the average of Biblical scholarship, they are not a whit, on the whole, more objectionable than those which are put forth by Mr. Horne himself, and by many divines of repute and orthodoxy in the Church of England and among Nonconformists. The whole pamphlet will repay perusal, especially the *Catena on Inspiration* which is given in it. Some remarks at the close we are glad to transfer to our pages, but in doing so we must express our conviction that had not Dr. Davidson aroused warm feelings in others by the frequent severity and injustice of his own criticisms, he would probably have been less harshly used in the matter to which this pamphlet refers.

"True piety will sit at the feet of sacred science, content to learn, if it would know anything on certain subjects; and he is but a mischief-maker who would attempt to pour bile into its simple heart, for the purpose of overawing the critical student. Religion has much to fear from appeals to popular ignorance, that disgrace all the upright and the manly in its nature. How eager are some to fasten the *odium theologicum* upon any one who does not agree with every little point of their own creed! How readily do they listen to suspicions of their brethren's departure from a vague standard of so-called orthodoxy! How zealously do they circulate reports about others which they may not know to be true! How little jealousy do they feel for the reputation of Christians who strive to exert an influence for good upon the cultivated mind of the age! How prone are they to pronounce authoritatively on subjects they have not studied! Of all this I have had ample experience since the issue of my book. If any of my works was a labour of faith and love, it was this; for I felt all along that I was dealing with God's truth, and trying to understand its bearings. Thinking that I was not unprofitably engaged, I earnestly sought to explain the old Hebrew books in the best way, and with the best intentions, as far as my one talent allowed. As soon, however, as the volume issued from the press, it was greeted with the old cry of *the truth is in danger*. Misrepresentation, falsehood, calumny, were all employed against it; and that, too, by men who wrote under the guise of holy feeling and zeal for the faith. The work was condemned even before it was read. Is this the method of commending divine revelation to the acceptance of the world? I believe not. There is a charity which thinketh no evil, and yet rejoiceth in the truth. Such charity I pray that I may ever have. Be it mine to avoid the noise and strife of theological contention; to be tender of the Christian reputation of others; to live and speak the truth rather than to cry heresy; to write nothing anonymously, but to be open, fair, honest, transparent. The professed defenders of the Bible need not have recourse to unholy and carnal weapons, nor pander to the passions of the populace. They have no real cause for bowing to the shrine of current opinion because it is supposed to be safe. It is an ignoble thing for them to covet popularity by hunting down what the many are supposed to dislike. Not for my own sake, but for that of the true Church of Christ, do I

lament the growing suspicion of any publication connected with the Bible which deviates in the least from a stereotyped phraseology; and the unreasoning clamour indulged in by the ignorant against right-hearted divines. Oh! when will Christian men learn to eschew the language of intolerance, and to avoid vituperation? When will they learn that the noise of bigotry, the cry of heresy-hunting, the assumption of infallibility, the arrogance of a shallow knowledge, are no parts of the divine armour which the humble Christian receives from heaven; but that the wisdom which cometh from above is pure, peaceful, gentle?"

Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs. Im Anschluss an Ph. Buttmanns Griechische Grammatik. Bearbeitet von ALEX. BUTTMANN. Erste Abtheilung, *Formenlehre*. Berlin. 1857. 8vo. pp. 68. ("Grammar of the New Testament Idiom. As an Appendix to Ph. Buttmann's Greek Grammar. By ALEX. BUTTMANN. Part I. Grammatical Forms.")

FROM the fundamental way in which the first and elementary portion of this work is accomplished, we may hope well to Biblical exegesis from its completion. We hope the work will be translated into English, as there is nothing in sacred literature which requires so much attention as the peculiarities of the Grammar and diction of the writers of the New Testament.

Joannes Bischof von Ephesos, der erste Syrische Kirchenhistoriker. Einleitende Studien von J. P. N. LAND. Mit einer Tafel. Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1856. 8vo. pp. xii., 200. ("John, Bishop of Ephesus, the first Syriac Church-historian. An introductory Study by J. P. N. LAND. With a map.")

REMAINS of this writer, in Syriac, as existing in the British Museum, have already been printed at the Oxford University Press, under the editorship of Mr. Cureton, and have been before brought under the notice of our readers. The present writer gives much research to ascertain the particulars respecting John of Ephesus, which have not been very satisfactory. This little work will be of use to the students of Syriac, but especially to those who investigate recondite points in Church history.

Letters of John Calvin. Compiled from the original Manuscripts, and edited, with historical Notes, by Dr. JULES BONNET. Vol. II. Translated from the original Latin and French. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1857. 8vo. pp. 450.

THIS portion of the Letters of Calvin extends from 1545 to 1553. The documents here given are of increasing interest, referring as they do to Calvin's active life at Geneva, and his influence with foreign courts. Some important particulars are furnished respecting the burning of Servetus.

1. *A Catalogue of Theology in Foreign Languages, amongst which will be found the Sacred Writings ; Bible Plates ; Bibliography ; Canon Law and Church Discipline ; Councils, Synods, and Confessions of Faith ; Fathers ; Doctors of the Church and Schoolmen ; Ecclesiastical Writers, Historians, and Scotists and Thomists ; Monastic History, both ancient and modern, including an extensive assemblage of books relating to the Society of Jesus,—and Liturgical Writings of all Nations, illustrative of the Doctrines, Rites, and Ceremonies of each ; Commentaries and Expositions of the Bible, from the earliest period to the present time. Rich in the writings of the Reformers and of the best Roman Catholic Divines, and in the productions of the Rationalists, the Pietists, and "Old Lutherans" of Germany ; together with the Rabbinical Commentaries of the Jewish Fathers, and Hebrew and Syriac Literature connected with Holy Writ ; the whole so arranged and illustrated with original Notes, biographical, critical, and analytical, as to form a companion to the "Manuel du Libraire" of M. Brunet, from which theology is nearly excluded, and an important addition to the bibliographical portion of Mr. Horne's "Introduction," supplying information on many points which the author's plan excluded from the pages of his work. London : D. Nutt. 1857. 8vo. pp. 712.*
2. *Catalogue of the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By GEORGE BULLEN, of the British Museum. London : Sold at the Society's House, Blackfriars. Large 8vo. pp. 333.*

It will be sufficient to give the titles of these two valuable additions to bibliography. The catalogue of Mr. Nutt is a very important work, and will be of great use to students of sacred literature.

Blackader's English Bible. Part XII. The Acts. London : Allan. 1857. Small 4to. pp. 56.

WE are glad that this edition of the Scriptures has reached so near its completion ; but the editor complains that he is greatly discouraged by the limited sale of the parts. If those of our readers who have not seen the work will purchase this part as a specimen they will serve a good cause, and, we think, be pleased with the general execution.

The Commentary wholly Biblical. Part VIII. The Paragraph Bible in separate Books—Samuel, Jeremiah and Lamentations, and St. John. London : Bagsters.

THESE serials advance steadily, and in every respect the successive parts are well executed. The brief notes, introductions, and maps, while attractive features of the Paragraph Bible, afford great aid in the attempt to understand the Scriptures.

The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia. Part IV.
Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

THE part before us has some highly interesting articles, as Beza, Bucer, Bullinger, Bible, Bible Societies, Bible Text, Bible Versions, etc. The work gains more and more of our approval as we form a closer acquaintance with it.

The Library of Biblical Literature : a Repository of Information on Geographical, Historical, etc., Knowledge in relation to the Sacred Scriptures. Vol. V. London : Freeman. 1857. 12mo. pp. 256.

THE present volume of this cheap and instructive collection of biblical tracts treats of Nehemiah and his times ; the Temple of Herod ; the Commerce of the Ancients ; Israel under the judges ; Ephesus and the Gospel ; Jewish story, from Malachi to the Maccabees ; Saul, his life and times ; the life and times of David.

History of Wesleyan Methodism. Vol. I. *Wesley and his Times.* By GEORGE SMITH, F.A.S., etc. London : Longmans. 1857. 8vo. pp. 758.

MR. SMITH is already favourably known to the world of letters by his *Sacred Annals*, *Harmony of the Divine Dispensations*, etc., etc. He is a layman ; and thus, both by his literary tastes and habits, and by his freedom from certain class prepossessions (we will not call them prejudices), may be presumed to have some of the qualifications of an historian. The history of a section of the visible Church does not come within the scope of this Journal, except so far as we may indicate its character in general terms ; and we are happy in being able to speak of this volume with commendation. In establishing a claim upon general notice the writer says :—

“ Wesleyan Methodism has for a long time stood before the world as a great and influential religious institution. Its evangelizing and conserving Christian agency at home, and its means of religious usefulness abroad, have been so great that no person can have any tolerable acquaintance with the moral and religious condition of our own country, or with that of the numerous and multitudinous offshoots from the British stock, now so widely scattered over the world, who is ignorant of the effects produced by the life and labours of John Wesley, and of the results which have arisen from the establishment of the Methodist connexion. And as fact, not theory,—practical effect, not speculative opinion,—must always be the substratum of such knowledge, the history of Wesleyan Methodism is not only a *desideratum* to general readers, but especially so to the statesman, Christian philosopher, philanthropist, and indeed to every one who desires to possess a full knowledge of the religious state and progress of the Anglo-Saxon race.”

We think Mr. Smith overrates the benefits of Methodism, but who does not think a little too highly of the sect or party to which he belongs ? But this first volume will be less open to this objection, probably, than those which are to come after it, for it is occupied by an interesting life of a very extraordinary man. No one can become

acquainted with the biography of Wesley, without being attracted by the events of his personal history, and filled with admiration at his perseverance in the pursuit of an object amidst almost overwhelming difficulties. Mr. Smith's estimate of the character of the founder of Methodism, while coloured by a very natural affection, is yet truthful and discriminating. On the whole the volume is one of no ordinary interest, and the whole work will be an important contribution to the materials of Church history.

The Comprehensive History of England, Civil and Military, Religious, Intellectual, and Social, from the earliest period to the close of the Russian War. With numerous annotations from the writings of recent distinguished historians. Edited by the Rev. THOS. THOMSON, one of the contributors to the "Pictorial History of England," author of "A History of Scotland for the use of Schools," and of the fifth volume of the "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen." Illustrated by above one thousand engravings on wood and steel. Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London: Blackie and Co. To be completed in about 30 parts. Super-royal 8vo.

Two parts of this work are in our hands, and we have read portions of them with great interest. While founded on the *Pictorial History of England*, this has features of its own which give it a strong claim to public support.

INTELLIGENCE,
BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE controversy on this subject still goes on, and, unhappily, with diminished prospect of any practical result of a general and comprehensive character. The motion of Dr. Biber has been rejected by a large majority of the Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; an event, perhaps, not to be wondered at, as that Institution is scarcely adapted for the experiment proposed, and if the resolution was set aside on that ground, the advocates of Biblical Revision need not complain; but it is to be feared that too many of the members of that Society are under the influence of those strange fears of touching our Bible, which could only be justified if that Bible consisted of the autographs of prophets and apostles. We have reprinted an article on the subject of Revision from the *Church Review*, partly because it contains some good suggestions, but also to let our readers see the tone of the conservative party in America on this subject. The labours of the *American Bible Union* have been very injurious in creating a prejudice against Biblical Revision, nor do we wonder at this when we remember the extraordinary character of some of its renderings, and the almost ludicrous mixture of sects and parties of which it is composed. But, at the same time, we regard this paper from the *Church Review* as nothing more than a good specimen of special pleading. The real question is avoided, which is, not the *retranslation* of the Bible, but such an amount of revision as will make the English Scriptures express more truly and exactly the sense of the originals. There are very many passages which *all* Christian men agree are incorrectly rendered, and on which unanimity could easily be secured; and we think it a most dangerous position which is maintained by writers like the one we are now speaking of, that no attempt is to be made to give a more faithful rendering of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures until there is no danger of sectarianism seeking its own interests in the work. This is simply deferring a necessary concession to truth and literary honesty until the Greek Calends.

Should these remarks meet the eye of the editor of the *Church Review*, we would call his attention to the negligent way in which the paper is printed. The Americans get all at sea with their pointing, and, like some of our own writers, introduce commas to mar and not assist the sense. In the copy we printed from there are neither *spiritus* nor *accents* to the Greek, and the text of Luke ii. 14 is quoted in the following almost incredibly careless way: "Δοξα εν υψιστοις Θεω, και επι γης ειρηνη ανθρωποις ευδοκίας."

Tomb of our Saviour.

20 Langham Place, Dec. 10.

In your review of the new volume of Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches" on the 1st of last month, you reproved me rather sharply for what I wrote to the *Times* with regard to his ignoring the labours of the late Mr. Catherwood.

Since that time I have looked more carefully into the matter, and find it to be much worse than I then suspected; but as his object in ignoring Catherwood seems to be principally for the sake of upsetting my theories, perhaps you will allow me a little space to explain why I do not think he has refuted these so completely as he supposes.

To make my remarks intelligible, it may be necessary to recapitulate that in 1847 I published a work, the principal argument of which was based upon the drawings of Messrs. Catherwood and Arundale, which, if they were to be depended upon, proved incontestably that the building now called the Mosque

of Omar was as certainly of the age of Constantine as Henry the Seventh's Chapel is of the age of the monarch whose name it bears; and I brought forward besides a mass of evidence, both historical and topographical, which, as far as I could then, or can now, judge, proved my whole case beyond all shadow of doubt.

This book has been pooh-poohed,^a sneered at, abused, and misrepresented,—but its arguments have never yet been grappled with; and I have been content to leave the question alone, feeling convinced that at a future day some one would arise able to appreciate the reasoning, and candid enough to admit the truth when seen. In this hope I have hitherto been disappointed, and in no instance more so than in the present.

As soon as the work was published I sent a copy to Dr. Robinson, who, in reply to my letter which accompanied it, assured me he would read it with attention, and give me a candid opinion on its merits. When I saw him afterwards on his way to the East, he personally repeated these assurances. The result is, that in his new volume he never once alludes to the main argument, but dismisses the whole work in less than half a page (see p. 263), with a sneer, and a flippant reference to two passages in two authors, which he thinks sufficient to settle the whole question as far as I am concerned.

Allow me, therefore, to explain what these two passages are. The first is from the anonymous pilgrim who, from Bordeaux, is said to have visited the Holy Land about the year 333. After describing the palace of David on Sion, he says: “Inde ut eas *foris murum* de Sione euntibus ad Portam Neapolitanam, ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit, sive palatium Pontii Pilati. A sinistra autem parte est Monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini, Basilica facta est,” etc. Dr. Robinson translates this, omitting the all-important words “*foris murum*,” outside the wall,—and assuming that the “Porta Neapolitana can only be the present Damascus Gate,” he makes the pilgrim pass through the middle of the city from the one place to the other, in which case he would have the present sepulchre on his left, and might have the house of Pilate on his right.

Taking the text, however, as it stands, the Pilgrim could not have turned to the right when he went out of the Sion gate or passed round the wall by the Citadel and the Jaffa gate; first because there is no route in that direction, and because then the sepulchre and the house of Pilate, *wherever situated*, must have been both on his right hand. On the contrary, he must have turned to his left, as any one would naturally do, and passing along the brow of Sion he would have the house of Pilate “down in the valley” on his right, where the traditions of the Middle Ages generally placed it. After this, whether he went to the Golden Gateway (which is, I believe, the one he calls Porta Neapolitana), or to the Damascus Gate, as Dr. Robinson insists, he would have had Golgotha on his left, and passed within a stone's-throw of the buildings of Constantine if they were where I have placed them; and I defy Dr. Robinson or any one else to translate the passage fairly and make sense of it, unless he adopts literally and entirely the views I have promulgated.

The other quotation from Eusebius is even more easily disposed of. It is simply this:—after describing the Tomb, the Basilica, the Court, and, lastly, the Propylæa, he says, *μεθ' ἧς ἐστὶν αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς*, which, notwithstanding the absence of any article, Dr. Robinson translates by saying that the Propylæa “extended on the east of the Basilica to the midst of the street of the market;” and goes on, begging the question, to say, “which can be referred to nothing but the present street of the Bazaars.” No published translation that

^a “An *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, with restored plans of the Temple, etc., and Plans, Sections, and Details of the Church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar, and other Illustrations. By James Fergusson, F.R.A.S. London: Weale. Imperial 8vo, pp. 200.” We think Mr. Fergusson justly complains of the neglect of this most interesting volume by Dr. Robinson, and we are happy to be able to call the attention of our readers to it.—Ed. J. S. L.

I have access to—not even the note in Valesius to which Dr. Robinson refers—and no Greek scholar I have consulted bears out this translation. The assertion in the text is simply that in front of the Propylæa was “a broad market-place.” Whether there was or not does not seem to me to be of the smallest possible consequence to the argument, but the following reasons will serve to shew what we should expect even in reasoning *a priori*, without referring to the assertion of Eusebius at all:—

1st. No Pagan Basilica in Ancient Rome was without its forum or market-place; and as the early Christian Basilicas were literal copies in every detail and arrangement of their secular prototypes, it is extremely improbable that this feature would be omitted in this instance.

2nd. The word *forum*, as we learn from Festus and Cicero, was derived from “*foris*,” an open space in front of the doors of tombs.

3rd. The most perfect tomb of that age is that which this same Constantine erected for his daughter Constantia (now the Baptistery of Sta. Agnese). It has a broad agora, or forum, in front of it, which has long been a puzzle to antiquaries, and the use of which can only be explained by this custom and by the words of Eusebius.

4th. Every place of pilgrimage in the East has such a market-place in front of its principal entrance, and so have three-fourths of the basilicas of modern Europe. Its existence in this instance, therefore, was almost a matter of course, and certainly no argument against my views can be founded on its presence.

In the same description by Eusebius another passage occurs, which Dr. Robinson passes by, though perfectly aware of its existence. It is to this effect:—“Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a New Jerusalem was constructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation. It was *opposite* this city that the Emperor began to rear a monument of Our Saviour's victory over death with rich and lavish magnificence.” This, coupled with the expression of Josephus, that “the city lay over against the Temple like a theatre,” and the known and acknowledged features of the place, should alone be sufficient to decide the case in my favour.

On the other hand, the grand argument of Dr. Robinson's book, and that on which his popularity and fame rest, is his exhaustive proof that the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre is and always was *inside* the old City of Jerusalem, and consequently could never be said to be “over against” or “opposite” to it—words which are strictly applicable to the Mosque of Omar, standing as it does over against the town. Yet all this the Doctor forgets when trying to upset an opponent, apparently imagining that no one will give himself the trouble to consult the authorities, but take his word for it that Mr. Fergusson's theories are scarcely worthy the slight allusion he condescends to bestow on them.

On some future occasion I may enter more fully into this subject; but in the mean time it cannot but be considered eminently satisfactory to me and to my “followers,” that all that an advocate so able and so deeply interested in the matter as Dr. Robinson can urge against us, is the quotation of two insignificant passages; in one of which he is obliged to omit the context, and both of which he is forced to mistranslate to make them even moderately agree with his preconceived views.

It is true that this is as much as any one else has been able to bring against my views; but while this is the case the acknowledgment of the truth cannot be far off; and unless some bolder and better-informed man than has yet appeared on the stage comes forward with some more pertinent reasoning on the subject, I feel no doubt but that in a very short time it will be generally acknowledged, that the building now called the *Mosque of Omar* is the identical church which Constantine the Great caused to be erected over the Tomb of our Saviour at Jerusalem.

JAMES FERGUSSON.—*Athenæum*.

The Roman Catacombs.—Whatever may be the degree of credit due to many

of the legends which the traveller meets with in Rome, it is surely impossible to enter these Catacombs, where the early Christians were accustomed to assemble for worship and for concealment during life, and where their bodies now rest from labour and persecution, with any other feelings than those of deep and earnest interest; or to pass lightly by the sepulchres that still contain the ashes of martyrs who bore testimony to the truth of the great principles of the faith.

The etymology of the word Catacomb it is not easy to discover; whether it is of Greek or of Latin extraction, or whether, as has been conjectured, it is a hybrid compound of both. Be that, however, as it may, the word is well established in popular speech; and having been originally applied to what is now specially known as the catacomb of St. Agnes, has long been used generally to denote the extensive system of underground passages or galleries that underlie a great portion of the Campagna di Roma.

These catacombs may be shortly described in the words of Mr. Northcote. They are—

Labyrinths of subterranean galleries crossing one another in every direction, and here and there opening into chambers more or less lofty and spacious; the whole hewn with the most exact regularity out of the living rock, whose entire walls present a series of narrow shelves, one above the other, evidently excavated to receive the ashes of the dead; and afterwards closed with facings of tile or marble, on which were inscribed the names of the persons buried within.

The combined length of these underground passages, wonderful as it really is, has from time to time been extended to utterly fabulous dimensions; and they have been represented as reaching under the surface of the Campagna from Ostia, on the one hand, to Tivoli on the other; "simply, as it appears, because both at Tivoli and at Ostia catacombs have been discovered similar to those at Rome." But as regards the catacombs ancient accounts, written while their history was better known, and considerations drawn from the natural and geological features of the country, unite in discrediting, if they do not actually disprove this extravagant supposition. Still their real extent is sufficiently wonderful. To estimate it accurately is, indeed, all but impossible. Even could the amount of surface undermined by these caverns be accurately determined, the irregular manner in which the various passages interlace and intersect each other would prevent any exact estimate of their united length. Any attempt, then, to do so must be in great measure founded on conjecture; but an approximate idea may be formed. From ancient accounts there appear to be, on different sides of Rome, about sixty catacombs bordering the fifteen great consular roads. Of these scarcely a third part has as yet been opened, and not one of them has been thoroughly examined or traced through all its windings. Certain portions have, however, been measured with care, and an accurate map of the catacomb of St. Agnes, on the Via Nomentana, was published under the direction of Father Marchi. From the data thus obtained, it has been calculated that the labyrinth of passages extends to the length of 900 miles. The whole number of graves is, as may be supposed, still more difficult to be ascertained. Their number varies in each street; the heights of the streets themselves also differ considerably, as do also the sizes of the graves, which are frequently piled with much economy of space, tier upon tier, to use a homely simile, like the berths of a ship. Add to this that the streets themselves are often interrupted by the occurrence of arched monuments or "arcosolia," of which our canopied tombs may, perhaps, be considered the modern representatives. Taking into account, however, these various elements of uncertainty, it has been calculated, generally, that these catacombs may contain 7,000,000 of graves.

After lying hid from the world in general for many centuries, and known only from ancient records, or from tradition, the catacombs were discovered towards the close of the sixteenth century, by Antonio Bosio, a Maltese by birth, an advocate by profession, who from youth had been deeply interested in Christian antiquities. He devoted his whole time and energies to the investigation. With perseverance which nothing but enthusiasm could inspire, he con-

tinued his researches amidst many difficulties, and with no inconsiderable amount of manual labour. He thus amassed a large store of materials for his great work, the "*Roma Sotteranea*;" which being unfinished at his death—he died while writing the last chapter—was afterwards published in Latin by Aringhi, during the years 1651–1659, in two immense folio volumes.

The questions—by whom were these catacombs originally formed? and for what use were they intended?—were long matters of keen and ingenious discussion. Bishop Burnet declares "that these burying-places, that are now graced with the pompous title of catacombs, are no other than the puticoli mentioned by Festus Pompeius, where the meanest sort of the Roman slaves were laid; and so, without any farther care about them, were left to rot." But this unpoetical and repulsive theory seems sufficiently refuted by the care used in the construction of the tombs, and the general character of the inscriptions. Bosio himself, and many other writers, have expressed an opinion that these caves were originally sand pits or "*arenaria*," from which was dug the earth called *pozzolana*, the basis of the popular "*Roman cement*." That such underground quarries existed in the neighbourhood is unquestionable, but their general character does not agree with that of the catacombs. In the "*arenaria*" the passages are from ten to twenty feet in width, evidently calculated for the easy transit of the carriages and beasts of burthen by which the material was brought to the surface; and the pits themselves, as well as the passages, are rugged and irregular. In the catacombs, on the contrary, the passages seldom exceed three feet in width. The galleries are straight and regular, the walls are quite perpendicular, and the graves are regularly cut, frequently in several stories. These general observations the author afterwards strengthens and explains by a reference to the particular catacomb of St. Agnes, where the neighbourhood of a well-ascertained sand-pit affords the means of immediate comparison.

To these considerations it may be added, that the materials to be obtained from the catacombs—at least from the greater proportion of them—were altogether unsuitable for the purpose intended. They consisted chiefly of the "*tufa granolare*," which had neither the hardness of building stone nor the peculiar quality which gave value to the *pozzolana*. The objection that excavations of such extent could not have been made by the early Christians without coming to the knowledge of their persecutors, is met by the remark, that not only were the entrances to the caves frequently made under the houses of Christians, but that considerable difficulty had, in fact, occurred in carrying on these operations; and it is well known that there was an order of men called "*Fossore*," whose whole duty it was to excavate the catacombs and inter the dead Christians; "*who, like Tobias, hid the dead by day, and buried them by night.*"

The considerations which suggested the peculiar mode of burial are not difficult to discover. In thus interring the dead the early Christians only followed the example of their Lord, who was "*laid in a new tomb, hewn out of the rock*;" distinct traces have also been found of the fine linen in which the dead were wrapped.

It has been already insinuated that it seems to have been the wish of our forefathers in the faith, to bury their dead, as nearly as circumstances permitted, after the pattern afforded them by the burial of our Lord. He was buried, we are told, "*in a new sepulchre, hewn out of the rock, wherein never yet had any man been laid*;" and so we find that the early Christians never, according to the custom of modern days, returned to use a second time graves that had once been occupied, but assigned to each corpse its own separate place, which was never afterwards usurped by another. Narrow horizontal shelves, excavated in the natural wall of subterranean streets, each shelf sufficiently deep to receive a human corpse, having a cornice on the outside, against which the heavy tile or marble slab might rest with which the monument was to be closed; such are the graves which we see in the catacombs; and in describing them we might use literally the words which describe the sepulchre of our Lord—"a new tomb hewn out of the rock," in which no corpse was ever laid but the one for which

it was originally excavated. Nothing can exceed the simplicity of form of these graves; and, indeed, as might be expected, a most careful economy of labour characterizes the whole work; no more soil having been removed than was absolutely necessary for the purpose required. The graves were made wide at the head and narrower at the feet; and if two bodies were to be buried together the soil was excavated only in exact proportion, the feet of the one being generally laid by the head of the other. Even now, as we walk along the narrow paths, and examine the contents of the half opened graves, we see at once how accurately each was made according to the size of the body it was intended to receive; here a mother and child, perhaps, lie side by side, yet neither in length nor in breadth is there a single inch of unoccupied space; there a skeleton of unusual height just touches each extremity of his grave; elsewhere, in the thickness of the soil which had been left as a necessary support between two graves, a short and shallow hole has been made, barely of size sufficient to receive the body of an infant just born, baptized, and gone. . . . This is one of the most striking characteristics of these cemeteries,—that there is no distinction of rich and poor, but that the same unornamented niches received all alike. Those who wished to set some mark upon the grave of their friend or relative, that so it might be distinguished from others around it, either had the name engraved upon the marble slab, or rudely scratched with the sharp end of the trowel in the mortar by which the slab was secured; or a ring, coin, seal, or any other object which came to hand, was secured in the same way, whilst yet the mortar was wet. Small lamps, also, of terra cotta were similarly attached to many of the graves: and to those of the martyrs a little ampulla, or glass vessel, containing a portion of the martyr's blood. There is abundant testimony in the records of ancient Christianity to the zeal with which the precious relic of a martyr's blood was collected and treasured in early times, even at great personal risk; and the numerous ampullæ which are found in the catacombs still retain the blood-red stain of their former contents. If the martyrdom was by drowning, or in any other way which did not involve shedding of blood, or if for any other reason no blood could be collected, a palm branch served the same purpose of a sign whereby to designate the sacred spot.

Thus much for the Roman catacombs as the places of early Christian sepulture. But another use of these subterranean caves, not less interesting, remains to be noticed. The catacombs became, in process of time, the places of worship of the early Christians. The shelf of the *arcosolium* discharged the duty of an altar; and unmistakeable remains are found of the prothesis, or credence table, which has given so much offence to our Westertons, and such trouble to our Fusts, and our Lushingtons.

"In the catacomb of San Ponsiano, situated on the side of the hill between Porta Portese and the Porta San Pacrazio," writes Mr. Northcote, "is the only perfect specimen still extant of a primitive subterranean baptistery. A small stream of water runs through this cemetery, and at this one place the channel has been deepened so as to form a kind of reservoir, in which a certain quantity of water is retained. We descend into it by a flight of steps, and the depth of water it contains varies with the height of the Tiber. When that river is swollen, so as to block up the exit by which this stream usually empties itself, the waters are sometimes so dammed back as to inundate the adjacent galleries of the catacombs; at other times there are not above three or four feet of water. At the back of the font, so to call it, and springing out of the water, is painted a beautiful Latin cross, from whose sides leaves and flowers are budded forth, and on the two arms rest two candlesticks, with the letters Alpha and Omega suspended by a little chain below them."

At a still later period than that to which we have referred, they served as temporary places of concealment in time of trouble and persecution, and from the hallowed interest attaching to their history, they became the cherished objects of the devotions of the faithful. Then also, in all probability, were formed those perpendicular shafts, or *luminaria*, those breathing places or *spiragli* "as the Italian hath it,"—which, by a peculiar mode of construction, were frequently made to admit air and light into two separate chapels. Finally, after

Christianity became the religion of Rome and its emperors, churches were built over the catacombs and the remains of the early martyrs, as is the case with the Church of St. Sebastian,—“San Sebastiano alle catecombe,” as it is named—from whence enter the catacombs, which, from their more easy access, are known even to ordinary tourists, who, with laudable perseverance, and with the assistance of friendly guide-books, “do Rome in a week,” although, as Mr. Northcote properly warns us, these cannot be taken as superseding the necessity of a more extended examination.—*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*.

Christian Sepulture. (From a review of a work on the subject by l'Abbé Cochet).—But the most novel section of the work is consecrated to a description of sepulchral usages in Christian times. It appears to have been a practice in this country, as well as in France, to place on the breast of the defunct a leaden cross, inscribed with a religious sentence; but the crosses which have been brought to light in Normandy are remarkable for their bearing a form of absolution. Here is one of these forms, transcribed *verbatim et literatim* :—

“Dominus Jhesus Christus qui dixit discipulis suis quodcumque ligaveritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solveritis super terram erit solutum et in celis ipse te absoluat Johannes (or Johanna?) ab omnibus criminibus tuis per ministerium nostrum quecumque cogitatione loquutione operatione neglegenter egisti atque nexibus absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna celorum: qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.”

Several of these crosses, bearing analogous inscriptions, are figured in this volume. An account of those discovered by M. Cochet, in the ruined cemetery of Boutailles, was communicated by him to the Society of Antiquaries in the past session, and may be seen in their recently published volume of the “Archæologia.” By far the most interesting and novel portion of this volume is, however, devoted to the description of remains of the Christian period, which have hitherto escaped the notice, or have been but inattentively observed by continental archæologists. The Ritualists, Durandus and Belet, in their directions for the burial of the dead, enjoin the deposit in the tomb of vessels of holy water, and earthen pots containing charcoal. The latter, the charcoal being kindled, served the purpose of a censer, in which perfumes were burnt during the obsequies of the defunct. Several of these pots are engraved, and exhibit a striking similarity of form. They are rudely made, and appear not to have been originally designed for sepulchral uses, but adapted to the purpose to which they have been applied by holes made in their sides. M. Cochet has proved, incontestably, the practice of thus depositing in Christian tombs both incense and holy water, from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, and the manner in which the former was used is most appropriately illustrated by an engraving taken from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, in which several ecclesiastics are represented performing the service for the dead, while three pots, of the character described, are placed on the ground between the priests and the mourners. This is a most opportune discovery, and a most happy illustration of the use of these incense pots; and we congratulate the learned and indefatigable archæologist upon the novel light which he has thrown upon the subject.—*Literary Gazette*.

Opening of a Tomb at Thebes.

To the Editor of “The Literary Gazette.”

Goorneh (Thebes), 11th March, 1857.

Sir,—In a former letter descriptive of the opening of a tomb in the Shekh Abd-el-Goorneh, at Thebes, I followed point by point, perhaps somewhat tediously, the intricacies of the sepulchre, concluding by the bare mention of chambers and their contents, at the bottom of the shaft to which the outer rock-cut hall and winding tunnel had ultimately led up. Here I shall resume the narrative, and note in some detail the arrangement of those vaults, in which at length were found, in undisturbed repose, the subjects of an ancient, although unfortunately not the original, sepulture.

I have before stated that the shaft descended to a depth of nearly twenty

feet, and that there its four sides were pierced with doorways leading to chambers. Beginning with that to the north, I shall designate it as No. 1, distinguishing the others as Nos. 2, 3, and 4, in the rotation of east, south, and west.

No. 1, being not quite 10 feet long and 5 feet 6 in breadth, was little more than large enough to accommodate its contents. Side by side on the floor, and almost in contact, there were a heavy and rather ill-finished mummy case, painted in white and blue, of the usual form, shaped like the swathed body, and a plain, unsmoothed deal shell or box, dovetailed at the corners. On the breast of the former a wreath of leaves was twined, and above the feet there rested the tiny bodies of two very young children, covered only by a few folds of simple bandages, the outer rolls of which encircled them together. The latter also bore a similar but a heavier burden, the mummy of a full-grown man carefully swathed, the exterior cloth being painted to represent the lineaments of the face, the hands, and the feet, with a line of hieroglyphics from the neck down the front to the extremities.

The box, which was merely the simplest form of a deal coffin, contained an undecorated mummy; and the large case, its neighbour, enclosed two, one the body of a man, the other of a young girl, accompanied by two bracelets of bronze or copper, two coarse anklets of iron, and an earring of something very like the same metal, whited or silvered, but which, however, I have not yet been able to examine minutely. The prominent feature connected with this burial was the slight degree of trouble that had been expended to prepare the mummy-case for its later occupants. It had undoubtedly been constructed for a very different tenant—for a tenant of a much earlier time, and probably had held the remains of one of the first owners of this tomb; but whether it had been thus procured on the spot where it was again employed, or not, the method of appropriation had been very summary. For the lid, which showed marks of having once been violently wrenched off, was only laid loosely on, the fractured slips or tongues of wood which had originally secured it not having been restored to efficiency, while they were in some cases completely broken away. Nor could this be explained by assuming, with reference to the presence of two bodies, that the coffin had first been deposited with one, and subsequently, as a manifestation even in death of earthly affection, opened to receive the other, that of the young girl, which was uppermost; for, besides the evidence of rough usage, it was plain that the case was made having regard to a mummy of different dimensions from either of those within it, and intended to be differently disposed. The corroborative analogy of other facts observed in the tomb likewise went to prove, that here was an instance of appropriation more remarkable than those occasionally met with, from its improvised and certainly undisguised character.

Chamber No. 2 was closed by a wooden door, and contained one large coffin, of the plain, uninteresting type, constructed with square pillars at the corners, one long panel at either side, and a semicircular top. In this instance a hieratic inscription on the end was a distinguishing peculiarity.

Chamber No. 3, being 10 feet 4 by 9 feet 7, afforded ample space for the three similar mummy cases which were stored in it.

In chamber No. 4 stood a massive sarcophagus, of the dark granite of Assuan, quite unpolished, and chiselled no more than was necessary to bring it into shape. Immediately in front of it, and protruding into the shaft, lay some of the appliances which had doubtless been used to move the cumbrous mass, and the presence of the old workers was singularly recalled even here in the depths of the grave by rollers and planks, which they had left on the spot where their mechanical ingenuity had employed them. The planks, too, were another proof of the reckless disregard with which the older occupants of the tomb had been treated, for they were the sides of broken mummy cases, covered with hieroglyphic groups in the style which I have met with on coffins of the period of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and other dynasties of the revived empire.

Likewise at the doorway of this vault, but in the shaft rather than within it, lay a tall, cylindrical jar, that might be included among the numerous species of amphoræ, and which is precisely like the two formerly described as discovered in the upper chamber of the tomb. It is inscribed near the neck with a short

line of hieratic; and it was nearly filled with the fruit of the Dom palm. Several more nuts of this tree were also strewed about, and they were very frequent accompaniments of the Egyptian dead. I have several times found them in tombs, sometimes along with the common date, sycamore fig, and other fruits.

At the head of the sarcophagus four curious objects were carefully disposed; a figure about sixteen inches long, internally formed of reeds and linen, and swathed in imitation of a bull, like those from Memphis, a mummied ibis, a spirited copy of a small hawk on a pedestal, rather decayed, but apparently constructed of folds of linen cloth gummed together, and an oblate ball of bitumen, from three to four inches in diameter. The first was evidently designed to represent, or had reference to, Apis, or perhaps rather to Mnevis, whose worship was celebrated at the neighbouring Hermonthes (Erment). The ibis was the emblem of Thoth, the hawk of Horus—both of them deities whose attributes were of striking import to the departed spirit. And in the ball of bitumen was imbedded a coiled snake, likewise a symbol of marked significance in connexion with the future. In the older tombs it is common to find in carved wood the representatives of Horus, Athor, Anubis; and, although on the funeral tablets which accompany them, the effigies of other divinities, most frequently Horus and Thoth, sometimes Apis, as well as many others, are portrayed in the act of receiving offerings, a group of four such emblems so constructed as those we are considering, I have not before known to occur, and probably, at least so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been observed, or it might be more correct to say noted, for the two words are of widely different meaning, from the vast number of Egyptian sepulchres which have been opened, and the few or none whose contents have been minutely recorded.

The inner end of chamber No. 4 communicated with another, No. 5, which contained one more pillared mummy case, with a festoon of crumbling evergreens resting upon it. At the farthest corner of this vault was the entrance to yet another, on a slightly lower level, and nearly filled with stone chips and rubbish, among which were no traces of sepulchral remains. This was the limit of the subterranean gallery, whose extreme length from the end of this chamber, through Nos. 5 and 4, across the shaft, and on to the end of No. 2, was 56 feet. The height of the vaults was within two or three inches of five feet, and their roofs were encrusted with dependent crystals of salt.

Such were the deep recesses of the tomb, such the method in which the dead had been left to their rest, as every object probably remained in precisely the position it had occupied when the funeral rites were performed over the last who had "*gone down* into this pit." For had its gloomy silence been ever broken by explorers during any of the subsequent centuries through whose long course treasure-searching has more or less vigorously flourished, it would not be conceivable that the mummy cases should stand intact, and particularly that an imposing receptacle like the sarcophagus so well calculated to excite the hopes of cupidity, should be permitted to retain, unattempted, the mystery of its interior. But the time had come when those who had reposed so long were to be disturbed in turn, although there were no successors to be established as they had been in the place of which some of them were to be dispossessed. The tunnel above and the vaults beneath were fully lighted up, the grim corridors resounded with the song of a selected band of brawny fellaheen as they pulled at the hoisting ropes, and the old beams, erected over the shaft, once more bore the unanticipated weight of the coffins which they had helped to lower to a home that might almost have been deemed as permanent as the duration of time itself.

The size and weight of the granite sarcophagus would have rendered it extremely difficult of removal from its site had that been desirable or necessary, but every purpose was answered by subjecting it to examination where it stood. The solid cover, freed from the cement with which the joint was seamed, was easily raised from the bed, on which it simply rested without any of the contrivances for fastening it down that sometimes are seen to have formed part of similar relics. And then the subject of all this care was disclosed surrounded by yet another precaution for its security. Under, above, and around the

mummy, the whole sarcophagus was filled with bitumen which had been poured in hot, forming a compact mass, adhering at all points with such tenacity as to require the most patient labour for its liberation. During the greater portion of this long and tedious work, Mr. Wenham, whose kind services I have before mentioned, undertook to remain for me on the spot, to watch and direct the progress of the operation. At length the object was safely attained, and subsequently in the upper air the rude encrustation of bitumen peeled readily away from the outer wrappings of the mummy.

At a very early stage of the process, the bright glitter of the leaf of a golden chaplet, aroused to the wildest pitch the extravagant speculations which the fellahs always entertain with regard to the probable contents of tombs of considerable extent. The presence of treasure was whispered about, and as many of the people in the neighbouring villages had been looking forward with great interest and absurd anticipations for the final result of this particular excavation, a marvellous report, magnifying as it spread, found willing ears, and, in an incredibly short time, pervaded the whole district for miles on either side. The story is now probably a fixed tradition, and it might be attempted in vain to shake the established belief that I procured a profuse amount of gold and jewels of dazzling value.

And this was what gave origin and colour to the fable. The head of the mummy was cased by a gilt mask, outside of which, around the temples, a circlet reposed. It consisted of a ring of copper thickly gilt, the diameter of whose metal was nearly half an inch, and twelve bay leaves in thin gold were attached to it by their pliant stalks. Another remarkable and much older ornament of this kind is now one of the chief treasures of the Leyden Museum. Instead of leaves, it bears a group of basilisks or royal asps; and it rested on the brow of one of the family of the Nauteffs, whose tomb was stated, after some prevarication, by the peasants who found it, to have been in the Drah-aboo-neggah, the northern or rather north eastern limit, and presumptively, from various circumstances, one of the oldest portions of the necropolis of Thebes. Therefore, from the high antiquity of the royal house of the Nauteffs, the locality finally assigned by the discoveries, which, as I have been informed, they did not point out until closely pressed, has the very necessary corroboration of probability.

In this manner the head of the mummy was adorned, and the outer cloth covering of the rest of the body was painted in colours designed in a diagonal pattern which possessed a peculiar interest. For it was precisely identical with the decoration on the top of the shrine which, as formerly mentioned, stood in the upper chamber, and so connected that curious relic more especially with this individual burial. It had, no doubt, been used at the funeral procession and obsequies of the important personage for whom so costly a resting place as the sarcophagus had been provided, and left in the outer hall when the mummy which it probably covered was carried below to the prepared abode.

Beneath the cloth which preserved the means of associating the two, were infinite plain folds, which, after a certain depth, were so saturated with fine bitumen and pungent gums, as to form one concrete and almost homogeneous mass with the body which they encased. Imbedded among them, it was difficult to detect a small thin plate of gold in the shape of a winged scarabæus, and several pieces of vitreous composition, portions of emblems which had been studded in the bitumen after a well-known fashion, better illustrated in the case of another mummy to which I shall subsequently allude. From the usual position on the left side, a fine if not large roll of hieratic papyrus was recovered, without fortunately suffering any injury. I could not venture to attempt opening it here, as the application of the necessary aids by ingenious hands will be requisite; but one corner gives evidence of its being illustrated in colours, while the figure disclosed is of a character, I fear, to indicate that the document is simply of the usual class, a copy of some portion of the ritual.

The bearer of the scroll was a man of mature years, with features strongly marked, as far as the ceremonies permitted their characteristics to be discerned. The skin of the upper part of the body had been gilt with thick gold leaf; and

the arms, which were rolled separately, but only by a single bandage, were brought down by the sides, with the hands resting under the thighs.

All the other mummies in the pillared cases were laid in the same attitude, and the upper portions of several of them were likewise gilt. With one, also, there was another hieratic papyrus, but of inferior material, execution, and size. Another was decorated with a gilt mask; and another, being a handsome specimen of the style of ornamenting externally with small objects, in the manner which to some extent prevailed on all, I propose to remove untouched. In this instance the compact bitumenized cloth began to occur beneath not more than two outer layers of the ordinary linen, and here on the black ground the figures were inlaid. First, there was a blue winged scarabæus on the throat; then a small winged globe of thin gold; lower still, on the breast, another larger agathodæmon, with more distended wings, also in gold; and beneath, another thin plate of the same metal, representing Anubis bending over the deceased. Over the spot of the ventral incision, on the left side, were the four genii of Amenti, composed of what might be termed a mosaic of variegated pieces of vitreous composition; and two crowned hawks of Horus, of the same material, were imbedded one on each shoulder.

The history of the sepulchre whose details I have thus attempted to describe, may, with no great difficulty, be surmised. Most of the painted tombs in its vicinity in the same hill date from the older dynasties of the revived empire, and there is every reason to believe that it also had been excavated and used at a period quite as early. Indeed the tomb immediately adjoining, whose door I discovered first in the same area, which must to all appearance have been cut with equal reference to both, was sealed with the cartouch of Amunoph III., of the eighteenth dynasty; and in all reasonable probability this indicator of age may be fairly held as of common application to the two. Nor would this conclusion be otherwise than countenanced by the style of mummification and decoration of the rifled bodies and coffins found in the built-up chambers above, and in vault No. 1 below.

Whether the original occupants were allowed to sleep on in peace until the time of the last appropriation, or whether their right of property had been occasionally infringed in the interval, or themselves and others also, in turn, displaced, according to a not unusual practice for adding to the priestly revenues, can only be conjectured. But twelve or perhaps thirteen hundred years must have elapsed before possession was so rudely taken, and the forcible and final innovation accomplished which left the place in the condition in which I found it. Then, probably a century or so before our era, a complete and radical change was effected. The older mummies were, as we have seen, spoiled and ejected, and their home usurped amid circumstances which cannot but excite surprise. Lapse of time, the supposition of difference and dominance of race, will account for much, but still it is remarkable that the last resting-place, and even the corpses of predecessors, should be treated with such irreverence and disrespect by people who were quite as emulous to secure for their own mortal remains, by the embalmer's aid, a material immortality, and who were to occupy the very same tomb. It may be questioned whether the sanctity attached to the body in consequence of a religious doctrine, the growth of practice, or both, was conscientiously attended to by the custodiers of the dead, the priests, even while the ancient faith flourished under native princes. But after foreign conquest introduced new psychological elements into the country, although the old temples were frequented and others dedicated to members of the same Pantheon, although funeral customs and observances remained, in essentials at least, unaltered, still this conformity did not necessarily imply a fixed perpetuation of the ideas which had been the origin of these developments. Hence in some part may be explained the unceremonious treatment experienced by the early tenants of this tomb, when we perceive the period at which it was perpetrated. The details which I have given of the later deposit, the style of mummification, and the other accessories of burial, all point to Greek time, and even towards the close of Ptolemaic rule.

Although this approximate date may therefore be assigned, the question

cannot be so well decided as to what, if any, connexion had subsisted between the persons who in this tomb were so closely associated in death. There is no difficulty in supposing the occupants of the sarcophagus and of the five pillared cases to have been related by family ties; but between the former and the man, for instance, who had no more handsome coffin than the plain box like a work-house shell, there appears a broad line of separation; nor does it seem that their juxtaposition can be easily accounted for, except by some such supposition as the dependence of the one upon the other, or upon some former member of his house. That the chief of the group, the granite sarcophagus, was the last deposited, I think is highly probable. The planks and rollers, even a chip of coarse pottery, holding the residue of the cement which had been used to fasten down the lid, all left lying on the spot, would almost indicate that no future preparations had been made for another body, otherwise, as being in the way, these would in all likelihood have been removed.

Having witnessed vicissitudes like these, changes still more un contemplated by the old designers await this sepulchre. For fully three thousand years it has been dedicated to the departed. It will shortly begin a new episode as a dwelling for the living. For the present I have prohibited its occupation, with a view to further excavations close at hand, on a future occasion; but I had not cleared the door of the tomb adjoining more than two days when its possession was sought, and the simple operations commenced for converting it into a habitation. Eventually the upper chamber of the other will no doubt be turned to similar account, and degraded generations shall be born and die content with a shelter almost among the bones of, it may be, far distant ancestors.

A. HENRY REIND.

The Musical Instruments of Scripture.—This was the subject of the third lecture explanatory of the objects of the Scriptural Museum, at St. Martin's Hall, and was delivered by the Rev. H. B. W. Churton. The Rev. Lecturer opened by referring briefly to the musical instruments of the antediluvian period, of which there were both stringed and wind. He then described in detail the character, materials, and construction of the instruments in use among the Jews and other nations mentioned in Old Testament history, his remarks being illustrated by diagrams and models. They were of three classes—wind, stringed, and percussion (sounded by striking). In the first class were the pipe, the trumpet in several varieties, and the organ; in the second the harp, the psaltery (also called lute and viol), the dulcimer, and some thought the sackbut (otherwise supposed to be a wind instrument); and in the third the timbrel and the cymbal, with some subordinate varieties. Having compared these with the analogous instruments of modern times, the lecturer passed to the historical branch of his subject. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and that wisdom consisted chiefly in medicine and music. He it was who led the triumphant song after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex. xv.), on which the lecturer dwelt as opening up a view of the high cultivation of music among the Hebrews of that day. Miriam and the women with timbrels indicated that that instrument was chiefly used by women to give expression to joy. The next era was that of Samuel, under whom music was made a chief branch of instruction in the schools of the prophets. Then were formed bands combining four instruments—psaltery, tabret, pipe, and harp. The age of David and Solomon was next noticed. David's lesser and larger bands sustained the Tabernacle service of praise without cessation; and on great occasions, such as the three feasts, no less than 4000 took part. Even in the times of decadence, under Nehemiah, Jerusalem was still a centre of song. Coming to New Testament times, the lecturer dwelt on the notices of musical instruments by our Saviour, and by St. Paul, and St. John, and concluded by urging the duty of consecrating the gift of music to the praise of God. Much additional interest was given to the proceedings by the performance on the harp of some of the most ancient Hebrew melodies, the character of which strikingly confirmed Mr. Churton's remarks on the high talent for music among the Jewish people. We may add that the chair was appropriately occupied by

Mr. John Hullah, to whom, as well as to the lecturer, a vote of thanks was passed at the close.

Scripture Chronology.—At the *Astronomical Society*, April 8, Dr. William Stroud, in two letters to Dr. Lee, drew attention to two lunar eclipses which he imagines to be important as helping "to dispel some doubts and difficulties which still beset the chronology of the Christian era." The first of these he supposes to have happened at the autumnal equinox of the year B.C. 5, and the latter in the year A.D. 30, at the Paschal full moon corresponding to the time of the crucifixion of our Saviour. With regard to the first of these, it appears that there were two lunar eclipses in each of the years B.C. 4 and B.C. 5, one at the vernal and the other at the autumnal equinox; and they are therefore of little use in fixing, in connexion with the well-known passage of Josephus, the date of Herod's last illness. With regard to the eclipse of A.D. 30, its connexion with the date of the crucifixion appears to rest only on the figurative expressions quoted by St. Peter from the prophet Joel: "The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood before . . ." As the purely astronomical portion of such speculations may rightly be considered to fall within the province of this Society, perhaps some Fellow possessing the leisure and requisite means, will oblige Dr. Stroud by undertaking an accurate computation of the eclipses in the above-mentioned years, with the data of the best modern tables.

Egyptian Towns.—At the *Syro-Egyptian Society* on April 14, Mr. Sharpe read a paper "On the Names of some of the Egyptian Towns mentioned in the Bible." He began by comparing the Roman road-book, called the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, with the route of the Israelites under Moses, described in the books of Exodus and Numbers. He shewed that Rameses was Heliopolis, both so called from the *sun*; that Succoth was Scenæ, both meaning the *tents*; that Thoum was Etham, Pithom, and the Patumos of Herodotus; and that Hahiroth was Heropolis, which gave its name to the Bay of Heroopolis or Pi Hahiroth. He then shewed that Onion, the city in which the Jews had a temple in the time of the Ptolemies, and the capital of the Nome, or district of Heliopolis, was the *Vicus Judæorum* of the *Itinerary*; and that there had been an older Jewish temple there in the time of Jeremiah, and that it was in consequence of the dislike borne by the priests of Jerusalem to the temple-worship in Egypt that Ezekiel calls Onion the city of Aven or "Vanity;" and that Isaiah meant the same city when he says that there was an altar to the Lord in Egypt in the City of Destruction. Mr. Sharpe then argued that it was a marked aim of the writers of the Septuagint to remove from their city of Onion this reproach cast upon it by the two great prophets; that they changed the words of Isaiah in their translation, and made him declare that the Egyptian city in which the altar stood was the City of Righteousness, and that in Ezekiel they explain the City of Aven or "Vanity" to mean Heliopolis, not Onion, as Mr. Sharpe thought it meant. And as Aven and On were evidently the same city differing in the Hebrew by only a single letter, they inserted a sentence in the first chapter of Exodus to say that On was Heliopolis. This opinion of the Greek translators Mr. Sharpe thought was fully disproved by comparing together, as above, Claudius Ptolemy, the Roman *Itinerary*, and the Hebrew Pentateuch, from which he had before shewn that Rameses was Heliopolis, and from which we might argue that On, the city in which Joseph dwelt, was Onion.

Assyrian Inscriptions.—At the *Royal Asiatic Society* on March 21, a sealed packet was laid on the table from Henry Fox Talbot, Esq., containing a translation of the inscription on the large cylinder of Tiglath Pileser the First, in the British Museum,—a copy of which, prepared by Sir Henry Rawlinson, had been furnished to him by the Trustees of the British Museum, with the concurrence of that gentleman. Sir Henry Rawlinson, as it was well known, was preparing for publication translations of all the more important inscriptions from Nineveh and Babylon; and the object of Mr. Talbot's version now sent was, that those persons who doubted the reality of the decipherment of these ancient

monuments might be furnished with two versions of the same inscription, made in entire independence of each other. Mr. Talbot observed, that "all candid inquirers must acknowledge that, if any special agreement should appear between such independent versions, it must indicate that they have truth for their basis." For this purpose, it was important that the seals should not be broken until Sir Henry Rawlinson's translation was published. The Secretary engaged to keep the sealed packet in safe custody for this desirable object. Dr. Julius Oppert, who exhibited to the Society some specimens of the publication he is preparing in France, illustrative of the French researches in Babylonia, stated that he was now engaged upon the cylinder of Tiglath Pileser, and requested that he might be allowed to deposit his version, when completed, with the Secretary of the Society, for the object of more fully carrying out the views of Mr. Talbot, by affording three independent versions of the same document. This was assented to.

The *Athenæum* has since given the following account of this experiment:—A literary inquest was held on Wednesday, the 20th inst., which can hardly fail to be of interest to the readers of the *Athenæum*. Those who have followed the Cuneiform decipherment from the first glimmerings of light afforded by Grotefend to the brilliant discoveries of late years, which have in so many instances been first communicated through our pages to the world, have never questioned the soundness of the system of interpretation pursued nor the value of the results obtained. They have seen the field of induction gradually enlarged; they have seen difficulties yielding step by step to patient and laborious research, each successive stage of the inquiry confirming previous results, and they have been thus led to regard the present aspect of the question as the legitimate and successful issue of a continuous and correct analysis. But the public at large have not enjoyed such opportunities of forming an opinion. They have been content to look on with incredulous wonder, and when they have found Assyrian or Chaldean records at variance with their own preconceived historical views, they have too often taken refuge in absolute disbelief. In fact, at the present day the French Academy, the first critical tribunal in the world, ignores the whole question of Cuneiform decipherment, and treats the so-called translations from the Assyrian as pure empiricism.

A suggestion accordingly was recently made that the skill and good faith of Assyrian decipherers should be subjected to a sort of *experimentum crucis*; and the suggestion has been now carried out in a manner which, so far at any rate as the British public are concerned, ought to set the question definitively at rest. From amongst the Cuneiform records, which are being edited and published by Sir Henry Rawlinson at the expense of the Government, a long inscription of nearly 1000 lines was selected for trial. This inscription had the advantage, in the first place, of being perfect throughout. It further treated of a great variety of matters, embracing indeed almost every subject of either public or private interest relating to the King Tiglath Pileser I. (about B.C. 1200), to whom it belonged; and it was calculated to tax to the utmost the powers of independent decipherers. Three of the lithographed copies were accordingly placed in the hands respectively of Sir Henry Rawlinson, in London; of Dr. Hincks, in Ireland; and of Mr. Fox Talbot, of Lacock Abbey; and the gentlemen were invited to send in their translations by a certain day, each under a sealed envelope, which should be opened by a committee in London, named for the purpose. Dr. Oppert, of Paris, also, who has made some progress in the study of the inscriptions, was admitted subsequently, at his own request, to join in the trial. A jury was then impanelled of scholars, whose names it was thought would command general respect. The Dean of St. Paul's consented to act as chairman; and the committee was to be formed of Dr. Whewell, Mr. Grote, the Rev. Mr. Cureton, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Prof. H. H. Wilson. Their functions were to open the envelopes on an appointed day, and to compare the translations with each other—not with a view, however, of testing or deciding on the merits of the respective translations, which, as a mere question of individual skill, was of subordinate interest, but in order to satisfy themselves of the agreement, or otherwise, of the independent versions, and to be thus in a

position to give a critical opinion on the validity of the system of interpretation. If the translations were altogether discrepant, it would be evident that the decipherers must employ different methods of interpretation, and that one only of such methods could be right. In fact, the experiment would show that the decipherment had broken down, and that no confidence was to be placed in the translations: whereas, if the results were identical, or nearly identical, there would be the strongest reason for believing in the correctness of the system of interpretation and in the truth of the translations, because it would be against all calculation that three or four independent inquirers could possibly read and understand a long inscription of 1000 lines in the same way, unless they were working in the right path. Error, in fact, is manifold, but truth is single, and in this case it was held that if the versions were coincident they must be true, and that the system from which they emanated must be true also.

The inquest, as we have above called it, was held on Wednesday, at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, in New Burlington Street. Dean Milman presided, and Dr. Whewell, Mr. Grote, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson were in attendance,—but Mr. Cureton and Prof. Wilson were unavoidably absent. The sealed envelopes were opened, and the four versions were examined and compared, the result being, as we are informed, that the translations of Sir Henry Rawlinson, of Dr. Hincks and of Mr. Fox Talbot were found to be identical in sense, and very generally in words also, whilst it appeared to be merely owing to Dr. Oppert's very imperfect acquaintance with the English language that a difficulty was found in bringing his version into unison with the others. It may be as well to state at the same time that Sir Henry Rawlinson's was the only version which proceeded continuously from the beginning to the end of the inscription, encountering all difficulties and giving the meaning, if not the literal rendering of every sentence of the whole fifty-five long paragraphs. Dr. Hincks's envelope merely contained specimen translations of different portions of the inscription, want of time having prevented him from completing the whole, while Mr. Fox Talbot's version discreetly left the obscure passages blank. It should be added that transliterations in the Roman character accompanied the translations, so that any scholar tolerably versed in the Semitic tongues, but without any acquaintance with the Cuneiform character, might himself judge of the correctness of the translations by a mere examination of the text.

The Committee have not yet given in their verdict, nor, we understand, are they at present entirely agreed as to the terms in which it should be drawn up; but of the fact of the general, if not the exact, coincidence of the three independent versions of the inscription, they are, we believe, thoroughly satisfied.

The Annual Report of the Asiatic Society thus refers to this subject.—In connexion with Assyrian research, the Report alluded to a recent examination, at the Society's House, by a Committee appointed for the purpose, of four separate and independent translations of an inscription of Tiglath Pileser the First, made for the purpose of testing the validity of the basis of interpretation adopted by Cuneiform scholars, doubts of which had been expressed in some literary circles. The Committee had not been able, in the few days since their examination, to prepare a report of their judgment on the matter; but the learned President, who had gone cursorily through the several versions, gave it as his opinion that there was agreement enough between them to prove that the investigation was proceeding on a real basis; though the occasional divergence was sufficient to shew that a good deal remained to be done before it would be possible to put full confidence in the scientific accuracy of everything which should be produced.

The following letter has been sent to us as explanatory of the part taken by Dr. Hincks in this inquest:—

"Killyleigh, June 13, 1857.

"My dear Sir,—It just occurs to me, that *The Journal of Sacred Literature* will soon be published. It will probably contain among the articles of intelligence, something in reference to 'the Literary Inquest,' recently held on four translations from the Assyrian. In the article on this subject which first

appeared in the *Athenæum*, there is a serious error, which you would much oblige me by correcting. The sending of a copy of the Tiglath Pileser inscription to me is spoken of as having taken place at the same time with the sending one to Mr. Fox Talbot. The truth is, however, that no copy was sent to me until the other three translations had been given in, namely, in the latter end of April; and it was desired that the translations should be given in so that the examination of them might take place in sufficient time before the anniversary meeting on the 23rd May, to be then reported on. My translation had to be sent from this on the 14th May. I had little more than a fortnight allowed me; while a translation of so much matter could not be properly made in less than two months. I gave in a hastily made translation of about half the inscription; selecting those parts which I believed to be of most importance. This was quite sufficient for the object for which the translations were asked; to establish the soundness of the general system on which they were all based; but there would be an obvious unfairness towards me if this fact should be kept out of sight, and yet the translations should be put forward as tests of the skill or knowledge of the different translators. I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

"Rev. Dr. Burgess."

"EDWARD HINCKS."

At the Royal Society of Literature, April 1, M. Oppert, late one of the French Commission for excavating in Babylonia, read a translation he had made of the inscription on one of the cylinders discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson in the Birs-i-Nimrud, in which he considers he has discovered notices of the Deluge and of the Confusion of Tongues,—and therefore determines that this monument actually occupies the site of the Tower of Babel. M. Oppert also laid before the Society some very excellent maps he has prepared on the spot, in illustration of the topography of Babylon, which the French Government are about to publish.

Nineveh Inscriptions.—The following extract from the Khorsabad Inscriptions will, I am sure, find a response in some of your learned readers who have leisure to make the necessary astronomical calculations, to verify the important chronological data these valuable inscriptions are supplying us with:—"The destruction of the City of L-ka took place when the Planet Venus eclipsed the star Al-debarn, which is in the constellation Al-debar. Al-debar is opposite the six stars, and near the Flying Horse. This was fifty-four years from the Sun's entry into Shor (the Bull.)" The city referred to is L-ka, on the Tigris, the first eastern Semite colony, now known as Nimroud; and the date is thus precisely given, as it refers to the periplus of Noah—the flood of the Sacred Scriptures. If such an occultation did take place 2420 B.C., as stated, it for ever places the chronology beyond the reach of the old sliding-scale of the chronographers, as they severally followed the Septuagint or Hebrew numbers.

H. A. ORMSBY.

Weston-super-Mare, Feb. 21.—*Athenæum*.

The last report of the Asiatic Society detailed the progress made up to the present time in the printing of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions from monuments in the British Museum, under the superintendence of Sir Henry Rawlinson. The annals of Sennacherib and of Tiglath Pileser the First, the historical tablets of Sardanapalus, the monument of Shamas Phul, various short legends of the Biblical Pul, the Nebbi Yunus inscription of Sennacherib, and some others, were all traced and several of them had been printed off. It was announced that the transliteration of these documents in Roman characters, with interlineary translations, by Sir Henry Rawlinson, would be printed at Sir Henry's cost, and that a freer version of the same would form a portion of the Society's *Journal*, to be printed at the expense of the Society,—the expectation of pecuniary assistance from Government for this purpose not having been realized.

The Druses of Mount Lebanon.—At the Ethnological Society, April 15th, Mr. A. Ameuny read a paper 'On the Druses of Mount Lebanon.' Mr. Ameuny, who is a native of Beirut, in Syria, described how when a boy he was carried by his mother into the Druse country to visit an aunt who resided there, when he visited also a princess of the Druses, the mother of their present chief. This visit, and the strange reports current at Beirut with regard to the character, manner, and mysterious religion of the people, made a deep impression on his mind, and the desire of making himself better acquainted especially with their religious opinions haunted him continually. After the conquest of Syria by Ibrahim Pasha in 1831, the Christians of Syria had more liberty, and Mr. Ameuny had opportunities which were wanting before of intermixing with the population of Lebanon, which was further facilitated by his acquaintance with the American missionaries. Thus during five years he was in constant intercourse with them, passing the summers with them in the mountains, and visited in Beirut by their chiefs in winter. In one of his visits to the mountains in 1848, he first saw one of the books of the Druse religion, but did not obtain possession of it then; but in the following year, when Ibrahim invaded the country of the Druses, he obtained several of their books from the Egyptian soldiers, who had carried them away as plunder. These he read and studied eagerly, not arrested by the discovery that, so jealous are this singular people of their secrets, that it is considered one of their most sacred duties to murder any one, not a Druse, who was known to possess or to have read their books, or to have gained any knowledge of their mysteries; yet he found that their most secret and important mysteries were not committed to writing at all, and he came at last to the conviction, in which the most learned of the American missionaries shared, that those mysteries are never likely to be known to any but the initiated, who are bound by the most solemn and terrible engagements not to disclose them. He found, however, that a distinguishing article of their religious belief was an exaggerated doctrine of predestination and fatalism; and they believe that no portion of mankind will be saved except the few who have been initiated in the mysteries of the Druses. He ascertained further that, among other articles of their less secret doctrine, they hold that God created seven species of creatures, who have inhabited the world in succession, angels, devils, genii, etc., and lastly man. God took upon himself the body of Adam, or veiled himself with the substance of Adam, and gave through him a revelation for the benefit of mankind; he did so at different times afterwards through Noah, Moses, Christ, Mohamed, and Hakem, the latter of whom they regard as the head of their sect. God created all the souls of man at one time, and whenever a person dies his soul enters the body of an infant; in fact they believe in the transmigration of the soul, but not into animals. At the appearance of Hakem the fate of all these souls was decided—those who believed in him were to be saved, and those who did not believe were to be damned. Mr. Ameuny gave a sketch of the history of the Druses since the time of Hakem, and then proceeded to relate a number of anecdotes, many of them amusing, and nearly all from his own personal experience, relating to their manners and character. He described the Druses as a fine race, generally tall, robust, broad-chested, and well formed; their complexion rather fair, generally with dark eyes and hair, though the occurrence of blue eyes is not unfrequent. The number of the Druses in Syria is about 100,000 people, who live principally in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. They are divided into two classes, the *Achles* (ignorant) and the *Jatuls* (wise), or, in other words, the uninitiated and the initiated, of which the number of the latter is about 5000. Women may be initiated. Their manner of life, as well as their food, is simple, like that of all the mountain agriculturists of Syria. There can be no doubt of the existence among them of the habit of eating raw meat, which has extended also to the Christians who live among them, and in which Mr. Ameuny himself had frequently partaken. As soon as the animal is killed, and while it is still hot, they cut a slice of the meat into small pieces, then dip each into salt and pepper, roll it into a piece of bread, and eat it. The Druses are described as a proud and extraordinary brave people, and as possessing a spirit of implacable revenge against their enemies, or against any who have offended

them. Their system of carrying out their revenge is rather singular. If a member of a Druse family has been killed, his friends generally kill, not the man who committed the act, but the *best* man of the family to which he belongs. It is even commonly reported in Syria that in war, when they have gained a battle, they eat the hearts and drink the blood of their slaughtered enemies; but nothing of this kind had occurred within Mr. Amsun's personal knowledge. The language of the Druses is Arabic, which they speak more purely than any other of the inhabitants of Syria.

Internal arrangement of Churches.—At the Oxford Architectural Society recently, Mr. Parker called attention to the triple division of our most ancient churches into nave, chancel, and presbytery, and believed that the reformers in England wished to restore this ancient arrangement, and that altar-rails were ordered for this purpose. Several churches were instanced which retain this arrangement. After further remarks from Mr. Lingard, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Lowder, and others, the subject of galleries was discussed; and it was agreed that galleries had been too indiscriminately condemned, which were certainly essential parts of the plan of ancient churches, and in many cases would be a great addition to the accommodation of new ones.

Eating Buns on Good Friday.—In the *Museo Lapidario* of the Vatican, on the Christian side of it, and not far from the door leading into the library, there is a tablet representing in a rude manner the miracle of the five barley-loaves. Every visitor must have seen it, for it has been there for years. The loaves are round like cakes, and have a cross upon them, such as our buns bear which are broken and eaten on Good Friday morning, symbolical of the sacrifice of the body of our Lord. Five of these cakes, explanatory of the scene, are ranged beneath an arch-shaped table at which recline five persons, while another, with a basket full, is occupied in serving them. The cakes are so significant of the bread of life, that one might almost regard the repast as intended to prefigure the sacrifice that was to follow, and the institution connected with it. Having from the earliest period of memory cherished a particular regard for hot cross-buns, and all their pleasing associations, it was a source of gratifying reflection to see my old favourites thus brought into intimate association with the pious thoughts of the primitive Christians, and to know that at home we cherished an ancient usage on Good Friday, which the more Catholic nations of Europe no longer observed. But alas! there is always some drawback to our full satisfaction in this world,—it is, probably, as well that there should be,—and knowledge is often a cruel dissipator of favourite convictions:—my faith in the Christian biography of these buns has recently received a very rude shock. It would appear that they have descended to us, not from any Pophish practice, as some pious souls affirm, but from one which was actually Pagan; and, like the word which we use to signify the great festival of the Church, *Easter*, to a paganism as ancient as the worship of *Astarte*,—in honour of whom, about the time of the Passover, our pagan ancestors, the Saxons, baked and offered up a particular kind of cake. We read in Jeremiah (vii. 18) of the Israelitish women kneading their dough to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven. Dr. Stukely, in his *Medallist History of Valerius Corvusius*, remarks that they were “assiduous to knead the Easter cakes for her service.” The worship of a Queen of Heaven under some significant name or other was an almost universal practice, and exists still in various parts of the globe. She is usually represented, like the Madonna, bearing her son in her lap, or like Isis with the infant Horus. We may see such images in the Louvre, and in the great Ethnographical Museum at Copenhagen, where the Queen of Heaven of the Chinese, *Tienhou*, figures in white porcelain, side by side with *Schling-mu*, the Holy Mother. Certain metaphysical ideas are apt to flow in a common channel, and get clothed in the same symbolical dress. Hence we find a Queen of Heaven no less in Mexico than in China, in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and England; and, under the pagan title of a Christian festival, preserve, along with our buns, the memorial of her ancient reign. The late Rev. George Stanley Faber, who could clearly see Noah's

ark at the bottom of all sacred mysteries, and trace its worship in the crescent moon, says, that the sacred cakes offered to her Celestial Majesty were called *bous* "from their being formed with two little horns, so as to imitate the mystic heifer, which was at once the symbol of Isis, the earth, the ark, and the lunar crescent." They were made of honey kneaded with fine flour, and were set out before the idol on a table, alike in Mexico and in Egypt. *Bous*, continues Mr. Faber, "in one of its oblique cases, is *boun*, or (as the Latins would write it) *bun*. Hence we have borrowed our English word *bun*; and from the same pagan source has originated the old Popish custom, which we still retain, of selling a sort of consecrated cakes, named *buns*, on Good Friday." I well remember the pious horror once manifested by some worthy Presbyterian friends in Edinburgh on hearing that I ate hot cross-buns on Good Friday:—"Why," said they, "it is like eating meats offered unto idols." I little thought then that they were so near the truth; nor did they know it themselves: but the motive sanctifies the means, and the Christian practice is none the worse for having been originally pagan.—H. C. B.

The Connexion between the Early History of Greece and Assyria.—At the Royal Society of Literature, May 20, the Bishop of St. David's read a paper "On the alleged Connexion between the early History of Greece and Assyria," in which he examined, at considerable length, the system for connecting the early period of these two countries, lately put forth by Christus von Jacob Kruger, in his *Geschichte der Assyrier und Iramier*. M. Kruger belongs to a school of writers who maintain that an intercourse can be traced between Greece and Asia, through authentic records, up to the thirteenth century B.C., and as such has dealt rather hardly with some other very eminent scholars, such as K. O. Müller, who have had the misfortune not to coincide with him in his views. M. Kruger himself imagines he can identify Minutcheher, the hero of Firdusi's great poem, the *Shah-namah*, with the founder of the Assyrian Empire, Sardanapalus; and believes that the story of Tantalus describes how the empire of Selm, one of the sons of Feridun, comprehended not only Asia Minor, but also Greece and Italy, which he thinks were held in feudal subjection by the Tantalidas. M. Kruger further supposes that Ilium was built by the Assyrians, and that the assistance they gave to their colony was the cause of the long duration of the Trojan War. The Bishop of St. David's demonstrated the utter fallaciousness of both these views, and stated that nothing could, in fact, be more foreign to Firdusi's conception of the events he relates, than any combination between the personages of his poem and those of the heroic ages of Greece. The Bishop of St. David's then alluded to various other views of the real meaning of Firdusi's work, which have at different times been put forth by different eminent scholars, such as Von Hammer-Purgstall, the Chevalier Bunsen, and M. Hang. That of M. Hang he considers to be, on the whole, the most satisfactory. The scheme of the Baron von Hammer-Purgstall is so far peculiar from the reliance he has placed upon the history of Ctesias, a writer whom it has not been usual hitherto to cite as one in whose chronologies there could be much faith. Supposing, however, that M. Kruger is correct in his chronological identifications, it does not follow that the superstructure he has raised upon them can, in itself, be maintained. Thus M. Kruger may, perhaps, satisfy some students that Minutcheher and Sardanapalus are one and the same person, yet it by no means follows that by this discovery any new light is thrown upon the extent of the Assyrian Empire, or any proof afforded that the Assyrian arms were carried to the very verge of Western Asia. Again, when M. Kruger appeals to Greek authorities, it may be noticed, as unfavourable to his conclusions, that his evidence appears to grow more explicit just in proportion as it is the further removed from the period to which it relates. Indeed, all that he can really allege as to the supposed political connexion between Assyria and the states to the north-west of Asia Minor, is the very doubtful testimony of Ctesias. What is, however, remarkable, is the fact that Homer does not occur among M. Kruger's Greek authorities; no doubt for the obvious reason, that though the *Iliad* does mention Pelops as the ancestor of Agamemnon, it does not give to him

any Asiatic origin. On the other hand, the Bishop of St. David's considers that Pelops, no less than Tantalus and Niobe, are of Asiatic descent, and belong to Mount Sipylus; the recent researches of Mr. J. R. Stennet having brought to light the curious fact that, on the side of that mountain, there still sits the "Niobe in stone" which Achilles described to Priam, and which Pausanias visited.

Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Second Series. Vol. V. Part III.—This part contains the following papers:—On certain Dates in Egyptian Chronology, calculated by M. Biot. By Reginald Stuart Poole, Esq.; —On some Ancient Assyrian and Egyptian Sculptures and Inscriptions in Turkey. By John Hogg, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., &c.;—On the Central Group of the Panathenaic Frieze. By W. W. Lloyd, Esq.;—Observations on certain Allegorical Representations of the Ancients. By Filippo Gargallo Grimaldi;—On the Excavations undertaken at the Ruins of Susa, in 1851-2. By W. Kennett Loftus;—On the recent Excavations and Discoveries on the Aventine Hill in Rome. By Cardinal Wiseman.—These papers are accompanied by maps and other illustrative engravings. The discoveries at Rome were made, according to Cardinal Wiseman, in the following way. "About last October (1855), the religious of this community (of Dominicans located on the Aventine) undertook to remodel their garden, and to reduce it more to what is called on the Continent, out of compliment to us, an English garden. As I have said, however, they were poor in the extreme, and, therefore, they depended on the labour of their own hands, and could not afford to hire workmen. During their recreation hours they laboured hard and cheerfully, until their exertions took a new direction; for suddenly and unexpectedly, in digging, they broke into a vault, and from gardeners turned the good religious into excavators." Buildings were discovered which were houses in the most classical times, but which long after had been turned into cisterns. Part of the work thus brought to the light of day is said to be undoubtedly of the age of Servius Tullius. Inscriptions, columns, etc., etc., of high interest are among the ruins thus unexpectedly disclosed.—*Clerical Journal.*

Rare Books and their Prices.—Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson have recently sold the following rare volumes.—A first edition of the Genevan Version, of which perfect copies are rare, sold for 29*l.* 10*s.*;—Henry the Eighth's "Institution of a Christian Man," 12*l.*;—the "Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten" (1538), 17*l.*;—the "Prymer of Queen Elizabeth," first edition, extremely rare, 70*l.*;—"Booke of Common Prayer," with the Psalter (1604), 130*l.* Of this excessively rare edition, says the catalogue, "there is a copy in the Bodleian Library, another at Lambeth, and one at Cambridge; but no copy exists in the British Museum. Two copies only are known to exist in private collections: one of these is in the collection of the late Mr. Mendham, who stated that he experienced more difficulty in procuring this book than in acquiring any book of the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. After all his search, he met with a copy by accident; this was some twenty years ago. The late Mr. Pickering was anxiously searching for a copy for many years, yet he did not succeed."—*Biblia Hebraica.* Manuscript of the thirteenth century on vellum, in a large uncial letter; 70*l.*—*Boethius de Arithmetica.* Written circa 900, on 85 leaves of vellum; 26*l.* 10*s.*—*Cypriani Epistolæ.* A very fine manuscript upon vellum, written in the early part of the twelfth century, on 96 leaves of vellum; 29*l.* 10*s.*—*Dante, La Divina Commedia.* Written in the fourteenth century on paper, and containing many valuable variations from the usual text, *wanting some leaves*; 40*l.*—*Dante.* Written in the fifteenth century, on paper, *imperfect*, but containing many excellent readings; 30*l.* 10*s.*—*Dante.* Manuscript of the fifteenth century, partly on paper and partly on vellum, which appears to have served for some earlier work, as it bears evident marks of having been under the scratcher, and in several places has left the ancient writing visible; 52*l.* 10*s.*—*Dati, La Sphæra.* By an Italian scribe of the fifteenth century, on vellum, with curious paintings; 35*l.*—*Evangelia Quatuor.* A very early manuscript

written in Italy in the ninth or tenth century, upon vellum, with portraits of the Evangelists and floreated capitals; 70*l.*—*Evangelia IV.*; or rather a *Breviarium* of most exquisite Otranto-Byzantine calligraphy, written in the ninth or early part of the tenth century, on vellum, and probably the only specimen in this country; 81*l.*—*Livii Historiarum*, xxxi. ad. xl., 37, written in the fifteenth century, on vellum; 88*l.* 10*s.*—*Officiorum Liber cum Calendario*. Manuscript of the sixteenth century, on vellum, with 24 large paintings and above 70 small miniatures, most exquisitely finished by a Flemish artist of the highest skill. This charming volume is in the ancient binding of Henry VIII., rebaked. A manuscript note prefixed states it to have belonged to that monarch, and attributes the paintings to Holbein the younger. This is, however, purely the imagination of the Italian owner in 1790, as the binding undoubtedly has been taken from some work which belonged to our Henry VIII. for the purpose of rendering the ownership probable. The auctioneers very wisely gave no countenance to the pious fraud, and left the article to rely on its own merits to find its fair value; 240*l.*—*Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*. Written by an Italian scribe in the early part of the sixteenth century, on vellum, and adorned with miniature paintings. It appears from the arms to have been executed for one of the Piccolomini family; 90*l.*—*Tasso's Aminta*. The autograph manuscript; 59*l.*—*Dioscoridis Opera Græce*. Manuscript of the twelfth century, on vellum, with numerous paintings of the plants, animals, etc.,—a most beautiful specimen of Byzantine calligraphy and art; 590*l.*

Bibliographic Curiosities.—Two of the rarest specimens of xylographic or block books, cut entirely on wood, which were the precursors of printing by means of moveable types, have recently come into the possession of Messrs. Boone, 12 New Bond Street. Of these, the first in point of rarity is the "*Liber Regum*," or *Life of David*, pictorially illustrated with two woodcuts on a page, with descriptive text beneath, and extending to twenty pages. So little is known of this work, printed about the year 1450, that it escaped Heineken, who specially devoted his researches to the history of early printing. Brunet and Dibdin are alike meagre in details,—in fact, but one other copy is known to exist, and that is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The other is known as the "*Biblia Pauperum*," of which fac-similes have been given. The copy in Messrs. Boone's possession corresponds with the description given by Heineken as being of the first impression, a copy of which sold at Willet's sale for 250 guineas.

Catalogue of Dr. Sprenger's Library of Oriental Works.—Dr. Sprenger having spent thirteen years in the East, three of which were passed at Delhi, as the head of one of the principal native colleges; two in cataloguing the manuscripts at Lakhnan, now the principal seat of Oriental lore in India; two in travelling through Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Irák, and the Islands of the Persian Gulf; and the rest at Calcutta, where he held the office of Examiner in Oriental languages, he has thus had the amplest opportunities of making himself acquainted with the best Oriental works still existing in the East, and has succeeded in collecting a valuable and well-assorted library, the Catalogue of which enumerates 1972 volumes, 245 belonging to the departments of history and geography; 156 to genealogy and biography; 95 are commentaries on the *Kurán*; 103 are critical works and collections of *Hadís*, or traditional sayings; 172 relate to law and religion; 205 to mysticism and ethics; 155 are dictionaries and grammars; 434 poetry, and the rest miscellaneous.

Grammatical Exegesis.—How much of late has been done to fix the principles and philosophy of the Greek language! About the time our admirable version was given to the world, the only canon which the highest scholarship could enunciate respecting the *article*, was that it was "*loquacissimæ gentis flabellum*." Scaliger knew nothing more about it than this flippant utterance betokened. It is needless to say how much since the time of Middleton has been done to define the influence of this important vocable. Nor have the results been

trifling. "This shall be the sign unto you; ye shall find a babe wrapt in swaddling clothes lying in a manger," Luke ii. 12,—not as our version has it "a sign," "the babe,"—is language pointing to an appeal which the angels made, in confirmation of their assertion respecting the higher attributes of the child as the Messiah, to the singularity of the position in which the shepherds would find him when they repaired to Bethlehem,—a confirmation lost to us by the rendering, "the babe." Should the prediction that a babe would be found so singularly circumstanced, hold good, the inference would be clear to the shepherds, that the rest of the angelic announcement was to be received implicitly as true. Of that most difficult passage, Gal. iii. 20, our author affirms that there are now 300 interpretations, while Jowett extends the number to 430. How many of these must now quietly be consigned to oblivion by the principle to which it would seem every scholar assents as fixed, that the article here determines the phrase employed to signify not the mediator of whom the apostle has just been speaking, but every mediator in the generic idea of the term! Nor can we do more than hint that evidence in favour of the divinity of Christ has accrued from just conceptions of the power of the article. The power of the *tonses* has been more accurately illustrated to the great enhancement of the significance and beauty of Scripture. It requires but a simple comparison with the rendering of our version to feel what a keener point and deeper meaning are infused into the utterance of our Lord, John iii. 32, when rendered, as we are entitled to do by grammatical warrant, "Moses hath not given you the bread from heaven, but my Father is giving you the true bread from heaven." Reference to the *propositions* might be made as sustaining the same conclusion. The whole force of the prayer addressed to our Lord by the dying thief is missed by the rendering "into," instead of "in thy kingdom." It makes the "coming" subordinate to the "kingdom," whereas the "kingdom" is subordinate to the "coming." The various *particles* of the Greek language—words small seemingly, and yet riveting the links of many a sacred argument, as well as stamping a special impress on the substance of Scripture, supply equal evidence of the need existing for the grammatical study of the Word of God. What liveliness and clearness are added to the dialogue in Acts xxi. 37, 38, if we translate correctly *ὁὐκ ἔρα;* "Canst thou speak Greek? art thou not then," (not "art not thou,") as I supposed, but now see to have been a mistake, "that Egyptian?" etc.; a translation which, besides its superior accuracy, brings out more effectually the emphasis, which, according to the original, is due to *οὐδ*, "thou." And, lastly, we might appeal to what has been done with a view to illustrate the *synonyms* of Scripture. A strain of prophecy is found in the teaching of our Lord, otherwise missed, if we simply notice the effect of the two words *καυὸς* and *χρὸς*, as he employs them, and one of the capital articles of our faith has no mean support from the difference between *ἀντὶ* and *κατὰ*.—*Notes of the Churches.*

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

FOREIGN.

Bunsen (C. C. Josias.)—Gott in der Geschichte. Part I. Book 1 and 2. Leipzig. 8vo.

Cochet (L'Abbé M.)—Sépultures Gauloises, Romaines, Franques, et Normandes, faisant suite à "La Normandie Souterrain." Paris. 8vo.

- Decombaz (S.)—Guide Biblique, ou Harmonie et Commentaire pratique et populaire de l'Ancien et Nouveau Testament, à l'usage des évangélistes, etc. Tom. IV. Toulouse. 8vo.
- Drechsler (Dr. Moritz.)—Der Prophet Jesaia übersetzt und erklärt. Dritter Theil. Berlin. 8vo.
- Hengel (W. A., Van.)—Interpretatio Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, Fasciculus III. Silvæ Ducis. 8vo.
- Hiobs.—Drei Freunde: oder Bunsen, Stahl, und Prälat Ritter, als Helfer der leidenden Christenheit. Christus-König, die Lösung der Zukunft. ("Job's Three Friends; or, Bunsen, Stahl, and Prelate Ritter, as Helpers of Suffering Christendom. Christ-King, the Watchword of the Future.") By Ithiel. Hamburg. 8vo.
- Isambert (M.)—Histoire de Justinien.—Première partie, contenant l'Introduction, la division de l'Empire, les Tableaux sur le chargement des navires, les mesures itinéraires et de longueur, la livre Romaine, les monnaies, la proportion entre les métaux et les substances, la traduction des Anecdotes et les Notes historiques pour les faits antérieurs au règne de Justinien. Deuxième partie, contenant la Chronologie du règne de Justinien, de 527 à 566, avec table alphabétique. Paris. 8vo.
- L'Abbé le Dieu.—Mémoires et Journal sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Bossuet. Publiés pour la première fois d'après les Manuscrits autographes, et accompagnés d'une Introduction et de Notes, par M. l'Abbé Guettée, Auteur de "L'Histoire de l'Eglise de France." Paris. 8vo.
- Lachat (Pere.)—Somme Theologique, etc. (The works of Thomas Aquinas; Latin and French.) 14 Vols. Paris. 8vo.
- Lagarde (Dr. A. P. de.)—Reliquiæ juris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ. Syriace primus ed. Lipsiæ. 8vo.
- Oettingen (Alex. ab.)—De peccato in spiritum sanctum, qua cum eschatologia christiana continetur, disquisitio. Dorpat. 8vo.
- Pictet (A.)—Le Mystère des Bards de l'île de Bretagne; ou la doctrine des Bardes Gallois du moyen age, sur Dieu, la vie future et la transmigration des âmes. Geneva. 12mo.
- Polak (Dr. M. S.)—Die Unsterblichkeitsfrage, etc. (The Question of Immortality, etc., an answer to the Materialists.) Amsterdam. 8vo.
- Preger (Professor W.)—Die Geschichte der Lehre vom geistlichen Amte, etc. (The History of the Doctrine of the Sacred Office, etc.) Nordlingen. 8vo.
- Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne, Juin, 1857. Paris. 8vo.
- Rey (W.)—L'Amerique Protestante: Notes et Observations d'un Voyageur. Paris and Geneva. 12mo.
- Roskoff (Dr. G. Gust.)—Die Hebräischen Alterthümer in Briefen. Wien. 8vo.
- Walter (Ferd.)—Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, etc. (Manual of the Ecclesiastical law of every Christian Confession.) Bonn. 8vo.

ENGLISH.

- Barth (Henry, Ph.D., D.C.L.)—Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa. Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H.B.M.'s Government in the years 1849–55. In Five Volumes (three of which are published). Longmans. 8vo.
- Dunlop (Rev. W., M.A.) The Uses of Creeds and Confessions of Faith. Edited, with Preface and Notes, by James Buchanan, D.D., LL.D., Divinity Professor, New College. London: Hamilton and Co. 12mo.

- Foots (Rev. A. L. R.)—Closing Scenes of the Life of Christ. London: Nisbet. 12mo.
- Gotthold's Emblems; or, Invisible things understood by things that are made. Second Series. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 12mo.
- Hamilton (James, D.D., F.S.A.)—Lessons from the Great Biography. London: Nisbet. 12mo.
- Harris (Rev. James, M.A.)—Questions on the Old and New Testament; with References and Answers, and Chronological Tables of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the Prophets, the principal Events in Scripture History, etc. For the use of Schools and Biblical Students. Fourth Edition. London: Hamilton and Co. 12mo.
- Helen and Olga: a Russian Tale. By the Author of "Mary Powell." London: Hall and Co. 12mo.
- Hodge (Charles, D.D.)—An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. London: Nisbet. 8vo.
- Kidd (Rev. W. J.)—Bible-Class Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews. London: Wertheim and Co. 18mo.
- Laud (Archbishop) Works of. Vol. VI. Oxford: Parker. 8vo.
- Lenten Sermons.—A Series of Sermons preached on the Evening of each Wednesday and Friday during the season of Lent, in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford. By various Preachers. Oxford: Parkers. 8vo.
- Massingberd (F. C., M.A.)—The English Reformation. Third edition, revised and enlarged. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 18mo.
- Maurice (Rev. F. D.)—The Worship of the Church a Witness for the Redemption of the World: a Sermon. To which is prefixed a Letter to F. S. Williams, Esq., in answer to a Pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on the Doctrine of Eternal Punishments, with reference to the Views of the Rev. F. D. Maurice and the Neo-Platonists." Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 8vo.
- Religion in Earnest: Tales illustrative of Christian Life in Germany. Translated from the German by Mrs. Stanley Carr. With Prefatory Notice by Rev. W. Hanna, LL.D. Edinburgh: Shepherd and Elliot. 18mo.
- Schoelcher (Victor.)—Life of Handel. Translated into English. London: Trübner. 8vo.
- Thorndike (Herbert). The Theological Works of. Vol. VI. Oxford: John Henry Parker. 8vo.
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